

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1214329-0

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SAC, San Francisco (100-56922)

April 10, 1967

REC 105-165429-1
Director, FBI

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SM - MISC

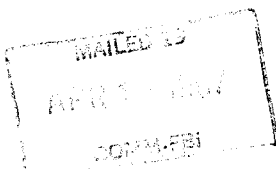
Reference is made to San Francisco airtel dated March 16, 1967, entitled "Black Panther Party for Self Defense, Racial Matters" enclosing a letterhead memorandum of the same date.

From a review of the letterhead memorandum wherein the statements and activities of the captioned subject were noted it is believed desirable that you immediately submit a report setting forth the activities of this subject together with your recommendation with regard to placing his name in the Security Index.

JAJ/csh
(5)

NOTE:

Subject is not in the Security Index. Bureau files reveal no prior investigation of subject. He is one of the militant leaders of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in the San Francisco area and has been observed openly carrying revolvers and rifles on the street and has made revolutionary statements with regard to doing away with our form of Government. Subject has an extensive criminal record and is reportedly supervising the making and gathering of Molotov cocktails.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-91 BY 9803-BCE/SM
#365,933

PR 251967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

4-3- , 1967

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b7C

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☒ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Localities _____

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
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NR
HUEY P.
I 105-122080-2
HUEY
MI 100-439769-698 p12

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/STW
#365,833

FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803-RD/BCE/SM
ON 10-8-97

Date: 3/16/67

Transmit the following in 365,833 (Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL

CLASSIFIED BY

EXEMPT FROM

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-838)

SUBJECT: ^① BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE~~RECEIVED~~
IS-MISC.

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of LHM suitable for dissemination. One copy Los Angeles for information.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, a leader of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) is included on the SI and consideration is being given to recommending HUEY PERCY NEWTON for inclusion on the SI.

Investigation will continue to follow the activities of this organization, identify its leadership and membership and disseminate all pertinent information.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 11)(RM)

1 - Los Angeles (INFO) (Enc. 1) (RM)

10-San Francisco (1-157-838)

1-157-673 (Black Panther Party)

1-157-245 (Racial Matters, SF Division)

1-100-53950 (BOBBY GEORGE SEALE) ✓

1-100-56922 (HUEY PERCY NEWTON)

1-157-266 (Racial Matters, Oakland)

1-157-400 (Possible Racial Violence)

1-100-58538 [redacted]

1-100-5520 (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)

1-157-841 (Bay Area Afro-American Unity Steering Committee)

WJW/erg
(14)

ENCLOSURE

Q. Q. MICH

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.
DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO, Crim

DATE FORW: 4/13/67

HOW FORW: [initials]

Approved: [initials]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~b6
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ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-162924-1

66 APR 20 1967

6 MAR 18 1967

SF 157-838
WJW/erg

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The sources utilized in this LHM are as follows:

SF T-1 is

[REDACTED]

Oakland, California
(by request)

SF T-2 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-3 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-4 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-5 is

[REDACTED]

Berkeley, California
(by request)

24

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A copy of this airtel is being furnished to the Los Angeles Office for information in view of the fact that members of this organization may at some time in the future be active within that field office territory.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California
March 16, 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BKJ/m
#365,833

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

Copies of this memorandum are being disseminated to OSI, G-2, Sixth Army, NISO, Oakland, Berkeley and San Francisco, California Police Departments.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) is a militant black nationalist youth organization, which has headquarters at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, one block south of the Merritt College Campus, 5714 Grove Street, Oakland. Meetings have been held on a weekly basis at 4:00 p.m. on Saturdays with approximately 8 to 22 young Negro males in attendance.

The leaders of this organization are BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, 809 57th Street, Oakland and MUEY PERCY NEWTON, 881 47th Street, Oakland. This source advised that SEALE and some of his associates have been observed on the streets of Oakland, California, carrying carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view. They have not been known to carry concealed weapons or to possess weapons such as sawed-off shotguns, which are in violation of existing laws and have therefore, not subjected themselves to arrest.

On March 1, 1967 a second source advised that BOBBY GEORGE SEALE is employed as a tutor, North Oakland Area Service Center, Oakland Economic Development Council, 905 55th Street, Oakland, California. As of the Fall of 1965, SEALE was the distribution manager of "Soul-book", self-described as the "quarterly journal of Revolutionary Afro-America." ✓

Records of the Clerk of Superior Court, Alameda County, California, Oakland, California in Action #38842 disclosed that on October 10, 1966 BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was sentenced to one

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

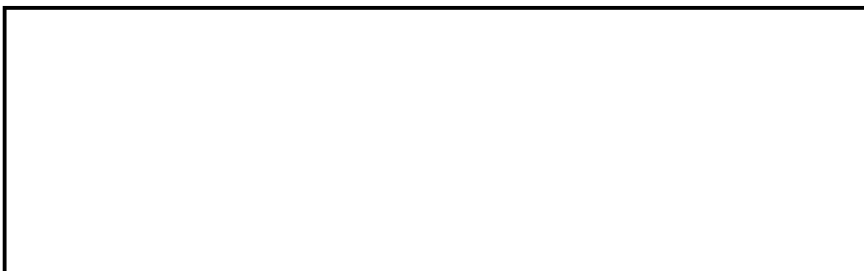
ENCLOSURE

105-165429-1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

year court probation, Superior Court of Alameda County, California, after pleading guilty to charges of battery of a Berkeley police officer on March 17, 1966.

The March 18, 1966 issue of the "Berkeley Daily Gazette" on page one, columns one through three, carried an article "Telegraph Avenue Melee Hurts Two Police Officers - Three Arrested - Crowd Watches Struggle", which identified BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, 809 57th Street, Oakland and HUEY NEWTON, age 24, 881 47th Street, Oakland, as two of the individuals who kicked and struck officers of the Berkeley Police Department, Berkeley, California, who were attempting to take them into custody.



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Records of the Oakland Police Department #159483 disclosed that HUEY PERCY NEWTON, born February 17, 1942, Monroe, Louisiana, residing at 881 47th Street, Oakland, California, was on October 8, 1964 found guilty by jury in Superior Court of Alameda County, California of assault with deadly weapon on October 29, 1964, and was on October 29, 1964 sentenced to three years probation, six months county jail.

On November 22, 1966 a third source advised that HUEY NEWTON was reported to be qualified as an expert in "demolition" and reportedly had supervised the making or gathering of Molotov Cocktails, incendiary bombs and the like.

The March 6, 1967 issue of "The Militant", official publication of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP),

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

on page 8 columns one and two, contains an article captioned, "CAMEJO in speech about MALCOLM X" which states in part that ALEX PAPILLION of the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self Defense, had on February 21, 1967 spoken before a street meeting organized by the Socialist Campaign Committee and attended by nearly 300 Berkeley High School students. This article stated in part that PETE CAMEJO, SWP candidate for mayor (City of Berkeley) also spoke and said that one of the purposes of the rally was to introduce high school students for the first time to members of the BPPSD "who believe in the ideas of MALCOLM X".

A characterization of MALCOLM X is found in the characterization of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI) in the appendix.

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

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

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

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

On February 27, 1967 [redacted] Parole and Community Services Division, Region II, 69 - 11th Street, San Francisco, California advised that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, whose full name is LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was received in the California Prison System in 1958 following conviction of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon. He had previously been convicted and served time on a narcotics charge. He was placed on parole December 12, 1966, which will be concluded on March 20, 1971.

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On February 23, 1967 a fourth source furnished a mimeographed leaflet captioned "MALCOLM X's Ideas Still Live", which announced that a memorial tribute on the second anniversary of the assassination of MALCOLM X would be held on February 24 at the Hall of Flowers, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER as the main speaker.

On March 8, 1967 the third source advised that on March 6, 1967 [redacted] HUEY NEWTON, BOBBY SEALE and others met on the Campus of University of California, Berkeley, California, and among other things discussed the program of the BPPSD. SEALE stated that he and HUEY NEWTON were arming Negroes in the Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco areas with guns, rifles and ammunition as a political power in the program of the BPPSD. SEALE made the assertion in a bragging manner that the BPPSD could within one hour have 50 Negroes armed and ready for action.

SEALE also made statements which indicated "a bitter response toward the Oakland Police".

According to this third source BOBBY SEALE's group, the BPPSD is trying to pattern itself after the forces of Mao Tse Tung, Premiere of Communist China. This source stated that SEALE and NEWTON refer to the writings of Mao Tse Tung "when trying to make a point".

The third source added that SEALE and NEWTON emphasize that it was the objective of the BPPSD to arm the Negro community to full capacity for the purpose of backing "all plays by the Negro community" and to act as a deterrent to all organizations, including the Oakland Police Department and San Francisco Police Department".

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

According to this third source NEWTON made the statements that "with the exception of verbal harassment by the Oakland Police Department no one in the BPPSL has been challenged because of his wearing guns at all times".

On April 25, 1966 a rally sponsored by the "Afro-American Student Union" (AASU) was held on the Sproul Hall Steps, University of California, Berkeley, California. At this rally DON JUAN DAVIS, President of the AASU urged Negroes to oppose the drafting of black men and stated in part "We are not about to go to Vietnam and fight against people like ourselves who are fighting for equal opportunities, equal rights and the end of oppression."

The AASU is an organization recognized by the University of California as a student organization, **according to the fifth source.**

The records of the Oakland Police Department disclose that on March 8, 1967 [redacted] Arroya Viajo Recreation Center, 7701 Krause Avenue advised that on March 8, 1967 a regular meeting of the "Cowboys" was held at the Arroya Viajo Recreation Center. At approximately 7:15 p.m. [redacted] noticed a group of approximately 30 to 35 young adults approaching the center. The members of this group were dressed in black outfits and Mr. [redacted] noted that 8 or 10 of this group were armed with shotguns and rifles. [redacted] met the group at the entrance to the Center and at this time notified them that weapons were not allowed on the premises. BOBBY SEALE, the apparent leader of the group, then ordered the weapons collected from those persons who were armed and directed one member of the group to put the weapons in a vehicle and to guard the weapons.

[redacted] stated that at approximately 8:00 p.m. [redacted] and approximately 8 other persons arrived at the scene.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

At the conclusion of the regular business meeting of the Cowboys, BOBBY SEALE was asked to make his presentation. SEALE attempted to recruit members of the Cowboys into the group represented by SEALE and known as the Black Panthers (referring to the BPPSD). SEALE's talk included information on the aims of the BPPSD as well as quotations from the United States Constitution regarding the bearing of arms. Upon completion of SEALE's talk [redacted] offered words in support of the BPPSD.

According to [redacted] the meeting was very orderly and the group responded to all requests made by [redacted] regarding rules of conduct at the Center.

According to [redacted] BOBBY SEALE indicated to the assembled group that the "black panthers" were receiving instructions from "back east" and that something "big" was going to occur in the near future.

At the conclusion of the meeting SEALE informed the Cowboys that a recruiting meeting would be held on March 11, 1967 at 4:00 p.m. at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland. This location, according to SEALE, was also the area where recruits were instructed in Karate and other methods of self-defense taught by a member known as HUEY NEWTON.

On March 13, 1967 the first source advised that the "Cowboys" is a Negro teen-age social group of East Oakland, California, which has included in its membership several juveniles having criminal records.

A characterization of [redacted] is found in the characterization of the Oakland Direct Action Committee attached hereto.

The records of the Oakland Police Department, examined on March 13, 1967 included "Field Contact Reports" reflecting the questioning of HUEY PERCY NEWTON and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE on December 4, 1966, January 12, 1967 in connection with their openly carrying carbine rifles and a .38 automatic pistol. On December 4, 1966 HUEY PERCY

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

NEWTON when questioned by an Officer of the Oakland Police Department as to why he was carrying a carbine rifle, responded that he was carrying a loaded carbine rifle with clip because of the "white beast". NEWTON claimed police harassment when his identification was requested. On January 12, 1967 NEWTON and SEALE when questioned concerning their carrying a carbine rifle and .38 automatic pistol stated that they were members of the BPPSD.

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MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM, No. 26, aka
Muhammad's Mosque No. 26
San Francisco- Oakland Bay Area

On April 3, 1966, a source advised that Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 26 was first established in the San Francisco - Oakland, California, Bay Area in late 1956.

The source reported that Temple No. 26, also known as Muhammad's Mosque No. 26, is the official headquarters of the Nation of Islam in Northern California and has, since its inception in 1956, been affiliated with the National Headquarters of the Nation of Islam in Chicago, Illinois, under ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

APPENDIX

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

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

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

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

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

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

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

OAKLAND DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE,
also known as
Oakland Direct Action for Freedom Now,
CDAC

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

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

The PW is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

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

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

A fourth source advised that as of April 1966, ODAC is operating out of COMFORT's residence, 6914 Lockwood Avenue, Oakland, where COMFORT is assisted by [redacted] and a Negro teen-age gang known as the Alm Boy Dukes.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

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

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

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

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

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

San Francisco, California
March 16, 1967

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR
SELF DEFENSE

Reference: Letterhead Memo of SA [redacted]
[redacted] dated and
captioned as above at San
Francisco

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

24
5-23

Reporting Office SAN FRANCISCO	Office of Origin SAN FRANCISCO	Date 5/10/67	Investigative Period 4/12/67 - 5/8/67
Title of Case HUEY PERCY NEWTON		Report made by SA 	Typed By: lms
		Character of Case SM - MISCELLANEOUS	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-AD01/BC/67

SUMMARY

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 4/10/67.

- P -

(cc. RAO, SS) (cat. 5, ABC) #365,833
By RS. for INFO
5-25-67-gag/g
Photo - SS
FD 217

ADMINISTRATIVE

An FD-122 has been submitted recommending Subject for inclusion on the Security Index.

This report has been classified "~~Confidential~~" because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in identification of sources of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In view of the fact that Subject, in capacity of Defense Minister, teaches "self-defense" to members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD), it was deemed advisable to include in this report some detail reflecting

Special Agent in Charge [Signature]	Do not write in spaces below	
Made: 5 - Bureau (RM) 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 5a,b,c) (RM) 2 - 115th MI Grp (RM) 1 - NISO-12ND (RM) 1 - OSI-19D (RM) 3 - San Francisco (100-56922)	105-165429	REC-49
	14 MAY 18 1967	
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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

MAY 31 1967

SF 100-56922
WJW:lms

Subject's views on self-defense as contained in probation report completed by the Adult Probation Division of Alameda County, California, in connection with the 5/64 arrest of Subject on charges of assault with a deadly weapon.

On 5/5/67, SA [redacted] personally observed Subject in the vicinity of his residence address, 881 47th Street, Oakland, California.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

SF T-1

[redacted]

This report

SF T-2

[redacted]

This report

Berkeley, California

[redacted]

(By request)

SF T-3

[redacted]

This report

Oakland, California

(By request)

SF T-4

[redacted]

This report

SF T-5

[redacted]

[redacted]

PRI

SF T-6

[redacted]

SF T-7

[redacted]

SF T-8

[redacted]

[redacted]

SF 100-56922
WJW:lms

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will upon receipt of information from the Bureau take appropriate administrative action in connection with the Security Index status of this individual, and will disseminate a copy to Secret Service, San Francisco.

Cover Page

- C* -

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

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 5 a, b, c) (RM)
2 - 115th MI Grp (RM)
1 - NISO-12ND (RM)
1 - OSI-19D (RM)

Report of:

Date:

SA [REDACTED]

5-10-67

Office:

San Francisco

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b7C

Field Office File #:

100-56922

Bureau File #:

Title:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis:

SUMMARY

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Negro, born 2/17/42, Monroe, Louisiana, single, has been student at San Francisco Law School, 1044 Post Street, San Francisco, California. He now devotes full time as Defense Minister of Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD), 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, a military Black Nationalist organization. Subject is classified 1-Y (sexual maladjustment) under Selective Service Act, 1948, without recommendation for recall. Subject and fellow members of BPPSD have been carrying loaded guns on streets of Oakland, California and elsewhere for what they call self-defense from police brutality. NEWTON has sold copies of "Quotations of Chairman MAO Tse-tung" and copies of "Peking Review" on campus of University of California, Berkeley. On 10/29/64, Subject was sentenced to six months Alameda County Jail and three years probation following conviction of assault with a deadly weapon. Subject is identical to FBI Number 804 121 E.

- P -

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803 RDD/BCB/SM
ON 10-8-91
#365,833~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Group 1~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

SF 100-56922
WJW:lms

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

Unless otherwise indicated the background data set forth below was obtained from the records of Merritt Campus, Peralta Junior College District, better known as Merritt College, 5714 Grove Street, Oakland, California, on May 26, 1966 and March 20, 1967.

A. Birth Data

HUEY PERCY NEWTON was born on February 17, 1942, at Monroe, Louisiana. His parents are Reverend WALTER NEWTON and ARMELIA NEWTON, 881 47th Street, Oakland, California.

B. Citizenship Status

Citizen of the United States of America.

C. Education

Subject was graduated from Oakland Technical High School, Oakland, California, in June 1959, and was first admitted to Merritt College, Oakland, in the summer of 1959. He withdrew on October 11, 1964, at which time he was in the custody of the Alameda County Sheriff's Office. He was readmitted in September 1965, and continued to be in attendance as of May 26, 1966.

The personnel file of NEWTON at Merritt College disclosed that in January 1963, NEWTON "slugged" one [redacted] because [redacted] allegedly made some remarks about his girl friend.

On March 20, 1967, [redacted] Merritt College, advised that in the summer of 1966, a transcript of grades was forwarded to the San Francisco Law School, 1044 Post Street, San Francisco, California. [redacted] stated that NEWTON did attend San Francisco Law School in San Francisco in the fall of 1966.

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D. Marital Status

Subject is single.

E. Residence

SF 100-56922

WJW:lms

Subject resides with his parents, Reverend and Mrs. WALTER NEWTON, at 881 47th Street, Oakland, California.

Source: SF T-1 on 5/8/67

On May 5, 1967, an Agent of the FBI observed Subject at his residence address, 881 47th Street, Oakland.

F. Employment

The records of Superior Court of Alameda County, Department 5, Alameda County Court House, Oakland, California, Action #36454, contain a probation report which was prepared by the Alameda County Probation Department, Oakland, in connection with the October 29, 1964 sentencing of Subject following conviction on October 8, 1964, on charges of assault with a deadly weapon. This report will hereinafter be referred to as the probation report. This report discloses that from 1962 through 1964, Subject held a summertime job as a cannery employee at the California Packing Company, Oakland, California. He was previously employed on a part-time basis by the Weed Abatement Department of the City of Oakland.

As of May 8, 1967, Subject was engaged on a full-time basis as Defense Minister of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) and was not known to be attending law school or to be otherwise occupied.

G. Identification Data

The records of the Identification Division, Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, disclose that HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Oakland Police Department #159483, is identical to FBI Number 804 121 E and California State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation (CII) Number 2291824.

The records of the Identification Division, Oakland Police Department, contain the following arrest data concerning Subject:

2 Mar 63, Oakland, Calif., #159483, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Petty Theft; 9 Aug 63, Dismissed.

4 Mar 64, Berkeley, Calif., #20502, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Burglary; 15 May 64, Dismissed.

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5 May 64, Alameda County, Calif., #61-2363, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Burglary, 5 counts. 5/15/64 Dismissed.

11 Jun 64, Oakland, Calif., #159483, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Assault with Deadly Weapon. Arrest #17936. 1 Sep 64, Assault with Deadly Weapon, Held to Answer, \$3300 bail, Judge HOFFMAN, Court #7. 8 Oct 64, Guilty by Jury of Assault with Deadly Weapon; 29 Oct 64, 3 years Probation, 6 months County Jail, Judge DIEDEN, Department #5. Released 4/9/65.

In addition to the aforementioned arrest data, FBI Number 804 121 E contains the following data:

<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested or Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
SO Oakland Calif	HUEY PERCY NEWTON #64-9016	10/8/64	ADW	
SO Oakland Calif	HUEY P. NEWTON #66/2960	3/18/66	242 PC batt against peace officer	
PD Berkeley Calif	HUEY PERCY NEWTON #20502	3/17/66	148 PC (re- sist arrest) & 243 PC (B pol ofc)	no compl on 1st chg

The records of the Berkeley Police Department, examined on May 5, 1967, disclosed the following data:

3/4/64, Berkeley PD #20502 - Viol. 459 PC (Burg); 5/15/64 - Dismissed.

3/17/66, Berkeley PD #20502 - Viol. 148 PC (resisting arrests), Vol. 243 PC (battery on police officer); 3/18/66 - Not guilty of 148 PC; held to answer on 242 PC; 10/10/66 - Guilty of 243 PC (battery); Continued on probation.

4/22/66, Complaint for holding order filed

5/13/66, Pleads not guilty

10/10/66, Plea of not guilty withdrawn - pleads guilty to 242 PC (misdemeanor battery)

10/29/66, Placed on court probation - sentence suspended

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The aforementioned probation report discloses that at approximately 1:20 a.m. on May 31, 1964, Subject and one [REDACTED] age 26, were in attendance at a party at [REDACTED] Oakland, California. Subject and [REDACTED] entered into a discussion concerning political, social and racial matters and Subject took offense at various remarks that were addressed to him by [REDACTED]. Subject ordered [REDACTED] to leave him alone and when [REDACTED] showed his desire to continue the discussion, the subject became extremely angry and struck out at [REDACTED] with a steak knife that he had been holding. Subject inflicted a serious wound on the left temple of [REDACTED] and approximately five deep stab wounds in the palm of [REDACTED] right hand. Subject continued to aggress against [REDACTED] who had fallen to the ground and was bleeding until such time as guests at the party intervened and separated the two individuals. At the trial, Subject stated that he felt that [REDACTED] intended to do him bodily harm. He stated that although he did not see any weapon in the possession of [REDACTED] he felt it necessary to strike out at [REDACTED] in self-defense. During his testimony, Subject indicated that if it were necessary he would have killed [REDACTED].

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The probation report states further in part as follows:

"In interview, the defendant related that he feels no remorse for his actions. He indicates that it was a matter of self-defense and that he acted on the assumption that the victim intended to do him great bodily harm and so his act was a matter of self-defense based on 'appearance.' He states that his environment and his experiences have taught him that once a fight begins and you display a weapon in combat, if your adversary does not back away then it must be 'presumed' that he also has a weapon and is willing to carry the matter to its natural conclusion. Although he had never before met the victim, the defendant indicates that he is somewhat acquainted with him and by hearsay understands that he is an aggressive, combative individual. He notes that the victim, having some facial scars, represented to him in this altercation a very 'real physical threat.' He does not feel that he acted 'impulsively' or is guilty of an offense."

The records of the Credit Bureau of the Greater East Bay, Oakland, California, were examined on May 5, 1967, without

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locating a record identifiable with the subject. These records disclose that Subject's father, ~~WALTER NEWTON~~, 881 47th Street, Oakland, California, was as of April 22, 1967, employed by the Street Maintenance Department, City of Oakland, City Hall, Oakland, California. Mrs. ~~ARMELIA NEWTON~~, same address, was as of April 22, 1967, occupied as a housewife.

The records of the Oakland Police Department, #74491, disclose that WALTER NEWTON, born March 27, 1907, Alabama, was on March 13, 1947, charged with battery; on March 15, 1947, this charge was stricken from the calendar. On December 17, 1947, WALTER NEWTON was fingerprinted as applicant for Laborer, City of Oakland. On September 11, 1954, WALTER NEWTON applied for a gun purchase permit for a Smith and Wesson .38 caliber pistol, Serial Number C246426.

H. Military Service

In December 1963, Subject was afforded a preinduction physical examination and was classified 1-Y (sexual maladjustment) under the Selective Service Act, 1948. No recommendation was made for recall.

I. Miscellaneous Background Data

The probation report under the heading "Social Factors" includes the following data:

"All of the defendant's formative years were spent in the North Oakland area where the family was residentially stable as well as economically self-sufficient. However, the defendant feels that this environment has had a great impact upon his behavior. In some respects, he views it as a 'Negro ghetto' where most of the people experience some amount of social and economic deprivation. The resulting dissatisfaction and discouragement, the defendant has seen expressed in delinquency by his peers and in social misalignment by his adults. Racial prejudice also was a good part of his life experiences. To this situation, to the 'establishment' that caused it, the defendant appears to be most reactive, it the present time, he largely identifies himself with college-student grouping, but he is always consciously aware of his origins and seemingly requires notice and attention for his specific achievements. Personal disparagement by others as well as racial prejudice

also has been a good part of his experience, according to the defendant. Never forgetting his origin and highly reactive to them, the defendant at the present time generally identifies himself with college-student grouping. Involving himself in controversy and conflict in an apparent attempt to test and explore his place and his time, the defendant has developed an aggressively outgoing and dynamic personality. His interests are noted to be intense and his commitments to social advancement for both himself and 'fellow men' are his primary concern. While proud of his origin, he is nevertheless highly motivated to change and improve upon his environment. In many respects he views his environment as hostile; its aggressive and combative influences he feels precipitated his actions in this instant matter before the court."

II. CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)

The leaders of the BPPSD, a militant Black Nationalist youth organization are BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, 809 57th Street, Oakland, and HUEY PERCY NEWTON, 881 47th Street, Oakland. The headquarters of the BPPSD is located at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, one block south of the Merritt College campus, Oakland. NEWTON and some of the fellow members of the BPPSD have been observed on the streets of Oakland, California carrying carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view. They have not been known to carry concealed weapons or to possess weapons such as sawed-off shotguns, which are in violation of existing laws and have, therefore, not subjected themselves to arrest.

Source: SF T-3 on 3/10/67

As of March 1967, BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was employed as a tutor, North Oakland Area Service Center, Oakland Economic Development Council, 905 55th Street, Oakland, California. As of the Fall of 1965, SEALE was the Distribution Manager of "Soulbook", self-described as the "quarterly journal of revolutionary Afro-America."

Source: SF T-4 on 3/1/67

Records of the Clerk, Superior Court, Alameda County, California, Oakland, in Action #38842, disclose that on October 10, 1966, BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was sentenced to one year court probation, Superior Court of Alameda County, after pleading guilty to charges of battery of a Berkeley Police Officer on March 17, 1966.

The March 18, 1966 issue of the "Berkeley Daily Gazette" on page 1, columns 1-3, carried an article "Telegraph Avenue Melee Hurts Two Police Officers - Three Arrested - Crowd Watches Struggle", which identified BOBBY GEORGE SEALE and HUEY NEWTON as two of the individuals who kicked and struck officers of the Berkeley Police Department, Berkeley, who were attempting to take them into custody.

A mimeographed leaflet captioned "Black Panther Party for Self Defense - What We Want - What We Believe" sets forth the program of this organization. Among the items included in the program listed under the section "What We Want Now" is the following:

"8. We want freedom for all black men and women held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails."

Under the section "What We Believe" is the following:

"2. We believe that the Federal Government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that the white American businessman will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standards of living."

"6. We believe that black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military by whatever means necessary."

"7. We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The second amendment of the Constitution of the United States gives us a right to bear arms. We, therefore, believe that our black people should arm themselves for self defense."

"8. We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial."

Source: SF T-5 on 4/4/67

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

Source: SF T-6 on 11/22/66

The March 6, 1967 issue of "The Militant", official publication of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), on page 8, columns 1 and 2, contains an article captioned "CAMEJO In Speech About MALCOLM X", which states in part that ALEX RAPILLION of the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self Defense had on February 21, 1967, spoken before a street meeting organized by the Socialist Campaign Committee and attended by nearly 300 Berkeley High School students. This article stated in part that PETE CAMEJO, SWP candidate for Mayor (City of Berkeley), also spoke and said that one of the purposes of the rally was to introduce high school students for the first time to members of the BPPSD "who believe in the ideas of MALCOLM X."

A characterization of MALCOLM X is found in the characterization of the Muslim Mosque, Inc (MMI) in the appendix.

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

The February 25, 1967 issue of the "Berkeley Barb", a weekly newspaper published in Berkeley, California, on page 1, column 1, carried an article "Armed Panthers Here - Black Power Joins Left", which stated in part that approximately 300 Berkeley

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High School students attended a rally at Tuesday noon, February 21, 1967, and that the rally had been held in spite of police threats to ban the meeting. This article stated further that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, "Ramparts" Staff Writer and Chairman of the Bay Area Afro-American Unity Steering Committee, called for the building of MALCOLM X organizations "all over the black American ghettos and territory." CLEAVER also reportedly stated, "If MALCOLM X can die, we can die. We are proud to be black and we don't hide behind our women. One day it will be Molotov cocktails; next hand grenades and bullets. If we can't have our freedom then white America will die."

The aforementioned article continued in part as follows:

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

On February 27, 1967, [REDACTED] Parole and Community Services Division, Region II, 69 11th Street, San Francisco, California, advised that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, whose full name is LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, was received in the California Prison System in 1958, following conviction of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon. He had previously been convicted and served time on a narcotics charge. He was placed on parole December 12, 1966, which will be concluded on March 20, 1971.

On March 6, 1967, HUEY NEWTON, BOBBY SEALE and others met on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley, and among other things discussed the program of the BPPSD. SEALE stated that he and HUEY NEWTON were arming Negroes in the Oakland, Berkeley and San Francisco areas with guns, rifles and ammunition as a political power in the program of the BPPSD.

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SEALE made the assertion in a bragging manner that he could within one hour have 50 Negroes armed and ready for action.

Source: SF T-6 on 3/8/67 .

The BPPSD is trying to pattern itself after the forces of MAO Tse-tung, Premier of Communist China. SEALE and NEWTON refer to the writings of MAO Tse-tung "when trying to make a point."

Source: SF T-6 on 3/8/67

The records of the Oakland Police Department, examined on March 13, 1967, included "Field Contact Reports" reflecting the questioning of HUEY PERCY NEWTON and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE on December 4, 1966 and January 12, 1967, in connection with their openly carrying carbine rifles and a .38 automatic pistol.

On December 4, 1966, NEWTON when questioned by an officer of the Oakland Police Department as to why he was carrying a carbine rifle, responded that he was carrying a loaded carbine rifle with clip because of the "white beasts." NEWTON claimed police harassment when his identification was requested. On January 12, 1967, NEWTON and SEALE when questioned concerning their carrying a carbine rifle and a .38 automatic pistol, stated tht they were members of the BPPSD.

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Source: SF T-5 on 4/11/67

On April 21, 1967, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that early on the night of April 18, 1967, five Negroes, all in their early 20's and all dressed in three-quarter length black leather jackets, purchased a hi-standard 129 pump riot shotgun, model K1200L06, from a store in Berkeley, California. They paid cash for this shotgun with 73 \$1 bills. The person who took possession of the gun was HUEY PERCY NEWTON, 881 47th Street, Oakland, California, telephone TEmplebar 2-3700. [redacted]

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The April 21, 1967 edition of the "Morning News-Gazette", published in Martinez, California, County Seat of Contra Costa County, California, carried the headline "Armed Men Stage Protest", and in an article by CONNIE LANE on page 1, columns 7-8, captioned "Brutality Charged in Man's Death" stated in part as follows:

"Eight Negro youths, several of them carrying loaded guns, yesterday attempted to take weapons into a hearing on the death of a 23 year old Richmond man who was shot by a deputy sheriff earlier this month. The hearing was held on the second floor of the County Administration Building. No violence took place. The group, seven of them representing the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, plus relatives of DENZIL DOWELL, later walked out on the meeting with Sheriff WALTER YOUNG....

"HUEY NEWTON, age 25, of Oakland, the 'Defense Minister' of the Panther organization, proclaimed his and the group's 'constitutional right to carry arms on public property.'

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"Wearing a leather bandolier holding a string of red shotgun shells, NEWTON said he feared 'the racist police that patrol the streets of America.'"

On April 22, 1967, members of the BPPSD met at Third and Chesley Streets, North Richmond, California, and at a street meeting distributed leaflets on the program of the BPPSD. SEALE and NEWTON urged unification of all militant Negroes and told of plans of using the fatal shooting of DENZIL DOWELL, Negro youth formerly of Richmond, as the nucleus of recruiting new members into the BPPSD.

Source: SF T-5 on 4/25/67

At approximately 12:00 noon, May 2, 1967, a group of 24 Negro males who identified themselves as members of the BPPSD made a protest march and appearance at the California State Capitol, Sacramento, California. The purpose of their appearance was to protest the assembly bill being introduced on that date by Assemblyman DON MULFORD. The bill being introduced by Assemblyman MULFORD prohibits instruction in the use of firearms for the commission of the crime of riot. It further prohibits the carrying of a loaded firearm on one's person in a public street or in a public place within any city. This legislation provides for specific exemptions such as police officers, members of the armed forces and certain guards. This group, armed with rifles, shotguns and handguns, forced its way past two sergeants at arms and entered the floor of the Assembly chamber, which is closed to the public and so posted. The group was removed from the Assembly chambers by members of the State Police and sergeants at arms. Their weapons were taken from them and the group was escorted to the State Police Office located in the Capitol Building. The entire group, consisting of 24 Negro men, was arrested by the officers of the Sacramento Police Department and 12 firearms, consisting of four handguns, five rifles and three shotguns, were confiscated. The handguns were carried in holsters and several of the individuals wore bandoliers of ammunition about their waists or draped over their shoulders. The group was taken to the Sacramento City Jail and each individual was charged with violation Section 182.1 of the California Penal Code, which is conspiracy, the specific charge in this instance being conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor (disturbing the State Assembly while in session, which is a violation of the California Government Code).

Source: Records of the Sacramento
Police Department,
Sacramento, California
on 5/2/67

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On May 2 and May 3, 1967, HUEY PERCY NEWTON was active in trying to raise funds for the posting of bail for the 24 individuals arrested on May 2, 1967, by the Sacramento Police Department. NEWTON gave no explanation as to why he was not among those members of the BPPSD who participated in this incident at the State Capitol.

Source: SF T-5 on 5/3/67
SF T-1 on 5/4/67

HUEY PERCY NEWTON and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE were observed as they sold copies of the "Peking Review" on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley, California, in early March 1967.

Source: SF T-7 on 3/11/67

The general catalogue of "Books and Periodicals", published by Guozi Shudian, China Publications Centre, P. O. Box 399, Peking, China, describes "Peking Review" as "a weekly magazine of Chinese news and views, and states that this magazine contains China's views on current international questions, theoretical articles and important documents, and authoritative coverage of developments in China."

In March 1967, HUEY PERCY NEWTON sold copies of the red colored book "Quotations of Chairman MAO Tse-tung" on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley.

Source: SF T-8 on 3/17/67

III. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The following physical description of Subject was obtained from the records of the Oakland Police Department and from the probation report:

Name:	HUEY PERCY NEWTON
Sex:	Male
Race:	Negro
Born:	2/17/42, Monroe, Louisiana
Height:	5'10 1/2"
Weight:	150 lbs.

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Hair:	Black
Eyes:	Brown
Student:	Merritt College, Oakland
Residence:	881 47th Street Oakland, California
Social Security #:	566-56-4675
FBI #:	804 121 E
CII #:	2291824
Berkeley PD #:	20502
Oakland PD #:	159483
FPC:	O 32 W IIM 19 M 32 W MOI
Parents:	WALTER and ARMELIA NEWTON 881 47th Street Oakland, California

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MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

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

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

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

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY,
INCORPORATED (OAAU)

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

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

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

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

On February 28, 1966, a confidential source advised that

[redacted]
[redacted] who resides in Boston, Massachusetts.

On April 12, 1966, the same confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

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

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. SF 100-58922

May 10, 1967

Title: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character: SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

Reference: Report of SA
dated and captioned as above at
San Francisco.

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/JM
365,833

ENCLOSURE

105 165429-2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCL/jm
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Huey Newton

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97 BY 1803-RDO/BCE/SM
#365,833

100-56922-1A(1)



Huey Newton

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/JT

#365833

100-56922-1A-(1)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile-

) DATE: 5/10/67

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-56922)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SM - MISCELLANEOUSCard filed
Cards sent 00ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97

9803-ADD/BCE/SM/HKS

☒ It is recommended that a Security
Index Card be prepared on the
above-captioned individual.☐ The Security Index Card on the
captioned individual should be
changed as follows (specify
change only):

Name HUEY PERCY NEWTON		
Aliases		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien <input type="checkbox"/> Communist <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) <u>Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD)</u>		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race Negro	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth 2/17/42	Place of Birth Monroe, Louisiana	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Defense Minister BPPSD Black Panther Party for Self Defense 5624 Grove Street Oakland, California		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number		Responsibility
Interested Agencies		REC-16 65-15511-13
Residence Address 881 47th Street Oakland, California		

2 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco
REGISTERED MAIL
WJW:lms (3)

M. E. ROWE

SF 100-56922

WJW:lms

Subject is being recommended for inclusion on the Security Index because he is the Defense Minister of the BPPSD, Oakland, California, which is a military Black Nationalist organization, whose members have been carrying rifles, shotguns and revolvers for the stated purpose of defending themselves against police brutality. On 5/2/67, more than 20 members of this organization were arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department after they invaded the California State Legislature while in session.

In 3/67, Subject was observed as he sold copies of "Peking Review" and the book "Quotations of Chairman MAO Tse-tung" on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley, California.

SF 100-56922
WJW:lms

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will upon receipt of information from the Bureau take appropriate administrative action in connection with the Security Index status of this individual, and will disseminate a copy to Secret Service, San Francisco.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

May 10, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☒ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☒ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 10-8-97

9803-R00/BCE/m

#365,833

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

- 1 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (2) (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) (2)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. SF 100-56922
BU 105-165429

September 14, 1967

SUBJECT:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted]
dated 5/10/67 at San Francisco.

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: Apartment 106-5939 Telegraph Avenue
Oakland, California

Employment:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-87 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/sm

Copy to ① cc - SS
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 9-19-67
by gag/cg

NOT RECORDED

SEP 14 1967

FD-122 DETACHED

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

66 SEP 19 1967

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

7-7-67 100-100000
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

2

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 100-121 E, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #159483	5-22-67	(1) 415 PC (dist peace) (2) 417 PC (drawing or exhibit firearm or other deadly weapon) (3) 3-4:01 OMC (profane-obscene language) (4) 2-7:02 OMC (displaying dangerous weapon)	

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

7-7-67 (100-117112)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 804 121 E , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
OPD PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	3-2-63	wrn't (484 PC). (PT)	dism <i>mjk</i>
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3-4-64	Viol Sec 459 Pen Code (burg)	dism <i>sd</i>
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-2363	3-5-64	Burg 5 cts	dism on chg of 4 cts burg
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	6-11-64	warr 245 PC (ADW)	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-9016	10-8-64	ADW	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #66/2960	3-18-66	242 PC batt against peace officer	<i>7.56</i>
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3-17-66	148 PC(resist arrest) & 243 PC (B. pol ofc) <i>105-163429-</i> NOT RECORDED 2 JUL 12 1967	no compl on 1st chg guilty of 242 PC (batt) continued on prob 10-10-66
PD Richmond Calif	Huey Percy Newton #42141	6-4-67	resist arrest	<div data-bbox="1049 1543 1528 1747" style="border: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100%;"></div>

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCL/jm

54 JUL 17 1967

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

MASTER

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	<p>SECURITY FLASH: Huey Percy Newton any info or inq rec refer one copy of record to Subv Contr Sec Dom Intell Div and two copies to BFD San Fran File #100-56922 Bu file #105-165429 inf rec 6-8-67.</p>			
<p>THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.</p>				

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

4-7-67 (REV. 8-1-67)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

2-BU

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 004 121 E, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC-Subv Contr Section Dom Intell Div				
CC-FBI San Fran Calif				
Copy of revised record was furnished PD Oakland Calif.				
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.				

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

JUN 16 1967 5 7 5

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 804 121 E , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	3-2-63	wrn't (484 PC) (PT)	dism 8 mos
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3-4-64	Viol Sec 459 Pen Code (burg)	dism
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-2363	3-5-64	Burg 5 cts	dism on chg of 4 cts burg
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	6-11-64	warr 245 PC (ADW)	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-9016	10-8-64	ADW	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #66/2960	3-18-66	242 PC batt against peace officer	
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3-17-66	148 PC(resist arrest) & 243 PC (B pol ofc)	no compl on 1st chg guilty of 242 PC (batt) continued on prob 10-10-66
PD Richmond Calif	Huey Percy Newton #42141	6-4-67	resist arrest	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803 RDD/BLE/SM

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.
Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

JUN 16 1967 5 7 5

1-BU

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 804 121 E , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	SECURITY FLASH: Huey Percy Newton any info or inq rec refer one copy of record to Subv Contr Sec Dom Intell Div and two copies to BFD San Fran File #100-56922 Bu file #105-165429 inf rec 6-8-67.			
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.				

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

JUN 16 1967 5 7 5

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 804 121 E, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

United States Government
MEMORANDUM~~SECRET~~

10/1

To: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Date: September 12, 1967.

From: Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Subject: INDEX REVIEW

Re: HUEY PERCY

Card U.T.D.

9/19/67

NEWTON

FBI No. 105-165429

Reports of investigation have been reviewed as requested

by you on _____.

It has been determined that indexing of this case for future
review should be☒ continued☐ discontinued

Commentary:

REC-4

105-165429-4

EX-105

SEP - 3 1967

cc: FBI
ISD-SO
Dept. 146-012-18-2DECLASSIFIED BY 9303 RDD/BCE/ML
10-8-97

DOJ 2-12-06

SUBV CONTROL

SECRET

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassificationb6
b7C

COPY FILED IN 100-378030

UNRE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 105-165429)

DATE: September 14, 1967

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-56922)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SM - MCards UTD
Cards Sent 00
9/20/67ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97 BY 1803-RDD/BLESM

Re: _____

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name		
Aliases		
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)		
<div style="text-align: right;">105-165429</div>		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number		NOT RECORDED SEP 18 1967
Interested Agencies		
Residence Address		
Apartment 106, 5939 Telegraph Avenue Oakland, California		

Bureau (Encls. 2)(RM)
San Francisco
REGISTERED MAIL WJW/dd (3)b6
b7c2 ENCLOSURES DETACHED AND
HANDLED SEPARATELY

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10/28/67

Information in the attached concerns the fatal shooting of one police officer and the critically wounding of a second by a militant Negro who is a security index subject. The Negro who was also wounded had been stopped in his car on a routine check.

This information has been furnished to the Criminal Division of the Department and a copy furnished to the Attorney General. Pertinent portions will be included in a letter to the White House.

ABK;tap

HAR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 12-8-91 BY 9803-RD/AB/efm
#365,833

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 28 1967

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

1105AM URGENT 10-28-67 MS

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-56922) (100-58841)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-ROD/BG/MS
#365,833

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

SECURITY MATTER

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, SM - MISC; BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEF

SECURITY MATTER
SM - MISC

FOR INFO BUREAU, OFFICER [REDACTED] INTELLIGENCE UNIT, OAKLAND

POLICE DEPARTMENT (OPD) ADVISED THAT AT FIVE A.M. THIS DATE OPD

PATROL OFFICERS JOHN FREY AND [REDACTED] MADE ROUTINE CAR ST

CAR DRIVEN BY HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AT SEVENTH AND WILLOW STREETS,

OAKLAND. NEWTON GOT OUT OF CAR WHILE OFFICERS WERE AWAITING RESULTS

OF CAR REGISTRATION CHECK BY RADIO. AS OFFICERS AND NEWTON WALKED

TOWARD NEWTON'S CAR, NEWTON PULLED NINE MILLIMETER LUGAR FROM HIS

WAISTBAND, FATALLY SHOT OFFICER FREY AND CRITICALLY WOUNDED OFFICER

[REDACTED] NEWTON ALSO WOUNDED AND PRESENTLY UNDER POLICE GUARD AT

KAISER HOSPITAL, OAKLAND, WHERE HE IS UNDERGOING SURGERY FOR GUNSHOT

WOUNDS. THE SHOOTINGS WAS OBSERVED BY ONE WITNESS.

NEWTON IS MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF

DEFENSE AND IS INCLUDED IN SECURITY INDEX. HIS PROPENSITIES FOR

VIOLENCE WERE WELL KNOWN TO OPD. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF

DEFENSE HAS BEEN INACTIVE AS AN ORGANIZATION DURING PAST TWO MONTHS.

OPD ADVISED THAT THIS INCIDENT WAS NOT PART OF ANY RACIAL DISTURBANCE.

ABOVE BEING FURNISHED FOR INFORMATION OF BUREAU

NOV 14 1967

XEROX-1 NOV 3 1967
WA...RCS

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

14 NOV 6 1967

CC- MR. SULLIVAN
FBI WASH DC

UNREC COPY FILED IN 105-165706



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. SF 100-56922
BU 105-165429

November 22, 1967

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

REFERENCE: San Francisco memorandum dated September 14, 1967

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: Graystone Annex,
Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center
Alameda County Sheriff's Office
Pleasanton, California

Employment:



b6
b7C

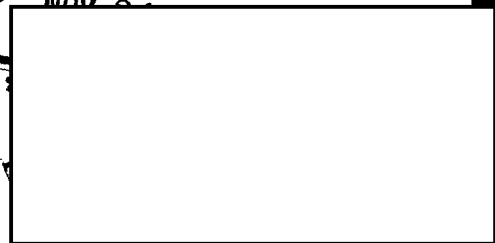
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/mj
#365,833

FD-122 DETACHED

AGENCY Sec Sec
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. 11-29-67
HOW FORW. Rd
BY Jm/dcr
1967

53 DEC 6

NOT RECORDED



Director, FBI (Bufile- 105-165429)

11/22/67

CWB
SAC, *h*

SAN FRANCISCO (100-56922)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SM - MISCELLANEOUSCards UTD
Cards Sent OO12/1/67
*aa*Unavailable Section *OK sent*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/JM

Re: _____

☐ It is recommended that a Security
Index Card be prepared on the
above-captioned individual.☒ The Security Index Card on the
captioned individual should be
changed as follows (specify
change only):ENCLOSURES DETACHED
AND MAILED SEPARATELY

Name		
Aliases		
<i>Stat Tab "PR"</i>		
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)		
<i>Vancouver</i> <div style="text-align: right;"> NOT RECORDED 4 NOV 24 1967 </div>		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility _____
Interested Agencies _____		
Residence Address		
Graystone Annex, Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center Alameda County Sheriff's Office Pleasanton, California		

59 DEC 4 1967
REGISTERED MAIL
WJW:mfm (3)
b6
b7C

DIRECTOR, FBI (157-7782)

12/28/67

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-963) -P-

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

Re SAC letter 11/28/67.

Enclosed herewith are five copies of a Rabble Rouser Index memorandum on HUEY PERCY NEWTON who is being recommended for inclusion in subject index. Subject is on the Security Index and the Bureau is in possession of a recent report covering his activities. It should be noted that NEWTON is in jail awaiting trial under an indictment for murder of a police officer and attempted murder of another police officer.

③ - Bureau (Encl. 5) (RM)
2 - 157-7782
① - 105-165429
2 - San Francisco
1 - 157-963
1 - 100-56922
JTQ:bjc
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/B6E/SM
4-21-80 SP-1 GSY/5W

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-11492

105-165429
NOM
JAN 21 1968

284
54 JAN 16 1968
ENCLOSURE

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

NAME HUEY PERCY NEWTON

SEX Male

ALIASES None

RACE Negro

DATE & PLACE OF BIRTH 2/17/42 - Monroe,
Louisiana

NATIONALITY American

ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION Black Panther Party for Self Defense

POSITION IN ORGANIZATION Minister of Defense

DESCRIPTION

HEIGHT 5'10 1/2" WEIGHT 150

HAIR Black

EYES Brown

DISTINGUISHING
CHARACTERISTICS

FBI # 804 121E

OTHER IDENT # Berkeley, Calif.
P.D. 20502
Oakland, Calif.

RESIDENCE Jail - Graystone Annex
Rehabilitation Center
Pleasanton, California

BUSINESS ADDRESS P.D. 159483
Unemployed

SUCCINCT RESUME OF ACTIVITIES

Subject is a leader of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. He was one of the group who invaded the California State Legislature on 5/2/67, openly bearing rifles and shotguns. He is currently under indictment for killing a policeman and wounding another on 10/28/67. He has openly carried firearms on the streets of Oakland, Calif. and has an arrest record for assault and battery and resisting arrest.

BU FILE # 105-165429

FIELD OFFICE FILE # 100-56922

SUBMITTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803 ROD/BCE/SW

ENCLOSURE

100-15421

FBI

Date: 3/5/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL REGISTERED
(Priority)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68783)
(157-2091)SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITIONClassified by SP-1 LMK/4/26/79
Exempt from GDS, Category B
Date of Declassification Indefinite
4/12/89~~BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
2/15/68~~

RM

Huey P. Newton

Re Los Angeles airtels and letterhead memorandums
dated 2/13/68, and 2/26/68.

- 13 - Bureau (Enc. 21) (RM)
 (2 - 105-168197) (H. RAP BROWN) (Enc. 2)
 (2 - 100-442566) [REDACTED]
 (2 - 105-127538) [REDACTED] (Enc. 2)
 (2 - 100-439190) (SMCC) (Enc. 2)
 2 - Albuquerque (Enc. 2) (RM)
 2 - Atlanta (100-6312) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 2 - Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)
 2 - New Orleans (Enc. 2) (100-17568) (RM)
 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (100-153751) (Enc. 2)
 2 - Richmond (157-2135) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-721) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 2 - Washington Field (100-43503) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 7 - Los Angeles
 (1 - 100-63822)
 (1 - 100-68783)
 (1 - 100-70038)
 (1 - 100-70338)
 (1 - 105-23394)
 (1 - 100-65037)
 (1 - 157-1409)
 (1 - 157-2091)

ENCLOSURE

JMM:mmmm
(30)DECLASSIFIED BY SP-5 RJG/r+c
ON 5-17-92

REC 107

NOT RECORDED

46 MAR 13 1968

CARBON COPY

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

79 MAR 19 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-1209

b6
b7c

LA 100-68783
LA 157-2091

Enclosed for the Bureau are 21 copies of attached letterhead memorandum (LHM), concerning Black Congress sponsored rally for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, 2/18/68, featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL and CARMICHAEL's activities while in Los Angeles. Enclosed for Atlanta, Albuquerque, Chicago, New Orleans, New York, Richmond, San Francisco and Washington Field are two copies each of LHM, because of their interest in this matter.

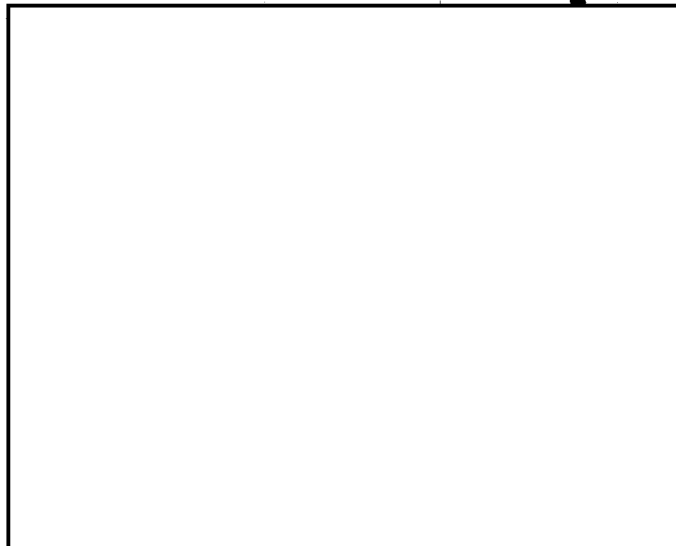
The following sources were utilized in attached LHM.

Sources

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

10

Identity of sources



b2
b6
b7C
b7D

Special Agent of the FBI [redacted] who was present and observed activities of captioned rally mechanically recorded all speeches and statements made at the rally in view of Bureau instructions. A verbatim transcript has been incorporated in attached LHM.

b6
b7C

LA 100-68783
LA 157-2091

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in their identification and impair their future effectiveness.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
March 5, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

Sources utilized in this communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.

Huey P. Newton is publicly known as the Minister
of Defense for the Black Panther Party For Self Defense
(BPPSD) in Oakland, California. The BPPSD is described
as a political organization to combat "police brutality" to
united militant black youths in order to determine the
destiny of the black community, and to educate black people
in African history. Newton is confined presently in
the Alameda City Jail for shooting a policeman.

Source one, February 19, 1968, sources ~~two~~, through
seven, February 23, 1968, and source eight, on February 28, 1968,
indicated they were present and observed the activities held
at the Black Congress sponsored rally for the defense of
Huey P. Newton at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles,
California, on February 18, 1968. They all indicated there

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-SRJG/rte
ON 5-17-88

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 4

Classified by SP-1 [signature]
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
4/12/89

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) ON 7-23-79
DATE 7-23-79

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

were approximately 3,500 people who were in attendance with approximately ten percent of the audience being Caucasians. Upon entering the Sports Arena, they were frisked by Negro males, wearing black berets, who acted as security guards for the rally. The rally, which was scheduled from 3:00 to 6:00 PM, did not begin until approximately 4:30 PM. The master of ceremonies was Walter Bremond, Chairman of the Black Congress, a coalition of militant black nationalist organizations. Speakers for the rally included James Forman, a representative of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a militant black nationalist organization, Thomas Kilgore, West Coast representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights organization headed by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Bobby George Seale, Chairman of the BPPSD, Cristobal Tijerina and Reies Lopez Tijerina. (S) u

Reies Lopez Tijerina is the leader of the Alianza Federal De Merced (AFDM), which is publicly known as an organization representing local grant interest in the state of New Mexico to descendants of original owners.

Also included as speakers in the rally were Ronie McKinley Everett, also known as Ron Karenga, Chairman of US, a militant black nationalist group based in Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown, Minister of Justice for the BPPSD and Chairman of SNCC, and Stokely Carmichael, a militant black nationalist, the former Chairman of SNCC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

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A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who was present and observed the activities of captioned rally, obtained the following verbatim transcription of speeches and statements made during the rally.

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JAMES FOREMAN : _____

(applause). What goes before us lies the open grave. Like men will face the cowardly _____. We're fighting back. (applause)

Brothers and sisters, our role here today is to welcome all our guests to the platform; come on up brother, come on up, all of them. Here's Bro. CARMICHAEL, Bro. RAP BROWN, come on baby, come on, come on, come on (applause). We got Bro. BOBBY SEALE, the chairman of the Black Panther Party, give him a hand, Bro. RAP BROWN, all right, all right, give them all a hand (applause). Bro. BROWN, Bro. SEALE, Bro. CARMICHAEL, let's give them a big hand again. (applause) All right, one more round of applause before we sit down.

Now, yesterday, February 17th, was HUEY NEWTON's birthday and there was a gigantic celebration up in Oakland, California. Bro. BOBBY SEALE, the chairman of the Black Panther Party, has a new way of saying happy birthday to HUEY which he probably will ask you to do when he comes; he's coming up to speak to us next. In addition to that tremendous information titulated by Bro. STOKELY CARMICHAEL who has been around through all capitals of the world, revolutionary capitals, that is, let's give him a hand. (applause) He has come back to tell us about

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many of the observations that he's made spirited in the philosophy and the dynamism which is driving him in the new phase of black liberation in 1968. In addition to that Bro. RAP BROWN is here; you know he's been a representative of us in Manhattan and nine boroughs of New York. He's out here on some legal consultation but he's _____. Let's give Bro. BROWN a hand. (applause)

Last night was the first time that Bro. BROWN left outside of the confines of Manhattan and these nine counties in some months. But he still has the same old fire and he's going to talk to us today, Bro. RAP BROWN, (applause) all right.

Now we should certainly understand that celebrating HUEY's birthday must not be stopped on February 17th, but must begin on February the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and on and on and on, because Bro. NEWTON is in jail and he's in jail for us. He's not in jail for himself, he's in jail for us. (applause) And he's in jail for us because he believes that there should be no more occupation of the black community by a foreign racist gestapo cops and that's why he's in jail, do you understand? (applause) We must never forget that message. We must never forget the message that Bro. NEWTON has tried to articulate and for which he is in jail and for which he will not die and for which he will be set free; he will be set free. (applause)

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Now, there are several things which I could go ahead on and try to rap to you but that would be beyond the scope of my ability, my intelligence, when we have all the star-studded program here. What I want to do, brothers and sisters, is just to say something that I've been saying around the country because it's important, because you see the reason that this meeting is late and we must understand that people in this audience must understand the reason that this meeting was late. We contracted for this auditorium, you'll remember it was less than one week ago and less than a week and a half ago and there were a whole lot of delays. One of the delays was that we had to put up say \$4,000 instead of the ordinary \$1,500. In addition to that they say we have to put up \$10,000 security bond because the niggers who come here won't know how to act and we going to tear up the place, you dig it, see, that's what they say. (applause) All right. So now we said now listen, we said Bro. CARMICHAEL's been around and were going to have this rally not only to let him say this but also to support Bro. TIJERINA who's in jail in Mexico, but the main thing we want to get the message over in Southern California about what was happening to Bro. HUEY so we said OK man we will put up the \$10,000, I know you didn't think we could dig it, but we had it so here's your \$10,000. (applause) Now, after we got the \$10,000 and the \$4,000, then they pulled a whole

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new trick today, they called out the Army and the Army ain't but six blocks away from here and you got to understand that so be careful going home (laughter) I'm telling you what I know. Four blocks from here is the National Guard. Inside the arena they wanted to have cops walking all around so that the brothers could get mad with them and somebody would start something and then they would bring in the National Guard and bring in the Army and we would all be sitting up here you see in a little isolated van and they'd try to mow us down, and don't believe it baby, this is as good an extermination camp as any of them right in here, you understand? (applause) All right. So we say we ain't going to make the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, concentration camp number 2, where we all peacefully walk to the gas chambers, you understand. So we've been up there, we told the police we didn't want any police walking on the inside of these arenas inside the audience, that the brothers here could protect us, the Black Panther Party and the brothers from _____ could provide all the security that we needed, and we didn't need them inside here. (applause) So that's the reason the brothers were late we said now all right look here, this is the finest example of young black leadership that we have, BOBBY SEALE, HUEY NEWTON, not brother HUEY NEWTON, RAP BROWN, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, you all stay out there til we get

this down straight, cause we don't want them pig cops coming in here and mowing down our folks on February the 18th, you dig it? So now after we got that straight then the brothers came on in so let's give them another great big applause for coming in. (applause)

Now that leads up to the message brothers, that we've been talking around this country cause it's very important that we say it time and time and time again, cause one of the ways the man tries to destroy the liberation movement is to say we will pluck off some leaders, if we pluck off some leaders, assassinate some leaders then folks will get confused they will be stray, but we know by your presence that the mass of the black people will never go astray, will never go astray, and will always carry forth with the struggle, (applause) but, and I'm saying this and I understand the National Guard is six blocks away and the Army is four, whatever it is, vice versa, and they got them cops out there, here's what we have to do, baby, we have to say that if you keep on, not this, you know Bro. CARMICHAEL's gotten a lot of threats, Bro. BROWN's gotten a lot of threats, I know about that, Bro. SEALE's gotten a lot of threats, Bro. NEWTON is already in jail, Bro. KARENGA gets a lot of threats, he's going to be here, I hope he's here now, if he's going to come on in. Well, anyway, he's coming on in, and he's gotten a

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lot of threats, I know about Bro. JOE, so what we have decided is that we have a grand strategy in 1968, we ain't going to reveal all of it, but we're going to reveal one aspect of the new strategy. We admit that 1967 was a year of high tide of resistance, so we say that the way that we are going, one of the ways, not the only way, is to say publicly and publicly, and publicly and publicly that we have a mutual defense pact and if you assassinate any of these black leaders you must be prepared for instant and protractive retribution. (applause) Now it is not enough just to say instant and protractive retribution because some brother may be picking up a wine bottle and cutting somebody, is that the kind of retribution, that ain't the retribution we are talking about. We are talking about selective, directive, protractive retribution on police stations, on fire stations, on power plants, on war factories, you dig it baby? That's what we are talking about, all over this country, all over this country. (applause) Now, in addition to that we are talking about protractive and instant retribution on some of these Southern governors, especially on these brothers have been struggling with all their lives on some of these mass, some of them out here in the far West, you dig it? Some of them out here, out in Watts I know, all right, we talking about protractive retribution especially on these white gestapo cops that occupy

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our community, that's what we are talking about. (applause)
So that being the case, that being the case you understand that
we've been giving out figures and what have you in terms of
individuals but we won't do that today. That being the case
let me just introduce the next speaker by telling you something
that has also happened which is a part of the strategy. You may⁷
have heard, say, of the merge of SNCC and the Black Panther Party
for Self Defense; well, the merge is not the correct word because
neither organization has given up its name, but what we have
established and what we are working to establish throughout the
West Coast and throughout the country is two new concepts:
operational unity that will lead to a brotherhood of black people,
you dig it? That's what we are talking about. (applause) Now
we feel that this operational unity is important because baby
the man has all of these little things which your brothers are
going to run down to you. Riot tanks, _____ guns, all the
stuff that's every night on television, so we got to have a new
form of strategy and one of those new forms of strategy is to try
to consolidate groups that are moving in the same direction with
the same political perspective, etc. Now the Black Panther Party
for Self Defense is an organization that has recruited and has
trained and disciplined many of the brothers whom we call the
"field niggers", us, all of us, the "field niggers" now come on,

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come on, I know, come on, get with it (applause) get with it. There ain't no claps. What do we mean when we say the "field niggers?" We talking about the niggers that got out of jail, niggers that are winos and junkies and _____ got a new lease on life, we going to fight the main enemy, baby, the U. S. Government and all its _____, you dig it? So the brothers have done that. This is not a middle class movement, the cats have got a whole lot of brothers off the streets and they are moving together and those are the cats that's going to lead this revolution and don't let nobody fool you baby; it will not be those of us who are half way between the house and the field. You dig it? No, not us. It will be the field niggers baby and so therefore we feel that we and SNCC who have been trying to develop this around the country Black National Party with the Panthers assembled must unite with these brothers. So its an operational unity that will help to save many people, will help us to forward the greatest struggle, you will hear more about] that; last nite they drafted me as the minister of foreign affairs in addition to my other duties; another new title, more work, dig it? They also drafted Bro. RAP BROWN as minister of justice, an appropriate title, how about that, minister of justice. (applause)

All right brother, I'm going to let you speak, brother. And now, brother say I'm talking too long, going to take up the

whole program, I don't mean to do that, but all I am here to say brothers is that it is absolutely essential that we have a gut reaction that only can come from brotherhood, gut reaction to brothers like CLEVELAND SELLARS who is down in Orangeberg, gut reaction to Bro. MAX STANFORD who is still in jail in Queens, you dig it, gut reaction to many other brothers across this country that are in jail and I think that today we are showing these kinds of reactions and emotions toward each other and we will be able to not only unite say SNCC, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, but we will be able to get a whole lot of other groups across this country to form this operational unity, keep their own identity but establish a brotherhood of black people and that's what we want. So lets give all these brothers a big hand for being out here. (applause) All right, Bro. WALTER BREMOND, come on brother, where are you, what's happening now, where's Bro. WALTER? I give to you now the chairman and M.C. of the meeting, Bro. WALTER BREMOND. Thank you very much. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: _____ black people
so lets give Bro. JAMES a hand. (applause)

It's indeed my pleasure to introduce the next speaker to you. Here's a cat thats got a lot of sun, he's got a lot of heart and he's committed to the liberation of men. Some folks say

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he ain't a militant, but we know where he is. When the Black Youth Conference was looking for a place, you know, with _____, we went to a cat by the name of Rev. TOM KILGORE, so I would like to introduce to you Rev. TOM KILGORE, pastor of Second Baptist Church, let's give him a hand. (applause)

REV. TOM KILGORE: Ladies and gentlemen, in the halls of this arena there are peace petitions. In Vietnam thousands of people are dying uselessly and all too many of them are black people from the United States of America. (applause) who are dying for a country in which they are not free. (applause) I come to you as a representative of the church - that militant phase of the church that has never compromised and that has believed in peace and freedom for all people. I know there are grave doubts, I know many of you have written the church off, but I am one in the church that hasn't written anybody off that's still willing to work for freedom and especially to see that black people in America live with dignity and honor. (applause) I pastor a church that's considered a prestigious church, but I know that my job as a prophet is to stand on the firing line and to help and work where the basic things of life are at stake and I come this evening to bring my greetings and especially to say let every one of us sign this peace petition. Let every one of us say and keep saying that we ought to be out of Vietnam and back

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here clearing up conditions in the United States of America. |
(applause) I greet you and I want to tell you, maybe some of
you haven't been close to the church for a long time but there
are a whole lot of us in the church who are sensitive and who are
fighting and giving their lives for the same valid principles
for which you are fighting and giving yours and I come as a
representative of the church without any equivocation or any
shame to say that we as we carry on from day to day are conscious
of the vast struggle and I know the irrelevance of the church
in so many areas but I have not written it off and I stay there
because I believe in it and I believe that it has a message.
Neither have I written you off because I believe that you, as
I said to our congregation this morning, men like STOKELY
CARMICHAEL have a message to tell this country in a time like this.
(applause) And I hope America will listen for I want to see
America an America where all people can live together in peace and
in freedom. This is what I have been preaching for all these years
and there are segments of the oldest black institution we have, the
black church, that's still preaching that. Thank you and God
bless you. (applause)

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WALTER BREMOND: That cat is talking about some
righteous stuff because we got 37% of our black brothers dying
over there in that racist oppressive war in Vietnam and they need

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to be right here, not tomorrow but they need to be right here]
right now. (applause) That's what I call the black soul but I
got to tell you all about one thing like that man that's got
all kinds of people here and everytime you stand up it makes it
pretty tough for security, so just feel it and pat your foot
when you want to stand, all right.

Brother FOREMAN has already talked about our next
speaker, he's a cat who is doing it, like I mean he's righteously
doing it and he's right down there with the brothers in the
street. Close friend of Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON, a brother of Bro.
HUEY P. NEWTON, a brother who is willing to give his life for
Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON. I like to introduce to you at this time
Bro. BOBBY SEALE, chairman of Black Panther Party for Self
Defense. (applause)

BOBBY SEALE: Thank you brothers and sisters. I'm
going to explain something. I'm going to try to give you some
insight as to who our black brother HUEY P. NEWTON is. You notice
I didn't say "was". You've already had MALCOLM X, no "was", "is".
Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON is now chained in jail in Oakland, California.
He's charged with murder of a pig cop. (applause) He's charged
with the wounding of another and has another couple of more
charges of so called kidnaping and an ex-felon with a gun. The
brother has soul, wait a minute, his soul is for black people to
survive within the confines of racist, decadent America. This is

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the brother's soul. Watch; the brother with this perspective of the situation, the oppressive situation the black people are subjected to within the confines of this racist system, this _____ perspective on how to deal with the situation is in fact what you might call really a new level. The brother teaches that politics is war without bloodshed and that war is politics with bloodshed. The brother understands that the white power structure makes many political decisions upon our heads that we disagree with. The brother understands or teaches and gives what we call a functional definition for black power, starts out with a functional definition of power. That power is the ability to define phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner. Now wait a minute. Let's go back to that word phenomenon. Black Power, black people, social phenomenon, 400 years of oppression by the racist power structure, the racist dogs and pigs in this country. We must understand and define this first and get some power, develop and organize in a fashion where after we define the situation we can make it act in a desired manner. Black people situation is political. Now, we look at the power structure and how it uses power, wait, let's say what the real power is. We must understand that it's not green power because this is a bunch of baloney. The brother shows you, if you get a chance to get it run down and I'm going to run it down, that a very good example

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in the Civil War when the North and the South were fighting against each other, the North had some green power, Yankee money and the South had some green power, Confederate money. Both of them had forces and guns. The North out maneuvered the South had all the guns and force and defined the South's money as not really being money any more. They burned it up in the streets. Where was the real power at? the guns and the force. Can we check that out? (applause)

Black people, the period of reconstruction, were promised 40 acres and two mules, 40 acres and two mules, but we didn't get this 40 acres and two mules, we got the butt of a gun, the lynching rope, etc. But we'd have had that 40 acres and two mules to every black man. Black people would have had some ownership of land. Black people would have had a chance to have constructed within the confines of this setup their own institution to control their own communities and control their own lives and have the power to determine the destiny of their lives in their communities, or wherever they might live, if we had had this 40 acres and two mules. Because by owning this 40 acres and two mules at that time we, this country was predominately agricultural at the time, we could have wheeled and dealed and operated in such a fashion that the power structure would have had to answer our basic political desires and needs. Also, if we had been promised the 40 acres and two mules, the 40 acres, we might have had a

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chance then to compete against General Motors, Standard Oil and the major industries now who are over 100 years old. Maybe you didn't know that Standard Oil started off in 1860 and ten years later they were refining some 80 million barrels of oil. Now, these big industries, these white businessmen are the ones who robbed us of this 40 acres and two mules, they got it right now. (applause) What I'm trying to hip you to brothers is that in 1869 the man had the land because he bought Alaska in 1869 right in the period of Reconstruction. That's when we were supposed to receive the 40 acres and two mules. That's when we would have had the power. That's when we would have had the land to live on and survive, to organize amongst ourselves. That's one form of power I've been talking about, is ownership of land. The other form of power is ownership and the control of the industry by the peoples in the community by whatever system you design to do it. But there's a third form of power that we must understand that exists; it definitely exists. It's commonly referred to as a military power which the Black Panther Party for Self Defense calls a self defense power. Guns, organized in the black communities is a form of power. Everytime the power structure makes a political decision on a group of peoples _____ and the people disagree with it the power structure sends in guns and force upon the peoples to try and make them submit to those political decisions that do not serve them. (applause) We

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are going to have to understand what power really is. The Vietnamese in Vietnam understand what power is. They understand, they are using guns and force to defend themselves, (applause) in an organized fashion. Only in the relation to their terrain. We have another terrain. I'm not talking about you going up in no hills nowhere. I'm talking about right where you are at your home. Right there in Detroit. Did you see it in Detroit? You remember that? Some more organizing. The brothers was dealing in righteous power. In a 200 square block area in Detroit these cats drove out United States paratroopers for four hours. (applause) The brothers is up tight. Every black man here must have a shotgun in his home to defend himself and his family against the racist gestapo police who occupy our community like a foreign troop. (applause) Now maybe you saying that, is this the limit of HUEY's perspective? On the contrary. If you ever have a chance to read the platform and the program of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense the point I just finished talking on was only one point, point #7, and point #7 of the platform of the Black Panther Party says that we want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people. That's only one point. (applause) Point #1 says we want freedom, we want power to determine the destiny of our own black communities. Point #2 says we want an end by the white racist businessman who

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robs us in our black communities. Point #3 says we want full employment for our people. Point #4 says we want decent housing fit for shelter of human beings. Point #5 deals with education and us being educated with the true decadence of this racist American society and our place in society and who we are in _____. Point #8 deals with the fact that we want all of the black brothers who are in city prisons, that Solodad, Folsom, that's Quentin, that's Chino, all the joints we want them free because they haven't had a fair trial, they've all been tried by white juries and none of them are their peers.(applause)

Now, out of this platform and program HUEY said we must start working somewhere on a practical level. So, in the San Francisco, Oakland Bay area, in October, November of 1966, cops begin to get patrolled. We didn't go out there with just a camera and a tape recorder. We went out there with a shotgun, just like his, lots of shotguns and when the cop look at the shotguns he say, "yeah that boy'll kill me if I get to jive him, and he knows it." (applause) That was dealing in a form of power organized. The brothers just wouldn't throw the gun in their hand. The brothers were trained safety with those guns because they realize and was taught, they were taught to realize that it was necessary that this gun is political and is here to defend black people in the black communities against the racist police brutality. When we patrol cops up there we come out of the cars five strong, call up

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another car, another car come up five strong, that's when a cop stops some brother on the corner and we line up, stand ten feet away, they got some little jive law saying every citizen got a right to observe a cop carrying out his duty, we observed him, but we observed him with our eyes, he got a 12 gauge shotgun, we have one. We got 3.57's, we got .45's, everything just like he got. (applause)

This was the practical program that was instituted. It's instituted to another level. The black people in their homes. Put a shotgun in your home. The cops is in your community⁷. He's not off in a white community brutalizing white people, he's down in the black community brutalizing black people so you can patrol him from your window. (applause) Joe, John, and Jim, who all live in the same block, and Harry and Edward and Baboo and the rest of them are supposed to be up tight together to know that two or three _____ when they are home and around that they checking out up and down the block, that if they see some pig I say get ready to shoot, or brutalize some brother, that they are going to come to the aid of that brother with four or five shotguns quickly. (applause) That is a practical program of dealing in black power. (applause) Organizing from block to block in every] black community across this nation. That we will defend ourselves against the racists attacks by the racists period on Point #7 we

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started. Reason we really started on Point #7 is because if you wanted to hold a meeting or hold a demonstration concerning employment, housing, decent education, etc. the man or red stripes will send down the pigs to intimidate you with his pistols. So if we are going to hold a red stripe we are going to hold a red stripe with brothers there with arms, etc. to make sure that the black people be defended and not let those cops brutalize them just because the people want to redress their grievances as it says by the man's own jive law. (applause) So, I want to bring the point to this level, that HUEY P. NEWTON is a political prisoner. The lawyers told us that if it didn't have political racial overtones HUEY P. NEWTON, they haven't got enough evidence to convict HUEY, that he could get him out tomorrow. The man wants to railroad HUEY and drop a pill on him. Black people have to support HUEY P. NEWTON. (applause) Black Power, black people in this room. Black people have to stand up behind HUEY P. NEWTON. HUEY P. NEWTON was standing up for black people. (applause) I think it's necessary to go a little farther in getting you to understand the line of demarcation between us and the enemy and who the real enemy is. We say the pig cops. That's true. We say the racists, the clan, the Birchites, the Minutemen, etc., that's true. But that power structure allows and organizes and maintains the racism that goes on in this country as a whole; that

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power structure, it's very, very important and that pig cop is the real power of the power structure. Don't let anybody take that out of your mind because that's where the real power starts. Before Watts there was only 1,300 cops. There are 6,000 cops in Los Angeles now patrolling black people, and 3½ years ago there were only 350 cops in Oakland, there are over 1,000 cops there now patrolling black people. San Francisco doubled its force from 550. All across this nation in every major metropolis they are doubling and tripling and quadtripling these police forces. We cannot sit aside, you must organize. All these black people in the world like brother CARMICHAEL talks about, the man they got us outnumbered, he got us out organized. That's where we got to get up to. (applause) This is what Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON was doing. Organized force to defend ourselves within our community. Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON was the type of a brother even when he saw a brother was causing his situation to be such in a way that if he just had a chance to say a word or to _____ ran he used to doing that, that's just a hangup, even when he knew the brother was kind of wrong, Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON would go out there and go down with the brother first, regardless of whether the brother was wrong or not. (applause) This is what I'm trying to get over. Brothers soul is his desire to free his people; is his desire to see his people organized in a fashion politically to deal with the racist white power structure.

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To deal with the man on a political level. To deal with the man in defining our situation. And when we talk about power being the ability to define phenomenon and make him act in a desired manner. We define the situation. We have to have this power to make those cops act in a desired manner; that they must withdraw from our communities, that we want our own police forces, our own courts, our own institutions. This is what's happening when you start talking about power and we must deal with it in this fashion. In the confines of every institution that exists we must try to control it. We must control them. Our people have to be educated. Our people have to understand how in fact we will get the land and the bread. We can't keep going on with long dissertations and outlines and a bunch of esoteric stuff because when you walk down the block and try to talk to one of these brothers here, talk about, you know the basic socio-economic structure, brother, and the adverse conditions that we're subjected to within the confines of our community, brother say man, later, man, I got no time for that stuff now. (applause) But when you get ready to organize brothers, when you get ready to -- brothers they say man, you know that pig out there, I say yes, he say man we going to organize with some guns, with some force, when these dudes start getting down wrong, man, we are going to defend ourselves. They say, I can dig it, baby, I can

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dig it. (applause) He becomes educated in the process. And we don't run him away because he got a process on his head. The first thing we are wondering is this here -- what kind of soul does he got and is he ready to defend his people, that's first, not whether he got a natural or not, cause a whole lot of brothers out there been fighting them pigs with processes on their head for years and years, that's very important. I don't give a damn whether you got a process or a natural, a cop's club going to hit the head because you black. (applause) In the process of organizing the brother he will decide whether he wants the natural or not. I'm not going to write the revolutionary song for the brother, he can write his own revolutionary song, that's what you've done yourselves. Before Watts, all down in Los Angeles, I lived in Los Angeles for 2½ years, all the time we didn't have nothing but processes but after awhile all of a sudden brothers popped out you see with naturals, you wrote your own revolutionary song, I didn't have to write it for you. (applause) You want to save yourselves. You want to be self and when you involve yourself on a practical level and at the real level in a situation this is where you become more educated besides the book. The book is very, very good to learn by, very good to learn by, but there's another way to learn too by doing. And we found that a lot of times along with

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the book, learning by doing is even better at that. This is very important. These brothers here have done. These brothers have dealt with it on the streets, on the block in Sacramento, California, all over the place. They've dealt with it. These brothers are organized and many more who are still up there. They know how to deal with the man in a fashion that's for real. There's no jive out there. There's none of this stuff about man he could be caught, I think I got to go take a leak now; we don't have that. (laughter) All right. I want to ask you, I want to say to you, want to explain to you the need for having our Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON set free. Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON, as far as I'm concerned, information I got, the man tried to murder Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON. The man kind of set Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON up. But the man lost on that game because he was dealing with the real brothers. Now Bro. HUEY is going to be set free. You are going to set him free. I want every black man in this house to stand up and we're all going to say "free HUEY, free HUEY or else, free HUEY or else, free HUEY or else." Wooooo - look at that organization. (applause) Brothers, I want to thank you. Black Power on a for real level. Thank you. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: That's out of sight. Going to be moving rather rapidly at this point. This is not just a black rally today. It's a black-brown rally and Bro. REIES TIJERINA

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is also going to be here. (long applause) As I understand he's en route now from Delano with Bro. CESAR CHAVEZ and let's pray that they make it. (applause) But before he arrives I think we should have an opportunity to meet his brother who is sitting up here on the stage with us. I'm not going to introduce him. I think that one of his brown brothers should do that. And I would like to call upon the stage Bro. MONTEZUMA SPADA from the Brown Beret. (applause)

MONTEZUMA SPADA: Bro. SEALE said a little while ago that the black man has been facing a war of oppression from the Gavacho, that is what we call "whitey", (applause) for the last 400 years. For the Gavacho has been in the Southwest for over 100 years and we have been facing a war of extermination for that time. (applause) Right now there is a war, a war in the streets, a war in the hills of Northern New Mexico and right here today is one of the men that are carrying on that war against the Gavacho, because he is doing us all in and he will do us all in if we don't fight him. (applause) For we have got to fight him. (applause) And we have got to fight. (wild applause) On (Spanish phrase) ----- (applause).

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be here with you and I bring greetings from all the people from New Mexico. (applause) I'm very sorry that REIES couldn't make it here this evening, I

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think he missed his plane or something, so I'm going to tell you a few words, that I'm very happy to be here and it's an honor for me to be here and most of all that the brown people and the black people are getting together united, (applause) to fight one enemy in the U.S. and the same enemy that is trying to suppress the whole world. (applause) _____ signed the treaty with the black people and that's one of the things that gave us more courage to go ahead and to go ahead a little stronger and go all the way and we want the support from the black people and I think that the black people would like to have our support and fight _____ together. (applause) I think that it's a shame that the first class citizen is treated like third class, fourth class, is treated like if we were stepsons to this country. Anything that we try to do to protect our rights is a violation of the law. We can do nothing to please the gestapo. (applause) I think they worn out the locks on the penitentiary doors and I'm getting tired of going in and out. (applause) Everytime they hear the name of Terrinas they start jumping. It is not because we are a big mass or a strong people but they know that the Terrinas are trying to lead the people on the right direction and trying to petition and discipline the people to learn how to defend their rights, even if we're going to have to spill some blood. That doesn't mean nothing to me. (applause) I served in the World

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War II war, I made it back, but if I was of draft age I think that I would rather serve five years in the penitentiary or hard labor than go to Vietnam. (applause) Well I think that's about all and I think that REIES' finally made it, so I guess he'll _____ you can hear it from him. So thank you very much. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: Viva to TIJERINA, viva to TIJERINA. (applause) All right. Like we are going to be a little late and you all warming up and what I just hear brother REIES TIJERINA just walked in. Where is he? (applause) All right, while he's getting ready _____ I am going to tell you all, like the brother ain't talking he's making revolution in the hills of New Mexico. (applause) And he just don't talk about brownness he also talks about blackness, but he also talk about redness too and that's the Indian cause it's a struggle, baby. Here he comes - REIES TIJERINA, viva REIES. (applause) You all just sit down now. I knew you all was going to warm up before the evening was over. Just go ahead and sit down. You all let me tell you something. _____ another brother and he's from the hills of Colorado and this is Bro. CORKY GONZALES. (applause) The man's in trouble. They really don't know it, he's in trouble. And I really don't care if we are going to be a little late with our program. I'm going to take my time now. Is that all right? (applause) Bro.

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REIES will speak in a few moments, but we've heard some very, very, very provocative talk, nitty gritty black talk thus far, so let's give Bro. BOBBY SEALE another hand. (applause) And I'll bet you some of you even forgot that black militant minister up here by the name of Rev. TOM KILGORE who was talking about that peace petition. (applause) So I'm going to ask the brothers to move back because at this point we are going to have a little entertainment and it's out of sight. A dance from South Africa _____, so let's give them a hand. (applause)

REIES TIJERINA: I will be fighting against time. I'm not used to speaking ten minutes, but you people are looking so brilliant, so pretty and I feel a communication between your faces and my heart and it's going to be hard to get rid of this place or have them move me out of this place. Ladies and gentlemen, I'm speaking in English. As you know Anglo in the land of the free told me not to speak my language, therefore I must agree. I must please him. My computer computes in Spanish. My soul is Spanish, but --- or rather Indio is Spanish, Indio is Spanish, my mother was an Indian and my father was a Spaniard. The Spaniard was kicked out of the continent by the Anglo and the Indian was put in a reservation and I was left alone as an orphan.

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So I stand here as an orphan against the greatest power ever built by tax payers, the United States Government. (applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to speak out of the bottom of my heart. The enemy of justice, the enemy of mankind, the ruler of _____, the white man, he is always poisoning the minds of the public and saying the Terrina is a violent man, the Terrina is advocating revolution. The Terrina is breeding poison, hatred among racists. Of course he doesn't recall that he wrote the black legend against Spain, against Communism, against Russia, against China, against DE GAULE, but he doesn't want us to criticize him. But I will because I see nothing good in him. (applause) The white man proud to say that he still recalls and remembers when one of his said "give me freedom--- give me liberty or give me death." I say that we have more right, more cultural right, more blood right, more legal right, more special right, more human right to say "give me freedom" - not _____. (applause) In all this so-called state welfare assistance and the war on poverty and all that stuff that this Roman Empire is now using to postpone time to win time, to, he's fighting against time because he's running out of time and out of friends. He no longer has any friends and tonight in these few minutes I like to tell the white man, the good one I mean, to repent and join the black, the Indian and the Spaniard or the Mexican. (applause)

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You know, that Indian called Crazy Horse one time said to his warriors, to his braves, he says "Today is a beautiful day to die," when he was going to fight that white yellow hair, what was his name? CUSTARD? (laughter) The white man, the white man has forgotten that the soul of an oppressed people, the soul of a humble people who is thirsty for justice and freedom, also feels quickness in his soul when we think about dying for our rights. There is sick feeling and _____ in our souls (applause) when we say _____. (applause) I have a very short minute so don't interrupt my minutes because there are very few. He comes around with his foolishness and lies saying "Oh! We're fighting in Vietnam for our _____ to arrive and for the free world. I have never heard that bigger, bigger, low-down rotten liar, never. Ladies and gentlemen that is the reason why we from New Mexico has chosen, has chosen the path of death rather than keep on eating and drinking that powdered milk, even dogs die when they use that dirty, low-down powdered milk and synthetic cheese. It is not the _____, it is not the bombs, it is not _____, ladies and gentlemen that wins the victory and brings peace and brings victory and brings justice to Earth. It is that peculiar, that mystic, that miraculous power of nature vested in creatures. It is _____ creatures when they have no little ones, they run from here and there, but the she dog, she will run, but after she have little

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puppies she will not run from nobody. She will not run from nobody, and let me tell you one thing, we in New Mexico have little puppies and we will not run from nobody. (applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, we cannot invest our life in the lives of the Anglo, of the enemy of mankind, no, he's too big of a liar, he's bringing destruction to the world, he's _____ everything for himself, and he's no good. So, I can no longer trust him. Of course he gets mad because I don't want to talk to him, but that's my business and until he can prove that he believes in God, then I will believe in him. But he thinks he believes in God but he's following the devil. (applause) I'm not joking, I'm not joking. I'm not joking. We have a very serious enemy and a very big and powerful enemy. We are fortunate though to have the colors on our side, to have this the land, many times on our side. I'm learning and am planning to believe that the international events and the _____ all things to be decided on color, on the basis of colors. (applause)

The whole future of the United States will be decided on color, that which he hates, that which he hates. Read your Bibles if you are Christians, you will find it in Isaiah, Chapter 14, Verse 13, that the last war on this Earth will be decided on color and race. (applause) That is the reason why the great religious leaders and organizations are no longer _____ about

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their religion, are no longer back-biting against themselves, they're trying to unite because there is no longer any difference between religions, but in colors, yes, there is difference. (applause) Brothers and sisters, hear my words. I speak for half a million Mexican-Americans which I call Indio-Spaniards, because we really are a new breed and as you know a new child is clear of sin as long as he's innocent. And those new breeds are always innocent. The new breeds are trusted by God, but the old races who have accumulated hatred and rath, power, lies, those develop _____ old races can no longer be trusted by God because they know they do not know how to handle or how to honor justice. So we feel that we are _____ Mexico, that's why we are looking _____ groups, those people that are crying out loud for justice. And even though we don't see your faces, but you're crying for justice. Those across the country we feel it through the radio, through the press and through the television. But-can all drive hard to keep your cry from reaching heaven and Earth and hell, but in unity a man like this, so-called rabble rousers and Communists _____ RAP BROWN have heard our cry across the country _____.

(applause) Oh, I don't hate the white man. No, of course not. I'm not going to be violent against him. All I'm going to do if I'm sleeping and he breaks down my door, I'm going to shoot him between the eyes and I'm going to keep on sleeping. (applause)

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Oh, he wants to make you believe that I'll go after them, no-no-no. I trap them like a spider. Come over her. I told Governor CARGO of New Mexico, I told him next time four police goes to my room to arrest me without a warrant of arrest I'm going to shoot them as dogs because they have no right. (applause) So the Governor immediately called the Chief of Police, the State Chief of Police _____ and told him "watch out, that man means what he says, so tell your men to make sure and carry some papers when they go and arrest _____. " Brothers and sisters now the world will all hear about us. Now our enemy our government knows about us because we have _____ the right to cross the country _____ through these well selected men. There's no gold in the world that we could even exchange for man, _____ of men like CARMICHAEL, RAP BROWN, CESAR CHAVEZ, CORKY GONZALES and your servant of New Mexico. What we did was to arrest two United States Forest Rangers Officers that were not in the custom of having New Mexicans arrest them. That's _____ and boy you should see the whole Pentagon. Everybody got angry. In the courthouse of New Mexico there was nothing done all these pig cops State Police ran like coyotes, even though they had good shotguns in their hands they ran. Some day I will have not ten minutes but probably half an hour or more, I will speak until your fire goes out. Thank you very much and don't forget that

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we have been selected by the destiny and the forces of nature especially in this continent to march and militate together, fight together, stick together and if we die we die with honor. God bless you. (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: Ladies and gentlemen now I want a round for KARENGA, chairman of US. (applause)

KARENGA: This has to be short and sweet, all praises due to the black man. (applause) I like to start out talking very quickly about power because everybody's concerned about power today and unless we stop being interested in making the reference rather than the reality we'll still be nowhere, still holding rallies, still making speeches and the white man will still be marching outside. So now what we want to say to black people is understand there are basically four areas in which you can get power. The first is political office, second is community organization, third is coalition and alliance and the fourth is disruption. We will discuss that more at length (laughter) In terms of political office we must understand that any politician that wants to be a politician has to meet certain criteria that black people put down, they cannot just take office and say that is sufficient in itself. That's why we can't give HATCHER any credit; that's why we can't give STOKES any credit, because they must be given time to prove themselves and there are five things

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that you have to ask them about themselves if they are going to call themselves black power politicians; first accountability, who are they accountable to. Are they accountable to us or are they accountable to the people that pay their campaign. Second, do they expose the system as corrupt and unworkable, and the white man as a liar a thief or a dog or a murderer and someone we can never work with, only work against. Can they say that? And can they mean that, or do they see this great office holding has something that all Americans should belong to? Do they see this as an end in itself? Do they see this as a great honor for Negroes finally to become Americans when everybody else is finally becoming human. (applause) The next thing they must do is play the power of disruption and bring up controversy issues like the war in Vietnam, like WALTER JENKINS in the bathroom with JOHNSON and like all them other things they're doing. These things have to be brought up to undermine the white man as a very corrupt and vile thing and unless it is done they cannot claim to be anything except puppets.

Finally, they have to ask the questions do they support black nationalism. This is the only legitimate thing and this is a very beautiful day because this day shows after so long the triumph of black nationalism that is the love of black people and the defense of those black people and that's what we are supposed

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to be here for today to talk about the defense of black people personified in the defense of Bro. HUEY NEWTON. (applause)

The second area of political power is community organization. How can we organize black people? The first thing we've got to do is accept the concepts of operational unity. That is to say we've got to stop putting labels on people, talking about bourgeoisie this and grass root that, a nigger's a nigger in front of white people, does not matter. (applause) So some niggers get killed faster, some niggers have _____ money and some niggers get killed in court while others get killed in the street; it's the same thing and black people got to realize that. We are very happy to say that we have been promoting operational unity since 1966 when we had the first black power rally out at Will Rodgers Park. We have said then that black people must form a united front for black people and that front should be for everybody whether it's Uncle Tom preacher, Uncle Tom mailman or a nigger at random they should all sit down and talk about their future. (applause) So then at that time we organized what was called the Black Congress and more black people should have come and should keep coming to Black Congress. And the next Congress for some of you all don't know about it NAACP come, the Urban League come, Black Nationalists come, everybody comes and has something to say and

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should say something because I always like to talk, this is a forum for them. But we must do more than that because the white man got his thing together and he knows the name of the game and it's kill, that's what he's doing to us. (laughter) So then we talk about getting the Black United Front and Black Congresses all over the country and unless black people get in order where they can all talk and stop being scared of each other, stop making scare phrases, we got to kill as many, don't be in no troop baby, if you going to kill somebody find out how much it costs. Find out how it can be done and then set about the work of the Lord. (applause) But everybody has to be organized. Can't just be anything, that's why we throw out classes. Ain't but one class, the class of the dispossessed, the class of _____ and we have got to remember that and get rid of those bourgeois grass root terminology. You got to talk about black people cause that's what we all are regardless of how much money we make sometime. We are all black. The third and I'm being brief on that is the area of coalitions and alliance. With whom can we make coalitions and whom can we make alliances. Let's talk about coalitions as a temporary arrangement. We can make a coalition with anybody including the white boy and the same _____ that he got in it something that he wants to get out of it and we do too. Just like for example this question of peace and war. Let the white people run out there and stop blood

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and stop niggers from going overseas. Let the white man set out there and picket around Century Plaza and let them get beat so they will start moving against the police. We'll send ourselves out there, let us organize our own black ghettos and make a coalition with white people so that white people can add some more internal contradictions in this society and tear it apart. Let them tear it apart as well as us. (applause) And don't get so _____ that everytime you see a black man in a relationship with a white man you think he's being used cause you ain't got no sense. You think that everybody can use you and if a Jew walking down the street and he see a Jew talking to a nigger he say "oooh, another child." That's what a Jew would say. Brother walking down the street and a Jew comes in there and he says "wow man, that man being used." That's from different points of view but if we got our _____ together nobody can use us--- nobody can use us. (applause) Let's talk about how to get white people fighting each other, that's what we got to talk about. Let them shoot each other, let them march and picket and confront each other and after it's all finished we will have a better world. (applause) That's what TIJERINA called a coalition of permanent relation, is called an alliance. That alliance with brothers like TIJERINA and the Brown Beret and all people of color that are doing something. Let us support all people of color everywhere, let the white man call them Communists, let the

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white man call them anything they want, but let's talk about them as people of color. (applause) You can't talk about how beautiful this thing is and how some people never thought it would come about, but brothers from Mexicans could come up here and support us. How could we ever do that before, but this is a new day and I am glad I lived to see it. (applause) Understand that also we must be glad when the Vietnamese go into their thing. Can you see how beautiful it was last week and all this week when they, check this out, wait a minute, wait a minute. How this man marched in talking about he so bad and this is a lesson to these niggers that are scared of white people. Here's a man that got an embassy in Vietnam, can you dig this _____ got an embassy in Vietnam and the Vietnamese walked in there, sat at the Ambassador's desk, sent a memo to WESTMORELAND and told him to get out and the _____ couldn't do a thing. (applause) So let us make alliances with all the people of color. Ain't no Communists. _____ told us that the question of the 20th Century is a question of the color line. There ain't no way out big interest. All people that have money got white faces. The people that own corporations have white faces, the people that control China _____ have white faces and the people that are killing off got white faces.

Finally, the last power, is the power of disruption. That's in terms of riots if you want it; be scared enough to call

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it that, revolts or revolutions, whatever you feel like calling it. But understand you got to learn if you going to be political how to be deceptive. So one thing, say 50 other things, and still don't do what you said you were going to do. (laughter) That's why you never hear us, even though you might feel it, you never hear us say, "We going to get this man, we going to get 'em, bla bla bla bla, like this." We always say, "Yeah, we're against violence, right, uh huh, right," but after sundown anything might happen. (laughter) And learn how to stop making statements and start building troops. Learn how to get people organized and disciplined like the brother you see around here. Don't just sit around and make scare phrases. You're a paper tiger like the white man is. The white man's a paper tiger, he burns and he's a scare crow and you can put a match to him if you care, but, he got a thing going and unless you get a thing that's more organized than his, you'll still be holding rallies 20 years from now and you won't have done anything. (applause)

So, in conclusion I'd like to say thanks everybody for coming and supporting Bro. HUEY P. NEWTON because as we know he is a symbolic figure. What happened to him will happen to all black people and don't you forget that and don't you feel that you are escaping from anything. And I'd like to end with a poem we always have by LEROY JONES and it's: "After we've just done

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our thing and got this man off our back, _____ off our back, his slimy hands out of our pocket and his rope from around our neck, we've won. Can you dig it? Niggers coming out in the street and we doing what we always did, dance in the street and _____, but we call everybody to get serious and then the microphone comes out and says this -- Walk through life beautiful more than anything, stand in sunlight. Walk through life, love all the things that make you strong. Be anything for all the people of Earth. You have brothers you love each other. Change up and look at the world now man as ours. Take it slow you got a long time and a long way to go, but then we have each other and the world. Don't be sorry. Walk on out through sunlight _____ and know. Can you dig it? We on the go for love." (applause)

WALTER BREMOND: I like to bring up on the stage again just for a very few moments but not for entertainment, something very serious, Bro. OSCAR BROWN.

OSCAR BROWN: I warn Bro. WALTER I been up here so much he'll get sick of me, but they figure I have a gift for gab and they wanted me to raise the collection. The collection is to go to the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON. HUEY P. NEWTON is a political prisoner. A prisoner of a war that has, that has been launched against black people. In order that he be defended a sacrifice must be made. It's not enough just to cheer and applaud the militant statement. You have to dig down at this point and

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come up with the _____ to wage a defense. Come up with a _____ to publicize this case throughout the world in order that the maximum number of people will be able to come to the defense of HUEY NEWTON. The ushers are going to pass among you now with buckets. We want you to make a sacrifice to give not just what it is easy to give but that which is a sacrifice because there are great ---- there _____ a great sacrifice ahead of us and we might as well get into the motion. There are brothers here who have spoken of self defense and it is around that issue that we defend HUEY P. NEWTON. There's also the issue of self expression that many of the brothers have touched on. Expressing ourselves politically. Nothing is possible unless it is politically possible. Politics is the art of persuasion. In order to get to masses of people that you may persuade them in your spirit, you must find ways and means of communicating with them. And that costs money. In order to confront the legal trickery that is going to be raised against you, you need the best legal advice and that costs money.

X The brother asked me to say something, I'm a little _____ that might inspire you to give a little more. I don't think you need that kind of inspiration. But perhaps it would inspire you if you read in the press over the weekend that President JOHNSON says that he expects a long hot summer. He expects a bad summer. In fact he says he expects several bad

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summers. He didn't say he was doing anything at all to prevent them. Instead he sent CYRUS VANCE about to advise us all that they are expanding the police departments of every major city in the United States and opening up more jails. But it is -- President JOHNSON seems intent on doing. He's using the black revolution. He's using our demonstrations, our efforts to be free, as an excuse to develop a police state that will silence all opposition to racism. (applause) Don't applaud. Will you please put your hands in your pockets or your purse until you've made a bigger contribution than what you planned on when you came in. When LYNDON JOHNSON wants to process the war in Vietnam he, he knows damn well how to do it. He goes on television, he goes into the newspapers, he goes into the magazines and every possible article is written. Every possible story is told in order to try to justify in the minds of the people the war in Vietnam. If the administration is serious about fighting a war on poverty they would do it the same way but they don't because they're not serious. We are involved in fighting a war on racism. We got to do it the way it's done in other sections of the world. We have got to make our war against racism politically possible. That means we've got to be able to reach the brother who is not here and tell our story to the brother who is not here. We have got to be able to unite our people. In order to unite our people we've got to talk to them. Racism among us has us feeling ashamed of ourselves and

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afraid of each other. _____ we have got to eradicate that fear. We have to make our freedom politically possible. We have to free our own minds and hearts of the shackles in which they have been held through these many years. And that requires communication. We hope therefore that you have given generously, that you are giving generously in order that the story of HUEY P. NEWTON may be told, maybe put in perspective. Then there's the same people say well all I know is what I read in the papers. If all that the mass of white people know about black people is what they read in the paper they are indeed ignorant. (applause) We must demand, we must find ways and means of communicating with each other. JAMES BROWN just bought a radio station. That brother knows what's happening. Brother JAMES BROWN believes in taking care of business and he knows he has to communicate in order to get the masses with his program. And that's what we must do if we want to get it with our program. If our program is freedom then we must process freedom politically. So that the next time we have this rally every corner of this Sports Arena is filled. (applause)

I think that the collection now is over, I want to thank you very much for this opportunity to unite with you. I want to be a part of the growing unity that is going to unite all colored people everywhere in this war against racism. Thank you very much. (applause)

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WALTER BREMOND: Next man on the program, like the other brothers, really doesn't need an introduction. _____ that brother JAMES FOREMAN talked about. It's my pleasure to introduce to you the minister of justice for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, the chairman of SNCC, Bro. RAP BROWN. (applause)

RAP BROWN: Solid brother. They tell me that we running overtime but I figure if they can give the Los Angeles Lakers overtime, and the Los Angeles Lakers ain't never burned nothing but cigarettes, they can give us overtime, we burned Watts. (applause)

I want to raise the question with black people here tonight. A question that's relevant to all black people and oppressed people across the world. The question is what happens when there is no redress of grievance. See, black people in America have never had a machinery that spoke adequately for the redress of grievances and to the lack of redress of grievances in this country. In other words justice has never been a reality for black people in this country. You've got to begin to look at America and its oppressor's nature and then you begin to understand the revolutionary struggle that oppressed people are engaged in throughout the world. The revolution that this country is facing will be a revolution of dispossessed people. That means

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Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, blacks, American-Indians and any dispossessed class in this country. (applause) Our _____ brother once eulogized Detroit. Perhaps it would be the eulogy for America. He says there was a town called _____ town, now it ain't no town. He said they used to call it Detroit, now they call it "destroyed." (laughter) America will fit in this same situation if she doesn't begin to address herself to the problems of black people in this country. (applause) Black people must begin to understand that if you don't control, everything that you don't control becomes a weapon against you. The educational system today is a weapon against black people. It expounds and teaches white nationalism. (applause) An example of white nationalism that's taught in the educational system of America which perputates this society is that COLUMBUS discovered America, a continent full of people. How can you discover a continent full of people. It tells you further that anything white in this country, anything white across the world is good. Everything black is bad. Black cows don't give good milk, black hens don't lay eggs. You wear black to funerals and white to weddings. Angel food cake is white, devils food cake is black. Even band-aid plastic strips flesh color are pink. (applause) But we go for it. We go for it because we're chumps. We're chumps of the highest order. HUEY P. NEWTON is now confined in jail because of our lack of action. We accuse ourselves of being revolutionaries.

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How many white cops have died since HUEY P. NEWTON has been in jail? ~~None~~. He killed the last hunkie that died from a bullet from a black gun. (applause) The only thing that HUEY NEWTON is guilty of, perhaps, is that he didn't tell me he was going down on the hunkies that day. That's the only thing, (laughter) that's the only thing. But HUEY P. NEWTON's freedom depends upon what black people do. Nobody else. You see freedom is not a _____ commodity, you are born free. You must exercise your right to be free. The man cannot give you freedom. He can't pass it out. You can't run around _____ talking about we waiting to be free. You must begin to become free. Begin to exercise that right. There is no such thing as a second class citizen. You are either free or you are slave. Freedom is absolute. There is no in between. You have to stop thinking along those lines. (applause) To tell me that you are a second class citizen is like telling me that you will never get pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're not. You're either lying or you're telling the truth. These are absolutes. Freedom is an absolutism. Black people if they're going to be free must begin to seize power. _____ says power comes from the barrel of a gun. (applause) You better get your gun brother. I don't care if it ain't nothing but a bebe gun with poisoned bebes. (laughter) America has shown us that she does not respect anything but counter force. Plainfield,

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New Jersey, one of the most successful examples of a rebellion this year was successful because the brothers had only recently stole some 46 automatic weapons, each one that would shoot 2000 times and throw bricks for a half hour. And the police refused to go down there and warned them shoot up Plainfield so they signed an armistice with the brothers and they say, well gee, you let us go look for the weapons so we can look good on the news. The brothers say "groovy" cause they hid the weapons. The National Guard went down there and begin to kick down doors and destroy property and the word went out "you kick down one more door we going to shoot your leg off." (laughter) They left playing field, that's counter force, the brothers were armed. America does not love China, she respects China. (applause) Force. America runs the game on _____ and tells you that you are being violent. This is the most violent country that has ever been conceived. LYNDON JOHNSON is a two-gun outlaw from Texas. (applause) He believes in the showdown concept. That's what's going on in Vietnam. That's what's going on in this country today. That's why white folks are arming themselves. JOHNSON has told them "You got to be the fastest draw." But my advice and my news for the Minutemen is if you can't fight but a minute, don't come to my community. (laughter) You've got to arm yourself. That's the basic right. You can't talk about

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revolution if you don't have anything to fight with. You're caught up in a revolution era whether you approve of it or not. Black people for years have equated progress with concessions. We have made no progress from slavery. We are still slaves in this country. They took the chains off our feet and put it on our minds. (applause) There is no political structure in this country that's relevant to black people. The only politics we can be concerned with is the politics of revolution. (applause) There is no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. What's the difference between GOLDWATER and JOHNSON? Yet black people run around the country talking about their Democrats and the Democrats have them thoroughly fooled because they tell them "We for the good of colored folks, but it ain't our fault it's the Dixiecrats;" there is no such animal as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between GEORGE WALLACE and President JOHNSON is that one of them's wife has got cancer. Nothing else. (laughter and applause) Two of the most potentially dangerous Negroes in this country are Democrats, HATCHER and STOKES. Now understand this. Their allegiance is not to the black community. It's to the Democratic Party whether by "lynch em" JOHNSON or racist, red neck, _____ honky from Texas. (applause) This is the same game that was run on the Jews in Germany. It was not the Germans who began to move Jews, it was

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other Jews. When JOHNSON tells STOKES to move out the agitators and the trouble makers, what you think he going to do? He's going to move them. When he tells STOKES to move out the trouble makers, he's going to move them. This is why black people must quit dividing themselves and talking about classes. We can ill afford the luxury of class structures in our community. There is no such thing as a black middle class. You don't believe it go to Detroit and ask the brothers who thought they were in the middle class. The cops whip middle class here with middle class sticks. No difference. (applause) If you think that you can divide yourselves into classes then you are lost already, because first of all they got to remove the troublemakers. Then they going to remove the athletes because they talking about boycotting the Olympics. And the entertainers going to sit back say "Well it ain't us", but ERTHA KITT got them so far in even they ain't going to get out of it, (applause) and it becomes a matter of time before they eliminate everybody. The resistance is weakened. Everytime they take off a different stratification of black people we cannot afford for HUEY NEWTON to sit in jail. We cannot afford for any black person to be political prisoners _____ in this country. This is our country. It was built on our backs by our labor. We've built the country up, we'll burn it down if they don't hurry up and come around. (applause) People are running around here scared of black power.

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What you going to do when you need black power. That's the thing you got to be talking about. That's what's going to defend you. We cannot run around and let the white man dictate and tell you who you should follow. The movement at this point seems to be a leaderless movement. We must begin to expouse an ideology that covers everybody in their black community. The brothers know that they are fighting, they have expressed the will to fight, but they only know they are supposed to fight the policeman. You see I saw a sign once that said "I wonder what happened to LEE HARVEY OSWALD now that we really need him?" (laughter) See, you're chumps. You believe the sign. ROCKEFELLER probably put that sign up. (laughter) You see, it's not only JOHNSON. It's not only those people in Washington. ROCKEFELLER has investments in S. Africa. These are the enemies. (applause) You must begin to broaden your concepts. You got to get beyond the racist pig cop, you see, because he is a tool of the man who really controls this system. We not only talking about destroying a power structure, we talking about ruination of a system. (applause) Black people cannot afford to become Capitalists. The military industrial complex that old _____ EISENHOWER even had sense enough to know about is real. It's very real. The military industrial complex means that over 70% of the people employed in this country has some dealings

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to do with the military. In other words war is profitable in this country. We must fight war to keep the economy up. This is why we are in the war in Vietnam. It's not because we're trying to stop Communist aggression, that's the biggest lie ever told. If we was so interested in stopping Communist aggression why has America never moved to stop Communist aggression in white community countries with the use of napalm? They always use Radio Free Europe _____. (applause) Black people in this country face extermination. That's it, brother. You face extermination daily. We are facing genocide on about four different levels. The war is active genocide. It's no accident that 45% of the casualties in Vietnam are black. That's no accident. The courts of America, any black man who faces a court in America can expect a maximum sentence and a maximum fine.

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RAPP BROWN: Well then you said we were making progress.

^{Harold}
Very good MARSHALL is a nigger and JAMES EASTLAND told him he was a nigger. (applause) Herefore good MARSHALL supposedly go on before the high extension of the country, was subjected to a type of hustling by a cracker whose old man was a lynchman of black people. In other words, what EASTLAND was telling IRVIN MARSHALL is that you the top nigger in the country but you still a nigger to me. (applause)

That's not progress. (applause)

They gave you an astronaut. I said they were going to lose the nigger in space, but they didn't let him get that high. (applause)

What you say we makin' progress. That's not progress. Progress is determined by the amount of power you possess in wheels.

See brothers, we must begin to prepare ourselves mentally and physically, for the battle is yet to come -- the battle is not descended down upon black people like it will in the next few years.

The concentration camps are real, and if you don't believe America is capable of sending niggers to concentration camps, or people of color to concentration camps, ask the Japanese American, ask the Indians. (applause)

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They don't need you any more. You are commodity in this country. A surplus. America got a surplus of niggers. (applause)

RAMSEY CLARK, Attorney General, got on T. V. a few months ago and said within the next 20 years, the entire population of this country will be a leisure class, with the exception of 20 percent of that population because of automation and sovereignation. And then you examine to see who they're training for automated and sovereigned jobs. They ain't training you, double ol' soul. (appluase) They're training white people.

We were brought here to do work. There is no more work to do. They will exterminate you. Our history proves she is capable of extermination of people of color. She dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and not in Germany and not because she didn't have the bombs, but because the Japanese were yella'. (applause)

You must begin to understand that your fight is a fight of survival. People of color must be concerned. We must become allies. These are our allies: Mexican Americans. Puerto Ricans. American Indians. These are the people who we align with. (applause)

Yes brother, America has given us an ultimatum. She say you live or die. We say freedom or death. Fuck it. Black power, brother. (applause)

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The Prime Minister for the Black Panther Party of Self-Defense..... I really don't need to call his name.... Brother STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Black power. (applause)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL: Brothers and sisters. Good evening. They tell us they gonna' put us out at seven o'clock, but I'm a talk pass seven o'clock tonight. (applause) I'm a do had 'cause we have to talk to each other. Got to do that, huh. Before we do, I just want to introduce some people....uh... Atlanta Communications Director Miss ETHEL MINER. (applause) A bad brother from Boston who was arrested for inciting to riot, when the little thing went down in Roxbury, just returned from across the waters, and incidentally, we are always gonna go where we wanna go, talk to whom we wanna talk to, go to what country we want to talk to....no honkie gonna tell us where to go, KEYTOE EDWARDS. (applause) As far as we're concerned, we born free. We go to China, we go to Cuba, we go to Africa. We'll go wherever we want to go and if the honkie don't like it, he can go to hell. He can go to hell. He can go to hell. (applause) Can't nobody tell you where to go, who to see, and who you talk to. You got to know so you can understand what this honkie is puttin' down. We have got to go across the waters to talk to our brothers. (applause) To our brothers. (applause)

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Now then today we want to talk about one thing-- survival. That's all. How is this beautiful race of people, black people, gonna survive Babylon. That's all we have to talk about. Survival transcends economics. It transcends politics. It transcends the poverty program. We are talking about survival. About our people. Black people all over the world. That's all we are talking about. Survival. Survival. Now you have to understand survival because I have to repeat some of the things Brother RAP said.

Is it possible for the honkies to commit genocide against black people. Now if you don't think it's possible, check out the history of this country. In order for this country to be born, they committed genocide against the red man. They can and will do it. They can and will do it. Not only have they committed genocide against the Indian, but what they have done is they romanticize that genocide. That's what they do when they put that cowboy and Indian junk on television for you to flap. That is nothing but romanticizing the genocide of a race of people. They are so unaware of their superiority complex, they do not know what they are doing. The fight is gonna be a fight of color. Nothing else. Nothing else. (applause) It is going to be a fight of color because wherever the honkie goes, he rules. Whether the majority or the minority, he rules wherever he goes.

He came to this country. The Indians showed him how to prepare corn. The Indians showed em how to hunt. After the Indian

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showed em that, after the first Thanksgiving, he wiped them out. (applause)

He went to Mexico. He went to South America. He found the Aztec Indians. They said to him this is our silver. This is our gold. We are relig-- we are a religious people. We build symbols, monuments. We make little jewelry. He took the jewelry and he wiped them out. He wiped them out. (applause)

He went to Africa. He saw the greatest people in the world alive. They thought he was a human being. They said come. This is our gold. This is our way of life. We dance, we sing, we get high. They showed him the gold. He took the gold. He enslaved us and he rules Africa today. Today. (applause) Today. Go get em.

No need to get excited today, baby, we gonna get em. We gonna get em. No need to get excited. We gonna get em. As sure as I'm standing here, black people gonna survive this country. We ain't got to worry. We just organize.

He went to China. The Chinese had gun powder. They said we use this for fire works. For our festivities. He took it. Make it a gun and enslaved the Chinese. Where has he gone that he has not enslaved people. Where has he gone. I ask you tell me one place that honkie has gone where he has acted as a human being. Not one place on this earth. (applause)

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So that today when we talk about our survival, we do not talk about this country. Which is America. Which is white people. We talk about our people. Nothing else. Our people. That's all we care about. Our poeple. If this country burns down to the ground, we rejoice and we dance. We care about our people. Our people. (applause) Nothing else. Our people. Our people. (applause)

In organizing our concept this year, there are three. There are three slogans that we need to take with us. Number one is that we must develop consciously an undying love for our people. Undying love for our people. That means that our slogan becomes first. Our people. Then and only then, me and you. Our people come first. First. You must understand the concept of love for one's people because we're talking about HUEY P. NEWTON, who personifies love for his people. (applause)

Our second slogan--every Negro is a potential black man. Let's work with our people and bring them home. Bring them home. (applause) Bring them home. (continuing applause) Why do we say every Negro is a potential black man. Because 400 years ago, when that honkie stole us and brought us here, we were African or black people. Today we are Negroes. It took us 400 years to make us Negroes and we've been black for four thousand years. Four thousand years. Four thousand years.

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To be a Negro means that you begin with your history 400 years ago and your history is defined by the honkie to be an African or a black man is to be a man who rules in his own land. We are black Africans. Black Africans. (applause) We must understand that concept fully. A lot of our peoples' minds are messed up. We will not fight with our people. We will sit down. We will talk. We will take time. We will use love and brotherhood and bring them home. Our major enemy is the honkie. That's where our energies go. Go. Go. Go. (applause)

You cannot fight inside the black community and fight them at the same time. Also. If every Negro is a potential ally, you never alienate your ally. Everybody in our community comes organized from the bourgeoisie to the man in the street. Everybody is gonna be organized because they are black. Black. (applause) If you understand that concept, it means that when you sit down with one of your brothers, and their minds have been messed up by the honkies. And they start arguing when you say the word black. Don't get excited. If you do, the honkie has won. Don't get excited. Sit down. Take time with your brother. Use the example if I have got a brother and a white man came into my family and turned that brother against me, if I didn't have enough strength to bring my brother home, the honkie was stronger than I am. They are not stronger than we

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are. We will dominate our people. Bring them home. Bring them home. Bring them home. Bring them home. (applause) That means that when we move against our people, we do not use force. We do not use force against our people. We use love, brotherhood, unity, and patience, and we take time. (applause) And we take time. (continuing applause)

The third concept that we talk about is that for black people, the question of community is not a question of geography, it is simply a question of color. Understand that? That means that if you live in Watts. If you live in Detroit, Southside Chicago, Washington, D. C. You are the same people belonging to the same community cause you are black. You are of African descent. You are an African people. Wherever you are. Wherever you are. (applause) We must begin to understand that concept. Because if we understand that concept, we break down the geographical barriers and we become part of black people in Africa, in Cuba, in Brazil, in Guatemala, in Santa Domingo, in the West Indies, in the United States, in Nova Scotia. We are one people nine hundred million strong. That's us. That's us. (applause) That's us.

Those are the three concepts we have to move with. Let me repeat them. One. Undying love for our people. First our people. Then and only then, you and me. Everything goes to our people. Everything including our life goes to our people. Our people. Our people. (applause) You've got to

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understand that that does not mean this country. Because this country has been and always will be against our people. So to help this country is to be against yourself. We must be for our people. Our people.

Secondly. Every Negro is a potential black man. Let's work with our people and bring them home. Understand that.

We need the people who we call the bourgeoisie. They have technical skills that we can use. Their minds are messed up. They're giving those technical skills to the honkies. Let's bring them home and let them give it to us. We must open up the channels for that. Let's bring our people home. (applause) Let's bring our people home. (continuing applause)

Thirdly. The question of community for black people is not a question of geography. It is a question of color. We do the same dances that people in Watts do yo do in New York. The Boogaloo gets transplanted so fast that without television, without radio, without any of their communications' systems, we do the same dances. Not only here, but in Africa. But in Africa. (applause)

Now then we want to talk about survival in a practical context. The United States works in the three M's. First the missionaries. Then the money. Then the Marines. That's its pattern all over the world. We have sent the missionaries out of our community. The money is going out because our brothers in Viet Nam is taking it and the Koreans gettin' ready to get

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it on again. So the money's going. Next comes the Marines. If we are going to survive as a people and we must survive if for no other reason than for what our ancestors has been through with this honkie. We have got to organize. Got to organize. That means that the question of the vote for black people be conked as a relevent issue unless to use it as a vehicle for organizing black people. Nothing else. Nothing else.

It is foolish to assume that the vote is gonna do anything for black people. It is always been irrelevant to our lives. We have survived without it. We survived in the deep south without the vote. In-- two years ago when JULIAN BOND was elected in Georgia, they took him out for two years. His people are still surviving. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL is outside of Harlem. Our people are still surviving. The vote is irrelevant. It's a trick-back the honkies put down on us. It don't mean a thing to black people. We can survive without it. We can survive without it. (applause)

That means that if we go into the vote, we use it only as a political vehicle for bringing more of our people together. That is all. We do not depend upon the vote. Do not depend upon the vote.

Secondly. The Poverty Program. We have to understand the concept of the Poverty Program and what it has done. The Poverty Program has been for one purpose and one purpose only.

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Stop the rebellion. Stop the rebellion. And they stopped the rebellion by dividing the black community. That is been their tactic and it has worked. It has worked.

Take a look at Watts. It was the first community be swamped with the Poverty Program and today we are fighting each other over the crumbs that we cannot even get together. They have succeeded in dividing us. And how have they done that.

The most instinctive revolutionary cadre of people in any race, except theirs today, is the youth. The youth will fight at the drop of a hat in any race. (applause) In any race. In any race. (continuing applause) The youth have always been the warriors. Except for their race where they becomin' hippies. But thas' good. We will develop the warriors. Let them develop the hippies. We'll get em. We'll get em. (applause)

They have given money to the youth to keep them quiet. And while they have done that, they have split the family which they talk about so much. How would you feel if you were a father, couldn't get a job and you son was coming home with \$120.00 a week in his pocket for doing nothing. For doing nothing. What do you think they have done to our families but divide em on that simple concept of the Poverty Program. If they were concerned about us, they would see to it that our fathers got the job, because they are the bread winners of the family. (applause) They are the bread winners

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or the family. (continuing applause)

We knock out the vote. We knock out the Poverty Program. Only as an organizing vehicle for our people can it be used. It does not, will not, and cannot solve our problems. We use it only as an organizing vehicle.

Thirdly. The question of education. Now Brother RAP ran it down very nicely. I'll just add to it. Education don't help us in this country. It cripples us. That is a fact. In our communities. Our communities are filled with hustlers, pimps, dope addicts, prostitutes, number men, racketeers, preachers, teachers, maids, porters, and some factory workers. Not one black school in the country has a curriculum here to teach us how to be a good pimp, good hustler, good preacher, good teacher, good anything. (applause) Not one. (applause) Not one. (continuing applause)

If the education is to teach us how to live in our community, then it must do one of two things: Prepare us to live in that community by teaching us how to be good prostitutes, good maids, good preachers, or by teaching us how to change our community so we can live like human beings. (applause)

Our school system does neither. And when our young people who are very intelligent drop out of school cause they recognize the game the honkie is running on em, they have us

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fighting them saying get back in school, get back to work.
White nationalism?

If we want our children to go, we have to educate them. (applause) We have to educate them. We have to educated them. (continuing applause) Nobody else.

There is no race in history that gives their young to another race to educate. No race at all. No race at all. We are the only race that allow our enemy to educate our youth against us. We must educate our people. We must educate our people. In order to educate our people, it means that we must take over the schools. Nothing less. Take them over. By any means necessary. But we start by organizing our people. We start by organizing our students into black student unions. We break up the Parent Teachers Association because they're dominated by the teachers and by the union and those teacher unions don't speak to us. We form Parent Associations with parents alone and with African American teachers. We form African American Teachers Association. We bring the three groups together and we take the school by any means necessary. (applause) And we must understand that concept means that we have to get out and organize our people. We must organize our people. Now let us talk a little about the concept of a black united us. It is crystal clear that

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no matter what happens in the coming summer of this country, it is going to be black against white. If I go out today and I throw a brick, when they come down, anybody who's black is in trouble. Is in trouble. Not only that, the very fact that they give us money depends upon us being black. The brothers in the middle class may yell when Brother RAP BROWN yells burn the country down. But every time RAP yells burn the country down, they get five million dollars in Poverty Program. That is a fact. That is a fact. (applause) They need RAP BROWN and we need them. We are one people. An African people. We must get rid of these divisions in our community. We must come together for the survival of the greatest race on earth. . African people. African people. African people. (applause)

Now we want to go into talking about alliances and coalition and why it is that the only people we can, in fact, ally ourselves with are the Mexican American the red man and the Puerto Ricans. We're gonna go into it now.

I do not deny the fact that there are poor people in this country who incidentally happen to be white. I do not deny that fact. There are a lot of poor white people in this country. But you are not just fighting money for----well---let me do it another way.

There are two types of oppression. There is exploitation and there is colonization. Exploitation deals

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with when you exploit somebody from your own race.

Colonization is when you exploit somebody from another race and colonization is more brutal than exploitation because when white people exploit other poor white people they do not dehumanize them. But when white people colonize people of other races, they dehumanize them. They strip them of their culture, their language, their history, their society, their values, (applause) There's a big difference (applause) There is a big difference. (applause) A big difference (continuing applause) There is a big difference between exploitation and colonization. Poor white people in this country who are exploited can always hope to reach the top. People who are colonized can never hope to reach the top until they overthrow their oppressor. (applause) Their oppressor. (continuing applause)

There is another reason. White people who are poor have the same values as LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON. The same institution and the same culture. We are a different people with different languages, different cultures, different history, different way of life. That is a fact.

We gonna keep on talkin'. They can't get us off. (applause) If everybody would just keep their seats we can get it together. We can get it together. We don't react to him. Let's carry on our program. (applause)

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Now then we have to understand the concept of exploitation verses colonization because what is happened is that people of color around the world have been colonized and we also have been colonized inside this country. So our natural aliences is with people who have been colonized. Brother TIJERINA is colonized cause he can't say, "eldeberde todo revolucionario es hacer de revelucion." (applause) Yeah, Yeah, Yeah. (continuing applause)

His language has been taken from him. His culture has been striped from him. And it has been done consciously as it has been to us. But our people have always resisted. That's what we never understand. You can find a honkie from France, from Italy, from Poland, from Scandinavia. They come over here. In two generations they speak English perfectly. Our people refuse to speak it perfectly. We know it's not our language. We have resisted. (applause) We have resisted. (applause)

We must begin to understand the form of resistance in our community so we can grapple for the ideology we need for our survival. That means all other ideologies is irrelevant.

Now let us speak about dehumanizing, then Communism, and Socialism. We have been so dehumanized that we cannot even hate our enemy. That is to say that if we were sitting

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in a room. A honkie kicked in the door. Whipped our wife. Raped our daughter. Beat us up. Walked out. We would sit there and say we don't hate you. Just like a dog. If a man kicks em, spits on em, don't feed em, starves em, put em out in the rain. When he snaps his finger the dog comes running back. We are not dogs. We are human beings with emotions. (applause) With emotions. With emotions. (continuing applause)

And, therefore, everything in dis world there is an opposite. For hot there is cold. For joy there is sadness. For love there is hate. If you don't have hate, you don't know when you were in love. You move from one pole to the other and we are afraid to say, "Yes, God dammit! We hate you for what you did to our people. To our people. To our people." (applause)

We are afraid to express hatred. Yet, in this country is a fact that white people hate us more than we hate them. And we haven't done a damn thing to um. A damn thing to um. (applause)

We have been so dehumanized we cannot recognize our humanity and that's what this fight is all about. It is not a question of poor housing, poor jobs, unemployment, an all that junk they run down. It is a question of our humanity. They're whole lot of poor white people in this country. They ain't rebelled yet. We are rebelling. It is a question of

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humanity. We are fighting for our humanity. Our humanity. That's what we're fighting for. And we are fighting against the destroyer of humanity in the world today. White western countries. They have destroyed humanity wherever they have gone. We are fighting for our humanity. Not for money. Not for jobs. Our humanity. That's very, very important. Very important.

Now let us talk about Communism and Socialism. You ready for me brother? Communism and Socialism is not an ideology suited for black people. I'm a tell you why. Communism and Socialism deals with the question of exploitation of people in the same race. We are dealing with the problem of racism which transcends exploitation. We need an ideology to talks to racism. Communism does not. It does not. Communism does not because for us if you rich, if you poor, you still black. You still black. Even if I were exploiting every black man in here today, thru' imperialistic structure. When I walked outside to face the honkie cops, he hit me up side the head cause I'm black. We need an ideology for us that deals with the problem of racism which is above exploitation.

I-Secondly--We donot have that many class structures in the society among us. Communism and Socialism speaks to classes. We are talking about races of people. There is a difference. That means to say that we read Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung. We can read Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung. Because he

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has a lot of good things to say. Chi-minh and MAO Tse-sung is a great Chinese leader. The greatest Chinese leader there is. But we need African leaders. That's who we must follow. African leaders. We are Africans. We are Africans. We are not Chinese. The Chinese don't go around and bow down to an African. They bow down to someone in their own image. We have to find people in our own image who we will bow down to. African leaders. African ideology. Straight down the middle. Straight down the middle. We're comin straight from a black thing. No right, left, -- none of that junk, straight up black. That's where we're comin from.

Now let us move on. It is a fact see a lot a people might of got upset when Brother TIJERINA said that the man 'daddy' is the devil but the man's got to be the devil. Read your Bible. You see what they're doing. The honkies are stealing our hearts in South Africa to put it into their hearts and that's not enough. When they finish do that, they bring that honkie witch doctor and put him on television across the nation so we should bow down to him after he's taken the heart of our brother. The Bible says 'beware, the devil will come to you and way to you that he can restore life after death.'

(applause)

We must begin to understand our concept. We are bounded to people of color wherever they are. We have been strewn across the western hemisphere by the white man. Look

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at us. We don't know who we are. Where we came from. Are we Goosa (phonetic), are we Zoolu (phonetic), are we Malicali (phonetic), are we Baila (phonetic), are we Zuboo (phonetic), where have our ancestors come from. Where have our ancestors come from. Where have they come from. It is a question of fighting to regain our humanity, our culture, our history, and our particular way of life which is different from theirs. We are talking about humanity. Not money. Not dream power. That's their game. Money has never been something that interested us. We survive with or without it. With or without it.

Now then it is important to understand how the honkie are moving to organize. When they brought that honkie from South Africa, they tried to give South Africa a respectable image. So respectable an image that the United States voted to let South Africa come into the Olympics. And if any black athlete from this country goes to that Olympic, that nigger ought to stay there. Stay there. (applause) Stay there. Stay there. Stay there. Stay there. (continuing applause)

It is no longer a question of how we are treated in this country. It is a question of our flesh is our flesh, and blood of our blood is treated in South Africa, in Mosambee (phonetic), in Zimbwadee (phonetic), in Portuguese Guinea, Everywhere on this earth they control us. We are like

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a race of dogs. We can't go anywhere without asking um,
'Master, can we move?' We are a mighty race of people.
We have got to get up and devise. We have got to get up
and devise. Our fathers were warriors. Our fathers ruled
the world. Our ancestors are great people. We have to pay
them the respect. We must get up. We must get up. (applause)
We must get up. We must get up. We must get up. We must
get up. (continuing applause)

Now then we have to understand that as we tied
into the concept of Brother HUEY P. NEWTON. He is flesh of
our flesh. And blood of our blood. We cannot hold any mock
trials unless we are the executioners. We must become the
executioners inside our community. That says very clearly
if you off Brother HUEY, we off 15 hunkie cops. Fifteen. (applause)
Right out. Right out. (continuing applause) And we off them
and if anybody in the black community says anything about it,
we off him too. (applause) We off him too. We off him too.
(continuing applause)

And we off him because as MAO Tse-sung says, "To
condemn ones people, is to take the stand of the enemy."
(applause) Of the enemy. (continuing applause) You cannot
condemn your people. You cannot condemn your people. Undying
love for our people.

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As we understand that, then our mind moves internationally to the most important issue that gonna affect this country. The question of the Middle East. And we have to make it clear. We can have no relations with any Jewish group that support what they call Isreal. Which is occupied Palestine.

And I will tell you why we cannot support what they call Isreal. They got that state in 1917. The British was ruling Palestine. The British gave it to them. They didn't consult the Arabs. They didn't say to our brothers, "You know, do you want to sell it?" They just took it. And the scientists went to Isreal and started to use terrorist bombs to run our brothers out. And when we talk about being brothers with the Arabs, they say, "Well, don't you forget the Arabs told you sell them. We sold their momma's and let it go at that." The Arabs are our brothers. Our brothers. We have to understand that because they have developed the concept of love for a state developed in 1948 and they're moving into Egypt. Egypt is in Africa. Africa is in our mother land. We owned it for four thousand years. (applause) For four thousand years. (applause) And here we are who should have a love for our mother land for four thousand years gonna let some simple scientists run a game down on us. Send his young children to Isreal which he sold and made Isreal in 1948.

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They're willing to die for it. And we sit 'chere while they invade Egypt. Egypt, the country that gave civilization to mankind. Our country. Our ancestors. Our mother land. We are opposed to the creation of the state called Isreal. The Arabs are our brothers. We stand united. Let's run it down. Run it down. (applause)

Let us not get afraid to tell them outright, "Yes, we want the Vietamese to win in Viet Nam." (applause) Yes, we do. (continuing applause)

So get caught up in the honkie's silly games. He gets up and says, "Well, Well. We're wrong but we have commitments and before we get out, we have to save face.". And while that honkie is saving face, he's killing millions of yellow people who are our brothers. Don't worry about his face. Wipe his face out. Let the Vietamese take their country. Let em take their country. (applause)

We don't have to be afraid of them any more. Our time is coming brothers and sisters. We winners and we movin' on up. (applause) We movin' on up. We movin' on up. (continuing applause)

Now then. The concept of becoming executious is one we have to talk about because if we are going to move to build and understand we're not moving against the honkies. We don't give a damn about em. We're moving to build a concept of

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peoplehood to move to a concept of nationhood inside this country that attack and talks to the nine hundred million Africans in the world today. If that honkie tries to stop us, we off him. (applause) We off him. (continuing applause)

We're not talking about destroying their system. We're talking about building our system. Regaining our humanity. If they don't mess wid us we won't mess with them. But God knows, if they mess wid us, then everyone of us going to the streets. Going to the streets. (applause)

We are concerned with building a concept of peoplehood where we will have undying love for our people. Where we will be willing and happy and glad to die for our people. (applause) For our people. And in building that concept, we must organize groups which will when they come down against us have the maximum damage against them and the minimum risk to us. That means we organize little groups. When they off us, that group offs a number of them. If they get caught, it's a small group. The community keeps moving. They must be consciously willing to do that for their people. Everybody else has done it. Everybody else has done it. To talk about rebellions today without being organized is to give them the chance to come down. They have tanks. They have sonar rifles. They have machine guns. They have got one armed shotguns. They got everything they wanna get but they forget

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one thing. A war is never decided by technology. It is decided by the will of the people to fight for what belongs to them. (applause) What belongs to them.

A war is not just decided by numbers. It is decided by the determination, the dedication, the love of the people who are fighting. The Vietnamese show us that every day. They're whippin' um to death. (applause) Their whippin' um to death. (continuing applause)

But if we move the concept of a community as to wherever people are, we outnumber them. General MAO Tse-sung says seven hundred and fifty million Chinese. We have nine hundred million Africans in the world today. (applause) In the world today. (continuing applause) And we have all been colonized and we have been colonized by the same man. The honkie. The honkie has colonized us all. Our major enemy is the honkie. We move to build in our community. Our people have to survive. We have to survive. Our ancestors went through too much not to survive. Not to survive. Not to survive. (applause)

If we did not survive we should bury ourselves alive after what our parents went through in slavery. After what they went through the reconstruction. After what they went through in World War I. What they went through through the depression. What they went through World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnamese War. We have a responsibility to our people to

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survive. (applause) To survive. (continuing applause)

We are the most beautiful people in this country.
We are. (applause)

We are not a war-like people. We have warriors but we are not a war-like people. We are a peace-loving people. But there comes a time in order to insure your peace you must pick up your spear and fight. (applause) And fight. (continuing applause) If we do not do that, brothers and sisters, we will be exterminated. Not only for our ancestors do we have to wage a battle but for our beautiful young children coming up today who are digging what it is to be black. We have a responsibility to them to survive. (applause) To them to survive. (applause)

When Brother HUEY gets messed around, if they try it. There will be some retaliation. (applause) There has to be a retaliation for many reasons. Brother HUEY represents progress in our race. They wasted our saint Brother MALCOM X for what he was saying. For what he was saying. (applause) For what he was saying. (continuing applause) Understand Brother MALCOM X did not do anything. He was just talking. And they wasted him cause he was waking us up they wasted him. Now they got Brother HUEY in jail at least for getting two of them. That's progress. That's progress. We've moved from talking to doing. Now we have the responsibility to Brother HUEY NEWTON. Cause

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when Brother MALCOLM got ace--- wasted, we was so confused, we didn't retaliate but we got to retaliate if they get Brother HUEY NEWTON. Got to retaliate. (applause)

We have got to retaliate because we are the only people where they wipe out our leaders and we do nothing. In the last five years we have lost the BUCA (phonetic) from South Africa. We have lost BATRICE LA MUMBA (phonetic) from the Congo, and we have lost MALCOM X. And now we gonna lose HUEY NEWTON.

We must protect the people who care about us. We have got to retaliate brothers and sisters. Got to retaliate brothers and sisters. (applause)

We must cut down the in-fighting in our group. These brothers are the Evondon (phonetic). They're already to carry on a struggle. Whether or not we agree or disagree with their ideology. They think they're doing a educational job for the black community to teach them how to organize. We have to recognize that. We have to appreciate that. Because they have not been too many black people who have been willing to fight for their people. We have them now. We have a generation of warriors now. (applause) We have a generation of warriors now. (applause) We have a generation of warriors now. (continuing applause)

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Our people have resisted. Our ancestors have resisted for this generation to wait the final struggle so our people can regain their humanity. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. We must organize our people. If we do not, we will perish. We must organize our people and when groups are organizing in our community, you see nothing, you hear nothing, you know nothing. (applause)

Because on this new level of organization there are no Uncle Tom's because we're bringing people together. There are just traitors. And you off traitors. (applause) Off traitors. (continuing applause)

You just off traitors. Every black man in this country. Every black man around the world is flesh of my flesh, and blood of my blood. But if he gets in the way of my people. I'm gonna off him sure as I'm sittin' here. Sure as I'm sittin' here. (applause)

We have people today who are willing to off. We do not want to off our own people. Because all of them are potential allies. But if any black man talks to any honkie about what we do in our community. We are gonna kill him. (applause)

Now then brothers and sisters, we have to go. The three concepts. First. Our people. Then and only then me

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me and you. Undying love for our people. Every Negro must become a potential black man. Do not discourage our people. Let's work with them. Bring them home. For black people, the question of community is not one of geography but one of color. That means that the brothers of color all --- will everyone please stay seated. Because of security. I'm told. Just please stay seated. We'll be off in two minutes.---- The brothers of color around the world are our comrades in arms.

When the students in Santa Domingo rebel. You jump up and yell, "Hallelujah. They gettin' in one more place." They gettin' in one more place. (applause)

When the brothers in Viet Nam take the embassies, you holler, "Hallelujah. They gettin' em good. They gettin' em good. They gettin' em good." (applause)

And when our brothers in Africa take em in Portuguese New Guinea, take em in Zambezi (phonetic), take em in Mozambique, take em in South Africa, you holler, "Hold it, baby! I am comin to help you too." (applause) I'm comin to help you too. I'm comin to help you too. (continuing applause)

We are a beautiful race of people. Our forefathers would rather fight the sun than bow down to anyone. But look at us. Just look at us. We are like dogs living in this place. Our people are drinking wine. They taking dope.

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They're fighting each other. They're cutting each other.
We must be concerned with our people. The hell with this
God damn country. Let's be concerned with our people.
(applause) Our people. Our people. Our people. We must
be concerned wid our people. We must be concerned wid our
people. (continuing applause)

Our young spend half their time in reform schools.
Our youth spend half their time sleeping on roof tops and
then when they're finished they send them to Viet Nam. What
kind of a life is that for a human being. What kind of a
life is that. Get up black people. Get up. We will survive
America. We will survive America. We have survived too
much not to survive now. And if they waste Brother HUEY,
you take it from me, Brother HUEY P. NEWTON will be freed
or else. Thank you. (applause)

Brother STOKELY CARMICHAEL. I know everybody want
to clap. This is tremendously important that everyone remain
in their seat until our platform guests are out of the area.
Please have a seat. Please have a seat. Now it'll take them
just a few minutes to get off the stage and while they're
getting off the stage a few quick announcements.

Brother ERNIE THOMPSON, Deacons for Defense, Johns-
burg, Louisiana. Here he is. Right here. Moving into
L. A. (applause) Brother MELVIN NEWTON. I don't know if
he's still sittin' here, but he and Sister NEWTON. I don't

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know where he is. Alright. There will be a soul session tonight. Strictly soul session at 7228 South Broadway. 9 o'clock PM. Donation \$1.00. "Arambe" is on sale outside when you go out. That's the Black Congress Newspaper and it's important that you pick that up. It's important that we have our voice.

The Peace Action Council is circulating peace petitions so that we can get that on the ballot. That's also important that everybody signs that.

Just another few more minutes. I hope everybody has enjoyed themselves. If you have, let's, you know, let's clap for one another. (applause)

We got the word we're moving late. Pick up your literature and move out quickly and quietly and love black people. Thank you very much.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS, SEDITION
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEBRUARY 18, 1968

On February 27, 1968, source nine advised that Stokely Carmichael and Reies Tijerina were featured speakers on February 19, 1968, at 8:00 PM, at a rally at the Second Baptist Church, 2412 Griffith, Los Angeles, California, where approximately 300 people were in attendance, with a majority being young Negroes, between 18 and 25 years of age. The audience was 65 percent Negro and 35 percent Mexican-Americans. Carmichael was the last speaker, and in his presentation, he indicated that the white man was the cause for all Negro problems. "The whites have robbed the Negro of his dignity". He indicated that the police were the force that maintained the white power structure. "It's time the Negroes stopped playing games, because the man (whitey) doesn't play games with you". Carmichael said an example of this was Detroit, Michigan, when the white man used bazookas, guns and canons against the Negro. "The Negroes must arm themselves, and they must use these weapons", he said. Carmichael was received with standing ovations, and great enthusiasm by the audience. No news media or police were permitted to enter and observe the rally. (e) (u)

On February 21, 1968, source six advised that Stokely Carmichael departed Los Angeles at 9:00 PM, February 20, 1968, and flew to San Francisco, in the company of two Black Panther members, in order to make a speech in Oakland, California, on that date. (e) (u)

On February 21, 1968, source ten advised that Stokely Carmichael departed Los Angeles on February 20, 1968, for San Francisco, California, where he was scheduled to appear on February 23, 1968, at Sokol Hall, 739 Page, San Francisco, and speak at a rally being sponsored by the Black Students Association of San Francisco City College. (e) (u)

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

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
March 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-68783
157-2091

Title

STOKELY CARMICHAEL
BLACK CONGRESS SPONSORED RALLY FOR
DEFENSE OF HUEY P. NEWTON,
LOS ANGELES SPORTS ARENA,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
2/18/68

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY-MISCELLANEOUS,
SEDITION

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

RACIAL MATTER

Reference

Letterhead memorandum, dated and
captioned as above, at Los Angeles

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California
May 28, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BU 105-165429
SF 157-1203

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
BPP

REFERENCE: San Francisco memorandum November 22, 1967.

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: Alameda County Jail
1229 Fallon Street
Oakland, California

Employment:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *10-6-97* BY *9803-RDD/BCE/jm*

*1cc to SS by R/S
6/4/68 RMH/nls*

105-165429-

RECORDED
MAY 31 1968

FD-122 DETACHED

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JUN 6 1968

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Director, FBI (Bufile- 105-165429)

DATE: 2/5/68

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-56922)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803 RDD/BCE/SM

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SM - BPP

RESUBMISSION

Cards filed
Cards sent 00

RABBLE ROUSER INDEX

☐ New Subject ☐ Change ☐ Delete

Name HUEY PERCY NEWTON		FBI Number 804 121E																									
Aliases																											
Citizenship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien																											
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Date of Birth 2/17/42		Place of Birth Monroe, Louisiana																									
Position in Organization Minister of Defense		Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern) Unemployed																									
Residence Address Jail, + Graystone Annex, Rehabilitation Center, Pleasanton, California																											

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (RM) LEB
1 - San Francisco

JTQ/jr
(3) APR 8 1968

NOT RECORDED

1 FEB 7 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 100-56922

JTQ/jr

RESUME OF ACTIVITIES:

Subject is a leader of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD). He was one of the group who invaded the California State Legislature on 5/2/67, openly bearing rifles and shotguns. He is currently under indictment for killing a policeman and wounding another on 10/28/67. He has openly carried firearms on the streets of Oakland, California, and has an arrest record for assault and battery and resisting arrest.

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SAC, San Francisco (157-1203)

5/13/68

Director, FBI (105-165429) — 7

REC 8

EX-116

HUEY PRECY NEWTON
RM - BPP

Reurlet 5/3/68.

A review of the toll call record of the subject's father is not considered pertinent at this time as the subject has been in jail since October, 1967, and there is no information to show that his father has been active in his defense. In the event you desire to resubmit this request in the future, you should furnish information concerning the church affiliation of subject's father, who is described as Reverend Newton, contact your informants concerning him, and comment on his reputation in the community.

A request for the subject's Federal income tax returns is being made at the Bureau. It is suggested that you consider checking his State of California tax returns, if available.

RMH:lkmm
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-R00/BCE/JM

MAILED 10

MAY 10 1968

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SM - MISCELLANEOUS
OO: San Francisco

DATE: 5/3/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9813-R00/BCE/SM

Rerep of SA [redacted] dated 5/10/67 at San Francisco, and Bureau airtel dated 4/22/67 captioned, "Black Panther Party (BPP) Racial Matter."

Referenced airtel instructed that a request to review income tax returns, toll call records, and to locate and monitor bank accounts for 13 PP leaders should be submitted to the Bureau.

NEWTON is Minister of Defense of the BPP. He has been incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, since October 1967, charged with the murder of an Oakland police officer on October 28, 1967.

NEWTON was born February 17, 1942. He resided with his parents, Reverend and Mrs. WALTER NEWTON, 881 47th Street, Oakland, California, until the time he was incarcerated. NEWTON has been continually on probation since 1966; his known employments have been from 1962-1964 as a summertime job as a cannary employee at the California Packing Company, Oakland, and on a part time basis by the Weed Abatement Department of the City of Oakland. In addition, NEWTON has been occupied on a sporadic basis as a student at Merritt College, Oakland, and at San Francisco Law School, San Francisco. For the period of May through October 1967, NEWTON has been engaged on a full time basis as Minister of Defense by the BPP.

San Francisco feels it is advisable to review toll calls made from the residence of Subject's father (telephone number 653-0315) to determine if NEWTON possibly through his parents, could be in contact with other black nationalist extremists in the U.S. Therefore, Bureau authority is requested to effect this coverage through [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco
WJW/mcn
(4)

REC 8

EX-1161

MAY 8 1968

b2
b7D

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

	<u>SSC</u>	62-116395-894	<u>HSC</u>	
ACC.	_____	DATE _____	ACC.	_____
DEL.	✓ _____	DATE 9/69/75	DEL.	_____

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

_____ TO DEPT.

SI 157-1203
WJW/mcn

[REDACTED] San Francisco, who in the past has afforded the fullest confidence in matters of this nature.

The Bureau is also requested to cause a review of Subject's income tax returns to determine if a possible violation of Internal Revenue laws exist. NEWTON's Social Security No. is 566-56-4675.

San Francisco is continuing investigation to determine if NEWTON possesses a bank account.

b7D

1 - C.D. DeLoach
1 - W.C. Sullivan
1 - G.C. Moore
1 - Liaison

May 14, 1968

1 -
1 -



b6
b7C

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

BY LIAISON

Uncertified copies of income tax returns for the past five years are requested concerning the following:

Huey Percy Newton
5824 Grove Street,
Oakland, California
Social Security Number 556-56-4375
Single

ORIGINAL AND 1 FURNISHED TO INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

RMH:cds (9)

NOTE:

See memorandum G.C. Moore to Mr. W.C. Sullivan, dated 5/13/68, captioned as above, prepared by RMH:cds.

*6-1805-2 Annual
5/29/68 RMH:cds
Copy - rep. 5/24*

REC 99

105-165429-8

19 MAY 14 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-BDD/BCE/m

olson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

6-37

105-165429-8

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

- 1 - C.D. DeLoach
- 1 - W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - G.C. Moore
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 -
- 1 -

b6
b7C

105-165429-9

REC 107

May 16, 1968

BY LIAISON

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Uncertified copies of income tax returns for the past five years are requested concerning the following:

Huey Percy Newton
5624 Grove Street,
Oakland, California
Social Security Number 556-56-4675
Single

ORIGINAL AND 1 FURNISHED TO INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

RMH:cds (9)

Delivered 5/24/68

NOTE:

See memorandum G.C. Moore to Mr. W.C. Sullivan, dated 5/14/68, captioned as above, prepared by RMH:cds. ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/JM

- lson _____
- Loach _____
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- le _____
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- vel _____
- otter _____
- le. Room _____
- imes _____
- dy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DATE: May 14, 1968

FROM : G.C. Moore *gc*

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Toison _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan ☒
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

A request to the Internal Revenue Service for uncertified copies of the subject's income tax returns is attached. This information is desired for investigative leads.

Newton is Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, one of the most violence prone of the black nationalist extremist groups. He is presently in jail awaiting trial for the murder of a policeman. A determination of the financial status and sources of income of black nationalist leaders is desired in connection with our investigation of the black nationalist movement.

ACTION:

If approved, this memorandum should be referred to the Liaison Section to make the necessary contact with the Internal Revenue Service.

Enclosure

105-165429

- 1 - C.D. DeLoach
- 1 - W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - G.C. Moore
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 -
- 1 -

RMH:cds (7)
cto

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-8-91 BY 9803-RDD/BCE/SM

REC 1071

105-165429-9

MAY 28 1968

b6
b7C

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

<u>SSC</u> 62-116395-894		<u>HSC</u>	
ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. <u>✓</u> _____	DATE <u>9/29/75</u> _____	DEL. _____	DATE _____

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

_____ TO DEPT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 105-165429)

DATE: 5/28/68

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) - P

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
RM - BPPCard UTD
Card sent 00
w/ 1 attached 6/5/68AGITATOR
RABBLE//ROUSER INDEX☐ New Subject ☒ Change ☐ Delete

Name		FBI Number	
Aliases			
Citizenship <input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien			
Subject also on <input type="checkbox"/> SI <input type="checkbox"/> RI		Race	
		Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	
Organizational Affiliation			
<input type="checkbox"/> 01 ANP	<input type="checkbox"/> 07 KLAN	<input type="checkbox"/> 12 PLP	<input type="checkbox"/> 17 SNCC
<input type="checkbox"/> 02 AVN	<input type="checkbox"/> 08 LA	<input type="checkbox"/> 13 PRN	<input type="checkbox"/> 18 SWP
<input type="checkbox"/> 03 BNAT	<input type="checkbox"/> 09 MIN	<input type="checkbox"/> 14 RAM	<input type="checkbox"/> 19 WWP
<input type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC	<input type="checkbox"/> 99 MISC
<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS	(Specify)
<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE			
Date of Birth		Place of Birth	
Position in Organization		Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)	
		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-8-97 BY 7803-R00/Bc6/sm	
Residence Address			
Alameda County Jail 1229 Fallon Street, Oakland, California			

NOT RECORDED

8 MAY 31 1968

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San FranciscoTC/jr
(3)

59 JUN 11 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

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

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

June 7, 1968

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803-R00/B6/JM

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to the intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Secret Service, San Francisco.

On June 7, 1968, Judge Monroe Friedman, Alameda County Superior Court, Oakland, California, acting on a motion of Attorney [REDACTED], Attorney for Huey P. Newton, granted a continuance of the Huey P. Newton trial to July 8, 1968.

Attorney [REDACTED] also at this time entered a motion in which he challenged that the jury is not a proper representation of Newton's peers. Judge Friedman denied this motion without prejudice basing his action on the fact that the Newton jury had not as of this time been empanelled.

Judge Friedman also ruled at this session that personnel files of Police Officers John Frey, the officer that Newton is accused of murdering, and [REDACTED] the officer who was wounded in the Newton incident, should be made available by the Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, to Newton's attorneys.

Huey P. Newton is Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, who is accused of murdering an Oakland, California, Police Officer.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is appended hereto.

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

105-165429-
ENCLOSURE

b6
b7C

6/7/68

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (P)

af
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM
OO: San Francisco
Bufile 105-165706
SF file 157-1204

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
RM-BPP
Bufile 105-165429
SF file 157-1203

Enclosed herewith are 14 copies of a LHM pertaining to information that the HUEY P. NEWTON trial has been continued until 7/8/68.

The Bureau will be kept apprised of further developments in this matter.

5 - Bureau (Encls.-14)(RM)
2 - San Francisco
 (1 - 157-1204)
 (1 - 157-1206)

TC/tjm
(7)

105-165429-

NOT RECORDED

152 JUN 13 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-8-91 BY 9803-RDD/BLE/sm

ENCLOSURE

54 JUN 19 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 sub 26)

DATE: 6/30/71

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4650)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
PUBLIC APPEARANCE
RM

Re San Francisco airtel to Director, 1/12/71.

Referenced communication contained information that a [redacted] attempted to arrange a speaking engagement for HUEY P. NEWTON at the University of California (USC) on 3/1/71. San Francisco requested that [redacted] be identified.

[redacted] advised that the President of USC, Dr. JACK HUBBARD notified Los Angeles police agencies that HUEY P. NEWTON had been invited to speak at USC by the Great Issues Forum at USC. The purpose of the Forum is to present to the campus audiences programs and speakers on the great political issues of today. The Forum is composed of faculty members, staff administrators, alumni and USC student members.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] was a student at USC and had attempted to arrange for NEWTON on behalf of the Great Issues Forum at USC. Source also advised that all arrangements were canceled when adequate security for NEWTON could not be agreed upon.

In view of the fact that NEWTON's proposed appearance was in conjunction with a legitimate campus organization no further investigation is being conducted to identify [redacted]

No dissemination memorandum is being prepared in view of the fact that NEWTON did not appear and secondly arrangements were being made through legitimate campus organization.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-San Francisco (RM)
2-Los Angeles
(1-157-6187)

RHR
(6)

EX-100
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 4803-10608-105-10
365,833

REC 17

NOT RECORDED
191 JUL 15 1971

2457

RACIAL INT. SECT.

JUL 1971 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

b2
b6
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ORIGINAL FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 5/24/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/24 - 5/21/68
TITLE OF CASE HUEY PERCY NEWTON		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY med
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM - BPP	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 5/10/67, captioned, "HUEY PERCY NEWTON, SM - MISCELLANEOUS."

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

The character of this case is being changed to RM - BPP rather than SM - MISCELLANEOUS in order to reflect the true nature of subject's activities.

Copies of this report are being disseminated to Secret Service and military intelligence agencies because of NEWTON's position as Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party (BPP) and his propensity to violence.

10-8-77
CLASSIFIED
DECLASSIFIED
9803-RDD/BCE/SM

APPROVED [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:		105F/1044 - 10	REC- 44
8 - Bureau (105-10429)(RM)			
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 5a,b,c)(RM)			
2 - 115th MI Group (RM)			
1 - NISO, 12th ND (RM)		14 JUN 3 1968	
1 - OSI, 19th District (RM)			
3 - San Francisco (157-1203)			
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
1SD, IDIU, SS FD-316 5-288			
5/16/68			
15			
MH/ab			

1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-1203
TC/med

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

SF T-1 is [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-2 is

This report

[redacted]

Oakland, California (by
request)

SF T-3 is [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-4 is [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-5 is [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-6 is [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-7 is [redacted]

SF T-8 is [redacted]

SF T-9 is

[redacted]

SF T-10 is [redacted]

(S)

[redacted]

(S)

b2
b7D

b1

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-1203

TC/med

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☐ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☒ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
Date photograph was taken 1968.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
6. ☒ This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because
(state reason) it contains data reported from SF T-1, T-3 through T-10, all sources of continuing value, the disclosure of which would have adverse effect on the security of this nation.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
- ☒ Subject was not ~~xx~~ interviewed because (state reason) of pending prosecution.
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because
(state reason) of his current status as Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party.
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

- C* -
Cover Page

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

May 24, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Re: Huey Percy Newton

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☒ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803-RDD/BLU/SM
ON 10-8-97

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 5a,b,c)(RM)
- 2 - 115th MI Group (RM)
- 1 - NISO, 12th ND (RM)
- 1 - OSI, 19th District (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office:

SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

5/24/68

Field Office File #:

157-1203

Bureau File #:

105-165429

Title:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803-RDD/BCE/jm
ON 10-8-97

Character:

RACIAL MATTER - BPP

Synopsis:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON is presently confined to the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland Police Officer. NEWTON holds position of Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party (BPP). NEWTON, in speeches, said "... when the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers and when they see the advantage of the guerilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example... When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance... The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people." In other speeches NEWTON advocated arming of BPP members. NEWTON SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

SF 157-1203
TC/med

DETAILS

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

HUEY PERCY NEWTON is presently confined at the Alameda County Jail, 1229 Fallon Street, Oakland, California, where he is awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland Police Officer.

Oakland Police Department,
Oakland, California, 5/6/68

B. Arrest Record

The records of the Oakland Police Department reflect that on May 22, 1967, NEWTON, along with two other individuals, was arrested by officers of the Oakland Police Department, charged with disturbing the peace, displaying a deadly weapon in a threatening manner, possession of a knife with a blade in excess of three and one-half inches, and use of profanity. The narrative of this offense relates that on May 22, 1967, in answer to a complaint alleging that juveniles were seen with a sawed-off shotgun, investigating officers, upon arriving at the location and observing the juveniles, followed them into a house into which they had fled; and while searching the house for the juveniles and the shotgun in question, they were confronted by NEWTON and two other individuals.

NEWTON, according to this report, accosted officers with a dagger with a nine and one-half inch blade, which he shook in the face of one of the officers and asserted that the officer's throat was going to be slit.

The records of the Richmond, California Police Department, disclosed on June 4, 1967, at 5:50 a.m., NEWTON was arrested by the Richmond Police Department on a charge of violating Section 148 of the California Penal Code (interfering with the police).

SF 157-1203

TC/med

The details of this offense as set forth in the officer's report related that a group of Negroes gathered around Richmond police officers who were issuing a citation on a traffic violation. One of these Negroes, who was in an intoxicated condition, attempted to kick the police officer. NEWTON swung at one of the officers, striking him on the chest.

The records of the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Office, Martinez, California, disclosed that on October 9, 1967, NEWTON was sentenced by the Municipal Court, Richmond, California, to serve 60 days in the County Jail following conviction of the June 4, 1967, charge mentioned above. On October 10, 1967, NEWTON was released on bail on court order pending appeal. (NEWTON's arrest and indictment on charge of murdering of an Oakland Police Officer is set out later in this report under a separate caption.)

C. Identification Record

The following is an identification record pertaining to NEWTON as received from the FBI Identification Division on November 28, 1967:

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537**

NOV 28 1967 1 9 8

Director

The following FBI record, NUMBER 804 121 E , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	3-2-63	wrn't (484 PC) (PT)	dism
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3-4-64	Viol Sec 459 Pen Code (burg)	dism
SO, Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-2363	3-5-64	Burg 5 cts	dism on chg 4 cts burg
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	6-11-64	warr 245 PC (ADW)	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-9016	10-8-64	ADW	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #66/2960	3-18-66	242 PC batt against peace officer	misd crt prob 2 yrs
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3-17-66	148 PC(resist arrest) & 243 PC (B pol ofc)	no compl on 1st chg guilty of 2- PC (batt) continued on prob 10-10-66
PD Richmond Calif	Huey Percy Newton #42141	6-4-67	resist arrest	

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

2

NOV 28 1967 1 9 5

Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 804 121 E, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #159483	5-22-67	(1) 415 PC (dist peace) (2) 417 PC (drawing or exhibit firearm or other deadly weapon) (3) 3-4:01 OMC (profane-obscene language) (4) 2-7:02 OMC (displaying dangerous weapon)	
SO Martinez Calif	Huey Percy Newton #129994	10-9-67	148 PC resist arrest	60 das
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #67-11524	10-31-67	187 PC (murder) & 217 PC (aslt W/int to kill)	10-31 TOT NACH 11-3 del S/Q 11-10 ret 11-10 del S/Q
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Newton #67-12033	11-13-67	187PC (Murder) 245b PC ADW on Police Officer 207 PC (kid- napping)	

4a

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown, or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

II. PENDING CHARGE OF MURDER OF AN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA,
POLICE OFFICER, AGAINST NEWTON

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

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Officer [redacted] advised that another individual was accompanying NEWTON at the time of this incident and intensive investigation is being conducted to identify this individual.

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

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

On November 13, 1967, the Grand Jury of Alameda County, Oakland, indicted NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland Police Officer, and trial, after numerous continuances, is set for June 10, 1968.

Concerning one of the court proceedings pertaining to NEWTON, the following is set forth:

SF 157-1203
TC/med

The November 29, 1967, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle," a San Francisco daily newspaper, captioned "Black Panthers Disrupt Court," states that members of the militant Black Panthers tried to substitute the own brand of courtroom behavior at the November 28, 1967, arraignment of NEWTON. According to this article, when the judge entered the courtroom, the bailiff, as is customary, asked the spectators to rise. About 50 Black Panthers who were present in the courtroom remained seated. When NEWTON was brought into the courtroom, he raised his hand in a clinched-fist salute. His followers rose as one and returned a formal salute. NEWTON then said, "You may be seated," and as the followers sat down, they laughed loudly. At this time the judge ordered NEWTON to be removed from the courtroom, and the courtroom was admonished by the judge that all spectators would be sent from the courtroom if order did not prevail.

III. ACTIVITIES

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (Characterized in the appendix)

A. Position

NEWTON, although he is in confinement in the Alameda County Jail, still maintains the position of Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party (BPP).

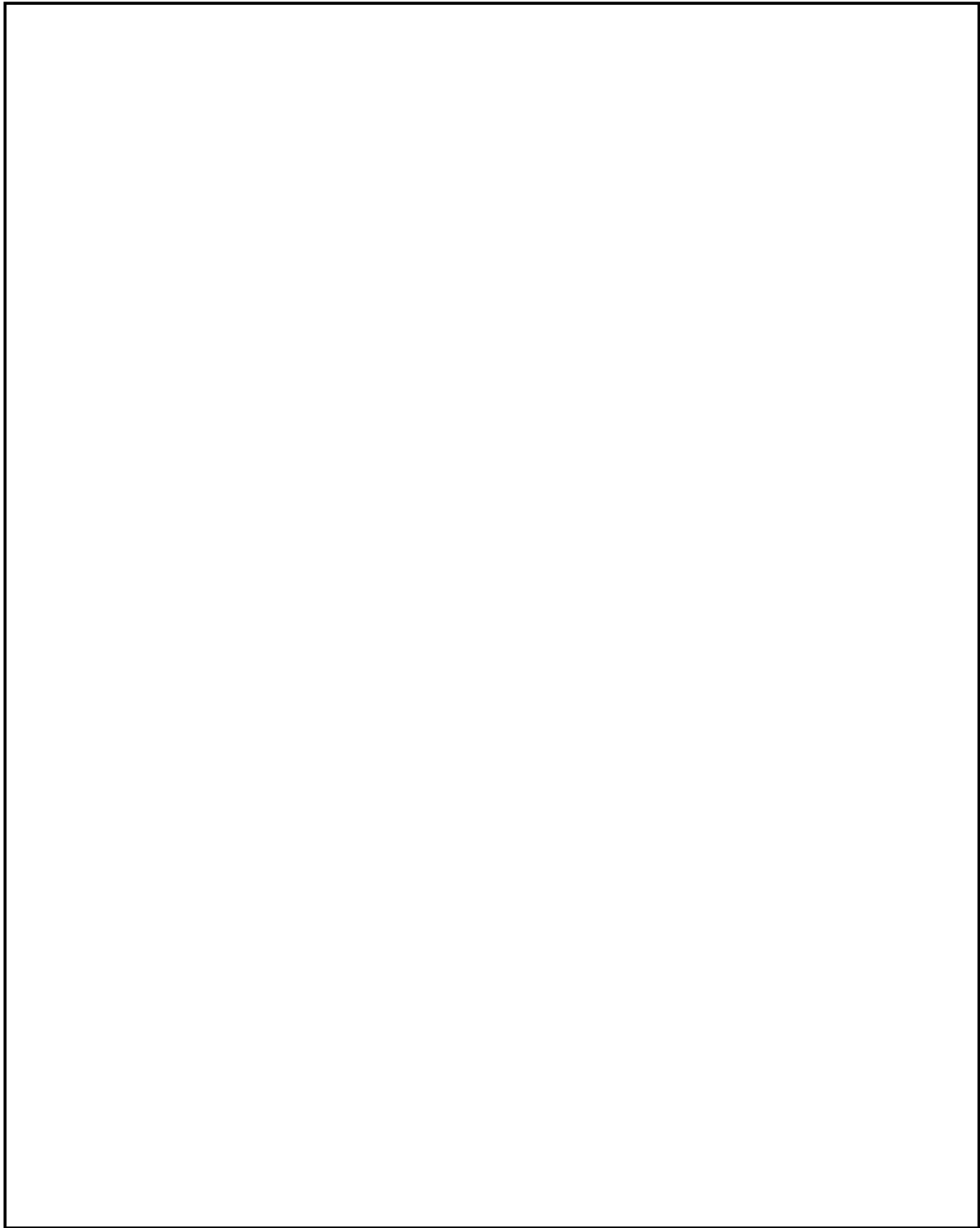
SF T-1, 5/6/68

B. Meetings Attended

--

b7D

SF 157-1203
TC/med



b7D

C. Announcement By NEWTON of Change of Name of BPP

At a press conference held on March 7, 1968, in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, NEWTON announced the change of the official name of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense to the Black Panther Party. NEWTON explained that the words, "self-defense," had been dropped because "... people seemed to misinterpret the definition of what self-defense was all about."

D. Speeches and Writings by HUEY PERCY NEWTON

The July 20, 1967 issue of "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service," the official publication of the BPP, on Page 3, Columns 1 through 5, contains an article captioned, "The Correct Handling of a Revolution," by Minister of Defense HUEY PERCY NEWTON, which states in part as follows:

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

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

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

"...If the Chinese revolution is investigated it will be seen that the Communist Party was quite on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses....A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere, death is imminent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor....It is of prime importance that the Vanguard Party develop a political organ such as a newspaper produced by the party as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery....

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

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

SF 157-1203
TC/med

any police officers that harass our people anywhere near the area of the ROFP. NEWTON stated he was going to Los Angeles, California, one weekend in June (1967) to organize another BPP.

SF T-4, 6/13/67

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

"Huey Newton provided a 15-minute capsule history of the Negro struggle in America, and then begins to relate it to the world revolution and the example of the people of Vietnam...black people can learn lessons from the fight of the Vietnamese, Newton continues; Black people in America also must arm themselves for self-defense against the same racist army. 'Every time you can execute a white racist gestapo cop you are defending yourself,' he concludes."

The aforementioned article on Page 4, Column 3, continues as follows:

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

A characterization of "Ramparts" is as follows:

"RAMPARTS"

"Ramparts" is a monthly magazine with editorial offices in San Francisco, California. The January, 1968, issue listed WARREN HINCKLE, III, as Editor, and ROBERT SCHEER as Managing Editor. It stated that the press run for that issue was 279,000.

The September 10, 1967, issue of the "Denver Post" contained an article on "Ramparts," based upon an interview of its staff by EARL SHORIS, author of the article. This article captioned, "Ramparts: An expression of the 'New Left,'" read in part as follows:

"HINCKLE calls Ramparts 'radical in style and politics.' It belongs to the left, if not the new left....

"The editors of Ramparts are confident of their own virtue, so confident they are able to dispense with objectivity.... Editor HINCKLE said, 'I don't believe in this "on the other hand" stuff. People write in and ask us to print the other side. We tell them no we are not a debating society....'

"Ramparts has been crass and commercial. It has often been more exhortative than informative, but it has also produced some exciting reporting on Vietnam, the city of Oakland, and conservation or the lack of it in America. The magazine joined every other publication in America in belaboring the Warren Report, but SOL STERN's uncloaking of the CIA was brilliant, effective reporting. If Ramparts may have overstated the number of children who have been casualties in Vietnam, it is small criticism; children have been burned and killed.

"The financial problems that have plagued Ramparts for most of its five years may be coming to an end. With 120,000 subscribers and as many newsstand sales, the cost of printing has dropped...."

The July 3, 1967, issue of the "Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service" (BPPBCNS), Page 7, Columns 5 and 6, contains the following article:

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

"GUNS BABY GUNS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Army 45 | Army 45 will stop
all jive |
| 2) Carbine | |
| 3) 12 guage magnum shot-
guns with 18" barrel.
Preferably the brand
of High Standard | Buckshots will down
cops

P38 will open
Prison gates |
| 4) M16 | Carbine will stop |
| 5) 357 Magnum pistols | a war machine |
| 6) P 38 | 357 will win us our
heaven |

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

"BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE HUEY P.
NEWTON"

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

"by STEVE TOOMAJIAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SF 157-1203
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At 3:15 p.m. on September 4, 1967, HUEY NEWTON, as Minister of Defense, BPP, spoke at a session of the Black Action Conference, Ravenswood High School, East Palo Alto, California, to a group of about 100. He said that the black man must use whatever means he has for protection; the "honkie" cop must be stopped from going into homes and using brutality on colored people. NEWTON also said, "If the situation continues in this country, the Negro will be in revolution with 'honkies.'" He said the purpose of the BPP is to protect the blacks now in revolution.

SF T-5, 9/5/67

E. Huey P. Newton Defense Fund

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco Negro community newspaper, states that a fund has been established for the aid of HUEY NEWTON in defending himself against the charge of murder. This article also states that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), through their national offices, have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY NEWTON.

A characterization of SNCC is contained in the appendix.

On February 23, 1968, source furnished the following leaflet, which was, according to him, promulgated by the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund:

Facts on Huey P. Newton's Legal Defense in Court

The Huey Newton Defense Fund is organized to raise funds for Huey P. Newton so that he has competent legal assistance when he stands trial. Huey Newton, the brilliant political leader of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, was shot in Oakland, California, early Saturday morning, October 28, 1967. In the incident an Oakland policeman, John Frey (Jr.), was fatally wounded.

On November 13, 1967, the Alameda County Grand Jury, after hearing the evidence, went to lunch, reconvened at 1:43 p.m. and twenty-seven minutes later (at 2:10 p.m.), returned a three-count indictment accusing Huey Newton of murder, assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer, and kidnapping. This action was taken with no deliberation or questions asked by the Grand Jury.

Pressed into this brief twenty-seven minutes was movement of the fourteen (14) members of the Grand Jury from the Grand Jury room to the courtroom, roll call, two exits from the Grand Jury room by the District Attorney and his staff, and indictment. No questions were asked and no murder weapon was in evidence, nor was the absence of such weapon explained. (See attached xeroxed copy of the Supplementary Memo of Points and Authorities in Support of Motion under Penal Code Section 995 to set aside counts one and two of the indictment.)

We are seeking nation-wide support for this case because similar incidents have occurred in every Black ghetto across the country. The following position statement on Huey Newton and police brutality was read by Doctor Price Cobbs at a press conference called by the Defense Fund:

We feel that Huey P. Newton is the victim of a frame-up by the Oakland Police Department and that on several occasions members of that department threatened to kill him. They hate Huey because of the uncompromising stand he took against the abuse of power by the police in the Black ghettos of America. The Oakland Police Department has a well-deserved reputation for brutality and excessive use of force, particularly when it comes to Black people.

Huey P. Newton has long been at the top of the Oakland Police Department's WANTED LIST. He has been constantly dragged off to jail by them on phoney, made-up charges. This move against Huey fits neatly into the general pattern of harassment, frame-up, and intimidation which forces within the power structure have unleashed against militant young Black men and women who stand up and say No, loud and clear, to the conditions of Black people in America.

The Black Panther,
Black Community News Service,
November 23, 1967.

We are looking forward to your support and co-operation in helping to raise funds so that Huey P. Newton has competent legal defense.

Please send donations to:

Huey Newton Defense Fund
P.O. Box 318
Berkeley, California 94701

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F. Rallies Held in Support of Huey P. Newton

On February 18, 1968, a rally in support of HUEY NEWTON was held at the Sports Arena, Los Angeles, California, sponsored by the BPP and SNCC. This rally was held for the purpose of raising funds to assist NEWTON in his defense on a charge of murdering an Oakland police officer. Speakers at this affair were H. RAP BROWN, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and BOBBY SEALE, Minister of Education of the BPP. All speakers emphasized the innocence of HUEY NEWTON and the fact that he is being "framed" by a racist society and the need for "Black Power" in the United States.

SF T-6, 3/4/68
SF T-7, 2/20/68

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is a militant Negro nationalist and a former Chairman of SNCC.

H. RAP BROWN

H. RAP BROWN is the current National Chairman of SNCC.

A rally sponsored by the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund was held at Oakland on February 17, 1968. At this rally speakers were STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN. CARMICHAEL spoke on the exploitation and colonization of the Negro. He said that when the "white man" executes HUEY NEWTON, that they, the Black Panthers, will execute the police. He reiterated that if HUEY NEWTON is executed, Oakland, California, can expect maximum retaliation. CARMICHAEL said that HUEY NEWTON "will be set free or else." At this affair it was estimated that approximately \$20,000 was collected.

SF T-4, March 4, 1968

G. Communist Party (CP) Interest in HUEY NEWTON

At a meeting of the East Bay CP Industrial Club, which was held at Berkeley, California, on December 27, 1967, it was announced that a communication had been received

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from the Regional CP Section to the effect that the black and white citizens are forming a Bay Area Defense Committee, who are pledged to give their support in defense of HUEY NEWTON against the charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

SF T-8, 1/4/68.

At a District Committee meeting of the Northern California District CP (NCDCP), which was held in San Francisco on March 9, 1968, it was stated by [redacted] that the CP will support HUEY NEWTON as a candidate for the United States Senate.

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SF T-9, 3/12/68

H. HUEY P. NEWTON - Candidate of U.S. Congress

An article appeared in the Berkeley Daily Gazette, Berkeley, California, daily newspaper, in the edition of February 19, 1968, captioned, "Huey Newton A Candidate." and stated that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, announced in Oakland on February 18, 1968, that HUEY P. NEWTON is the party's candidate for U.S. Congress from the 7th Congressional District.

I. Peace and Freedom Party Support of HUEY NEWTON

The Peace and Freedom Party of California is a legitimate political party in the State of California.

On March 17, 18, and 19, 1968, the Founding Convention of the Peace and Freedom Party was held at Richmond Auditorium, Richmond, California. At this convention, the following motions were proposed:

1. HUEY NEWTON must be set free by any means necessary.
2. The Peace and Freedom Movement should mount a state-wide education campaign on the issue of "Free Huey Newton."

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3. The Peace and Freedom Movement shall conduct state-wide demonstrations in support of HUEY NEWTON. This motion was passed by a substantial majority.

It was also proposed that (1) since the present government of the United States, the State of California, Alameda County, and the City of Oakland are not representative governments of the Black People of this country, this state, this county, and this city; (2) since these governments act not as servants of the Black People but has their oppressors; (3) since this illegitimate power structure has singled out HUEY P. NEWTON as a political leader to be eliminated; (4) since the case of HUEY P. NEWTON dramatically shows the injustice of a racially antagonistic police force mainly recruited from outside the community, blatantly unequal application of the laws, trial by press, radio and television owned by the white power structure, a grand jury system based on wealth and political power, and deprivation of the fundamental right to a trial by one's peers; and because we affirm the right of Black People to defend themselves against the illegal and arbitrary use of police power, HUEY NEWTON must be set free and proper restitution by the City of Oakland, California, must be made to him.

SF T-10, 3/27/68

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

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

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California
May 24, 1968

Title: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character: RACIAL MATTER - BPP

Reference: San Francisco report, dated
and captioned as above

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-8-97 BY 9803 RDD/BCE/DM

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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FOI/PA# 1214329-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 13

Page 16 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;

Page 17 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;

Page 25 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;

Page 132 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;

Page 133 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;

Page 153 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;

Page 154 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;

Page 196 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;

Page 197 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;

Page 213 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;

Page 214 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;

Page 252 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;

Page 253 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 19 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 006 CV CODE

7:51 PM URGENT 2/19/71 RJB

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-3465)

FROM CLEVELAND (157-2633) 2P

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP. OO SAN FRANCISCO.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY THAT FOUR MEMBERS OF TOLEDO,
OHIO NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM (NCCF) OF THE BLACK
PANTHER PARTY (BPP) WILL BE SENT TO CHICAGO NEXT WEEK TO BE
TRAINED AS GUARDS IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPEARANCE OF HUEY
P. NEWTON. THEIR IDENTITIES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

END PAGE ONE

REC-68

EX-111

105-165429-328

6 FEB 24 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED ^{CA75-6203}
DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5C/LAMS

62 MAR 2 1971

PAGE TWO

CV 157-2633

[REDACTED]

A FIFTH INDIVIDUAL, A MEMBER OF THE BPP, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
WILL RETURN TO CHICAGO WITH THE ABOVE MEMBERS OF THE TOLEDO CHAPTER.

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b2
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHICAGO TEL TO BUREAU, FEB. SEVENTEENTH, LAST.

SOURCE UTILIZED IS

[REDACTED]

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

DEB WA DC FBI ACKS FOR NR005, 006, HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 20 1971

TELETYPE

NR 002 CG PLAIN

7:20 PM URGENT 02-20-71 DJB

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-3765) (P)
FROM CHICAGO

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP, TREASON. (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

Jr
HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ACCORDING TO CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT.

[REDACTED] IS WELL KNOWN IN CHICAGO AS
A SYMPATHIZER WITH LEFT WING AND DISSIDENT GROUPS. OFFICIALS OF
THE SHERATON CHICAGO HOTEL, FIVE ZERO FIVE N. MICHIGAN AVENUE,
ADVISED THAT THE NEWTON PARTY CHECKED INTO THE HOTEL AT ABOUT
ELEVEN PM CST ON FEBRUARY NINETEEN, SEVENTYONE, BUT CHECKED OUT
OF THE HOTEL AN HOUR LATER BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT GET CONNECTING
ROOMS.

END PAGE ONE

70 MAR 4 1971

*Included in
note on prior
CG teletype.*

12 FEB 24

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5C110MS

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

REC-68 105-165427-329

PAGE TWO

NEWTON AND PARTY CANCELLED NORTH CENTRAL AIRLINES (NCA) RESERVATIONS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS TO MADISON, WISCONSIN FEBRUARY TWENTY, BUT
RETAINED MADISON TO CHICAGO RESERVATIONS ON NCA FLIGHT DEPARTING
MADISON, WISCONSIN AT EIGHT TEN CST ARRIVING CHICAGO O'HARE
AIRPORT EIGHT FORTYFIVE PM CST FEBRUARY TWENTY.

ADMINISTRATIVE.....

CHICAGO AGENTS COVERED DEPARTURES OF CHICAGO TO MILWAUKEE
FLIGHTS FROM O'HARE AIRPORT FROM ELEVEN AM TO THREE THIRTY PM
FEBRUARY TWENTY SEVENTYONE AND NEWTON PARTY NOT OBSERVED BOARD-
ING ANY OF THE FLIGHTS. THE MILWAUKEE OFFICE ADVISED THAT AS
OF FOUR FIFTY CST NEWTON HAD NOT ARRIVED IN MADISON. CHICAGO
CONTINUING AND WILL ADVISE BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES OF
NEWTON'S PROJECTED APPEARANCES IN CHICAGO FEBRUARY TWENTYONE
NEXT.

CHICAGO PD COGNIZANT.

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

CLR

CC
ROOM 724 9&D

b6
b7C

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FBI

Date: 2/12/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031) (2)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
RM - BPP
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

6/25/87 SP5cul BNS 675-6203
**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-3-81 BY SP6 bja/fat**
#55,810

RE: New Haven teletypes to the Bureau dated
2/2, 3, and 4/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM
concerning the 3-day seminar of HUEY PERCY NEWTON and
ERIK ERIKSON at Yale University, 2/2-4/71.

Enclosed for San Francisco are 2 copies and for
Los Angeles and Chicago is one copy each in view of their
interest in this matter.

Enclosed LHM is classified confidential to protect
sources of continuing value which disclosure could affect the
National Defense adversely.

First source is [redacted]
source is [redacted]
is [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

EX-114

REC-10

105-165429-330

- 3 d
- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 8) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (Encl. 2) (RM)
 - 1 - Los Angeles (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
 - 4 - New Haven
 - (2 - 157-1031)
 - (2 - 100-19186)
 - (1 - 157-1431)

100-806
AGENCY: ASST. DIR., SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, CIB, INO, IDIU, ea

HOW FORW: _____

DATE FORW: 2/23/71

BY: RUC/fat

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION

FM: ahl

(10)

ENCLOSURE

NH 157-1031

For the information of the Bureau and San Francisco, no final details concerning the exact amount of money to be received by NEWTON has been obtained by New Haven to date.

Sources familiar with the situation, claim that NEWTON has already received \$1,500 traveling expenses and has an oral guarantee that a book will be published by the Yale Press. No final contracts have been concluded as of this date, however, sources have noted that numerous tape recordings were made during the 3-day session and, therefore, it is not felt that [redacted] was in possession of the only recording of this 3-day session. CONN.

Local dissemination is being held in abeyance in view of the fact that information furnished by first and second source is highly sensitive and could easily be traced to these sources if dissemination were made locally.

LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

At San Francisco, California

Will attempt to verify meeting between
[redacted]

NEW HAVEN

At New Haven, Connecticut

Will remain alert for additional details concerning questioned matter.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 157-1031

New Haven, Connecticut

February 12, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

On February 5, 1971, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that HUEY PERCY NEWTON had concluded his three-day seminar with ERIK ERIKSON at Yale University.

B. Approx 1903

ERIK ERIKSON is a well-known professor from Harvard University Campus, Massachusetts.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is attached to the appendix.

CONN.

This source advised that instant seminar was attended by a [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] not considered by fellow students to be a radical. Source stated that NEWTON, during the three day seminar, appeared to be nervous and that by the third day, the situation at the seminar became "uncomfortable."

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Source stated NEWTON was unable to transfer his ideas to practical action. He indicated that his plans had been formulated, but he did not seem willing to develop these plans. During question and answering periods, NEWTON continually evaded questions, and attempted to discuss problems of the countries, such as Cuba and Africa. NEWTON appeared to have been well coached and tutored by someone extremely familiar with Marxist-Leninist Philosophy and Ideology. He also appeared to have been tutored recently in the History of Philosophy and was able to discuss the basic ideas of Emmanuel Kant and Hegel. He appeared to have given his presentation several times previously. Those who participated in the seminar did not appear impressed and by

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ENCLOSURE

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5C/LMS
ON 11-3-81
6125187 #55516

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105-165429-330

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

B. APPROX 1932

K. T. ERIKSON

the third day seemed disillusioned. ERIK ERIKSON attempted to get along with NEWTON and, therefore, did not question him too closely. ERIKSON took copious notes the first day and did not speak hardly at all. The students, who participated, were not allowed to question NEWTON directly. They were required to direct questions through KAP ERIKSON, the temporary Master of Trumbull College. NEWTON was observed drinking beer on several occasions during the nine-hour seminar.

CONN.

Notes of NEWTON's three-day seminar were obtained by first source, who advised that NEWTON spoke specifically concerning KANTS "Rationale" Materialism and Logic, Marx and Engels; Freud, and specifically dialectical materialism. Source stated that notes taken during NEWTON's seminar were illogical and confusing.

MASS.

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL
COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

MRS ELLING MORISON

On February 5, 1971 a second source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the ERIK ERIKSON-HUEY P. NEWTON seminar was held on the second floor conference room of the Yale University Press Building, 149 York Street, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday on February 2-4, 1971, from approximately 9:00 AM to 1:00 PM each day. This seminar was attended by various university faculty and students as well as select members of NEWTON's personal group. This seminar was by invitation only and was closed to the public and news media. The

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] allowed only those on a specified list to enter. Refreshments were served periodically and the conference room was off limits to people working in the building as well as out siders.

This source

MRS

This source further advised that NEWTON and his group were guests of Mr. ERIKSON and resided and dined at Trumbull College. Source stated that extra security was furnished by the Yale Police to insure that there would be no embarrassing incidents during NEWTON's stay at Yale University.

On February 2, 1971 NEWTON's party arrived at 10:35 and did not appear to be in any hurry. NEWTON's group consisted of [REDACTED] and an individual

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

[redacted] who was described as a personal friend of HUEY NEWTON. At 11:30 AM the seminar broke UP up, with a coffee break and no formal schedule was followed. All appeared to be getting along well and the seminar was being taped recorded in order to be used for a future publication in book form. At 11:47 the group returned to the conference room for further discussion. At 1:00 PM a first key session ended with a light lunch served buffet style. The only individual who left the seminar, was [redacted]

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NEWTON and his party left the building at 2:15 PM and returned to Trumbull College. Source stated that just prior to the breaking up of the first day session, two individuals appeared at the building and were refused entrance. They were later identified as personal friends of NEWTON and from out of town. They departed with NEWTON.

Source stated that the second session on Wednesday, February 3, 1971, commenced with the arrival of NEWTON at 9:55 AM. The second session followed the format of the first session. [redacted]

Source stated that an additional to NEWTON's party named [redacted] took part in the second session. [redacted]

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Source furnished the following setting arrangement and also the guest assignment list which was made for the Yale Press Guest Book, which was being kept by [redacted]
These are set forth as follows:

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

The third and final session of the seminar on Thursday, February 4, 1971, again took place at the second floor conference room of the Yale University Press from 10:00 AM to 1:00 PM. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] all sat in on the final session as observers. At 9:41 AM, CHARLES R. GARRY, and DAVID ROSEN, Defense Attorneys for BOBBY SEALE, Chairman, Black Panther Party (BPP), presently on trial in New Haven, Connecticut, arrived. At 9:52 [REDACTED] arrived and were allowed to observe the seminar. NEWTON and [REDACTED] did not arrive until 10:32 and the dissatisfaction on the part of the people kept waiting, was very much apparent. *CONF* b6 b7C

CHARLES R. GARRY ATTORNEY

At 12:21 one of the participant professors, [REDACTED]

*CALIF
CONN.*

Source stated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who did not attend the final session. [REDACTED]

*CONF
CALIF.*

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*CALIF
11.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

[REDACTED]

CONN. b6
b7C

[REDACTED] At 12:25 PM. NEWTON and [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

another time that day. At 12:35 PM NEWTON, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] departed the building and went
directly to the court house to visit with BOBBY SEALE
and ERICKA HUGGINS. *MRS. DONALD MARTIN FREED*

CONN.

BOBBY SEALE has been identified as the
Chairman of the BPP, presently on trial
in New Haven, Connecticut.

ERICKA HUGGINS is a leader of the BPP
in New Haven, and is presently on
trial with SEALE.

Source stated that the last session was concluded
with no incidents or disorders of any nature. During the
complete three days of the seminar, there was no open
attempts by the public, common news media, or anyone else
to try to gain entrance into the building because of the
session being held with NEWTON and his group.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL
COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

On February 5, 1971 the "New York Times" carried the following article concerning NEWTON's three day seminar entitled "ERIKSON AND NEWTON DISCUSS ISSUES IN CONFERENCE AT YALE."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Erikson and Newton Discuss Issues in Conference at Yale

By JOSEPH E. TREASTER

Special to The New York Times

NEW HAVEN, Feb. 4 — For monologue using the notes for the last three days Erik H. Erikson, the psychoanalyst, and Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther, have been engaged in lengthy discussions at Yale University.

The public and the press were barred from the series of three-hour-long talks that ended this afternoon, but 14 selected students—eight white and six black—sat with the two men at a long rectangular table in a library at the Yale University Press and were allowed to ask questions. The university press hopes the conversations can be turned into a book.

Neither Mr. Erikson, who is 68 years old and a professor of developmental psychology at Harvard, nor Mr. Newton, the 29-year-old minister of defense of the Panthers, who is free on bond pending a retrial in California in connection with the death of a policeman three years ago, would talk with a reporter.

Others who were present during the discussions, however, said the talks centered on the ideology of the Black Panther party as outlined by Mr. Newton, with Mr. Erikson making comments and observations drawing from his youth as a student of Freud and his more recent studies of Ghandi (for which he won a National Book Award last year) and Martin Luther.

Party Shift Explained

One student said that Mr. Newton's opening statement on the first day, which ran an hour and 15 minutes, closely resembled a speech reprinted in the Jan. 23 issue of the party newspaper. There, Mr. Newton told how party members has shifted from thinking of themselves as black nationalists in 1966 to revolutionary nationalists, then as internationalists and finally to something which he called "revolutionary intercommunalists," but did not precisely define.

After a coffee break, several students asked questions of Mr. Newton. But Chester Kerr, the director of the Yale University Press, said: "Somewhat to our surprise, Erik Erikson never opened his mouth the first day."

Instead, the psychoanalyst fascinated many of the students by furiously taking notes on a long narrow pad, writing first with a blue pen, then switching off to a red one for underlining and connecting ideas.

The next day, Mr. Erikson opened with an hour-and-15-

minute monologue using the notes for guidance.

The two men spent most of the session today answering questions that had grown out of the two earlier meetings.

Despite the vast differences in age and background between Mr. Erikson and Mr. Newton, b Mr. Kerr and Kai Erikson, the 39-year-old eldest son of the psychoanalyst who served as moderator, said they felt the two had managed to communicate and understand each other.

Moments of Frustration

Mr. Kerr said there were "obvious moments of frustration," but added: "This surely could be said of any academic seminar."

"A nine-hour conversation has its own rhythm, its own logic and its own momentum," said the younger Mr. Erikson who is a sociologist and master of Trumbull College at Yale. "This was an intense, sustained conversation for nine hours."

Many of the students were frankly awed by the two men. Some were unconvinced, however, that Mr. Erikson and Mr. Newton had come away understanding each other.

In a statement reminiscent of those issued after diplomatic meetings, Mr. Kerr said both men had agreed that the discussions had constituted "a useful and educational exchange."

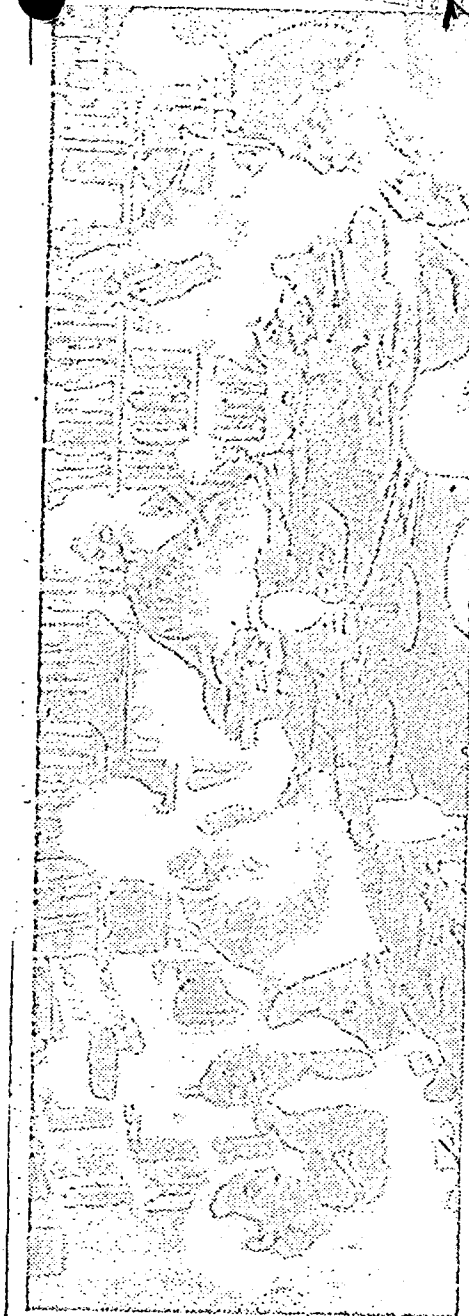
The younger Mr. Erikson said he had arranged for the discussions. Initially, he said, he had planned for a meeting of Mr. Newton with some students. Then he asked his father if he would like to talk with Mr. Newton and the more elaborate meeting developed.

In the last few days, Mr. Newton and at least two other members of the party have been living in the guest suite and Trumbull College. Last night and the night before, Mr. Newton and Mr. Erikson met informally at the younger Mr. Erikson's home.

Mr. Kerr and some of the students felt the evening chats had brought the two men closer and caused "dome natural barriers to drop."

On the second day, for example, Mr. Kerr said, instead of referring to Mr. Erikson as "the professor," Mr. Newton would remark, "as my friend Erik says..."

After each three-hour discussion, the group relaxed around a table of roast beef and ham and cheese sandwiches, bean soup, beer and coffee. For the senior Mr. Erikson, there was always a paper cup of brandy and soda.



MEET AT YALE: Huey P. Newton, gesturing on the left, speaking to Dr. Erik Erikson, right, on second day of talks

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

On February 5, 1971 the "Yale Daily News", a daily newspaper published on campus at Yale University, contained the following article entitled "THREE-DAY COLLOQUIUM ENDS."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Three-Day Colloquium Ends

By TOM WATSON

The three-day colloquium featuring Erik Erikson and Huey Newton concluded yesterday afternoon, but its content will not be known until the possible publication of the proceedings in a book.

Commenting on the session, Kai T. Erikson, who along with Elting Morison moderated the colloquium, said, "It was the tempo, the temper and the tone of the conversation that gave it its power. Secrets weren't revealed; new information was not revealed."

Erikson continually stressed his belief that neither the flavor nor the content of a "very powerful nine-hour conversation" could be accurately reduced to a few words, however. He cordially declined comment on the results of the three-day exchange. Decisions have been extremely

sketchy throughout the conference. The site of the colloquium, the second floor of the Yale University Press, was not released until today.

Closed And Intimate

According to Erikson, the participants wanted a "close, intimate exchange without being the center of a spectacle."

The meeting place was not released in order to keep down the number of people in the room, he explained.

Although the ultimate content of the colloquium is not known, Erikson did say that the first day (Tuesday) was largely devoted to an explanation by Newton of the ideology of the Black Panther Party.

"It was a careful presentation of the Panther Party's current emphasis on intercommunalism," Erikson said. He again stressed the importance of the tone of the meeting.

"A nine-hour conference has its own rhythm, its own logic; and it can't be highlighted," Erikson explained.

The second day began with comments by Erik Erikson, followed by general discussion, Kai Erikson said.

Complicated Negotiations

Contrary to earlier reports, the idea for the colloquium originated in a phone call to Erikson from "some one close to Huey Newton."

Negotiations for the meeting were then carried through a variety of third and fourth parties.

Erikson did not actually speak to Newton until Sunday night at Woolsey Hall.

A few days after the proposal that Newton speak to some Yale students, Erikson thought of inviting his father, Erik Erikson.

Proposals concerning the possibility of a book emerging from a transcript

of the meeting were first made by a New York publisher, Erikson said.

Options for such a book appear to be currently held by Yale University Press.

Before a book may be published however, the major participants of the colloquium must give their consent, Erikson said.

The transcript of the meeting has been copyrighted.

Eighteen persons participated in the colloquium. They were Newton, Erikson, the two moderators, and 14 students. Eight of the students were white; six were black.

The number of participants was in part decided by the capacity of the conference table, according to Erikson.

The actual selection process for the students was to a large extent random, he said.

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

On January 25, 1971, a third source advised that HUEY PERCY NEWTON was in contact with [REDACTED] in New York, concerning NEWTON's forth coming visit to Yale University. Source stated that [REDACTED] informed NEWTON that [REDACTED]. He informed NEWTON that they had offered an advance to NEWTON and ERIKSON of \$28,000, and that the only question was the working out of what ERIKSON wanted to give up from his share. NEWTON stated that it was his opinion that ERIKSON would give the whole thing up. [REDACTED] stated that he has been speaking to ERIKSON and that [REDACTED] was handling that part of the transaction. [REDACTED] stated that Yale University was not aware that the money would be going to ERIKSON and actually be going to NEWTON.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Haven, Connecticut

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1031

February 12, 1971

Title HUEY PERCY NEWTON
SEMINAR TRUMBULL COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1971

Character

Reference Memorandum dated and captioned
as above.

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM : *JFM/OW* SAC, NEW YORK (157-2702)
HUGH P. Newton

SUBJECT: HUGHIE P. NEWTON
RM - BPP
TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

DATE: 2/23/71

ReNYteletype dated 2/15/71 captioned as above.

On 2/16/71, [redacted] New York Port Authority Police, JFK International Airport, New York City, advised that the subject departed JFK Airport with an entourage of four other individuals on 2/15/71 en route to San Francisco, California. [redacted] that the airline tickets for subject group were purchased with a Carte Blanche Credit Card in the name of [redacted]. [redacted] advised that the records of the Carte Blanche Corporation revealed that [redacted] filed application for the above Carte Blanche Credit Card on [redacted]. At such time provided the address [redacted].

[redacted]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-1-80 BY SP-3DB/ER

EX-111/25187

SP5C1/DMS CA75-6203

- 2-Bureau (RM)
- 2-Boston (RM)
- 2-Sacramento (RM)
- 1-San Francisco (157-1204) (INFO) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-161993 sub p)
- 1-New York

TEB:jad

(9) 123

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REC 12

EX-111/25187

6 FEB 24 1971

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5010-108

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

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/25/71

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TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429) — 332

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, KEY BLACK EXTREMIST; COINTELPRO -
BLACK EXTREMISTS, RM.- BPP.

REURTEL FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST.

AUTHORITY GRANTED SAN FRANCISCO TO ANONYMOUSLY DIRECT
QUESTIONS ONE AND TWO REFERRED TO IN REFERENCED TELETYPE TO
NEWTON DURING HIS TV APPEARANCE AT SAN FRANCISCO FEBRUARY TWENTY-
SIX NEXT, INSURING ACTION CANNOT BE TRACED TO THE BUREAU.

RNB:cal
(8)

425167 spsculomS
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/13/83 BY SP-2TAP/RBS

CA#75-6203

NOTE:

Newton scheduled to appear on San Francisco TV Program, 2/26/71, and will receive telephone questions. San Francisco on 2/4/71 proposed questions to be called to Newton during similar appearance in New Haven, but Newton did not appear and questions not used. San Francisco requested authority to call two of these questions to Newton during 2/26 appearance. The questions are: "1. Mr. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver has long been known as the most effective and articulate spokesman of the Black Panther Party. In view of this do you think Cleaver made a mistake in going to Algeria? 2. Mr. Newton, there has recently been an article in the New York Village Voice, issue of 1/28/71, in which Eldridge Cleaver viciously attacked Jerry Rubin and other New Left spokesmen, stating that the Black Panther was breaking all ties with him and people of this type. In regard to this article did you personally have any advance notice of Cleaver's intentions in stating this apparent new policy of the Black Panther Party and was this position taken by Cleaver approved of and formulated by you?" Purpose is to exploit the existing rift between Newton and Cleaver.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 MAR 3 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 25 1971

TELETYPE

NR 009 SF CODE

8:49PM NITEL 2/24/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. [unclear]	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

HEUY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).
COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RM.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED ON FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE LAST THAT
NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR ON "A.M.", A PROGRAM
ON KGO TELEVISION, CHANNEL SEVEN, SAN FRANCISCO, AT SEVEN THIRTY
A.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT. PROGRAM IS TYPE WHERE
LISTENERS CAN CALL IN AND ASK GUEST QUESTIONS AND JIM DUNBAR,
A NOTED RADIO AND TELEVISION PERSONALITY IN SAN FRANCISCO
AREA, IS THE HOST OF PROGRAM.

ON FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR INSTANT, CONTACT WITH KGO TELEVISION
STATION DETERMINED NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR ON DUNBAR'S
PROGRAM AT SEVEN THIRTY A.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT.

SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED NEWTON IS ALSO SCHEDULED TO
APPEAR ON SAN FRANCISCO RADIO STATION KDIA ON FEBRUARY TWENTY-
EIGHT NEXT FROM FOUR P.M. ON PROGRAM CALLED "BLACK
MONTAGE" (PHONETIC). SOURCE BELIEVES THIS PROGRAM WAS TAPED BY
NEWTON ON FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE LAST.

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/13/83 BY SP-2 TAP/RBB BC
CA #75-6203

XEROX

1 FEB 26 1971

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-448006-332

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

ACCORDING TO SOURCE, PURPOSE OF NEWTON'S APPEARANCES IS TO EXPLAIN TO PEOPLE IN COMMUNITY THE REASON HE IS LIVING IN HIGH-RISE APARTMENT BUILDING IN OAKLAND, IS FOR SECURITY REASONS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

UACB, SAN FRANCISCO WILL HAVE AN EMPLOYEE CALL THE TELEVISION PROGRAM DURING NEWTON'S APPEARANCE ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT, AND ASK NEWTON QUESTIONS ONE AND TWO THAT WERE SET FORTH IN SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED FEBRUARY FOUR LAST, CAPTIONED "BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - PUBLIC APPEARANCES, RM - BPP" AND "COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RM", WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN APPROVED BY THE BUREAU.

NEWTON'S STATEMENTS ON THE TELEVISION AND PROGRAMS WILL BE TAPED AND THE BUREAU ADVISED.

END...

HOLD

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ROOM 724 9&D

2/25/71

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

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TO SAC, BOSTON

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, KEY BLACK EXTREMIST; CHARLES R. GARRY,
RM - BPP.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

RESFTEL FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST.

REFERENCED TELETYPE SET OUT LEAD FOR BOSTON TO COVER GARRY'S
SPEECH AT HARVARD, FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT AND OBTAIN RECORDING
AND TRANSCRIPT.

IN LINE WITH INVESTIGATION OF GARRY, VERBATIM REPORT OF HIS
SPEECHES ARE DESIRABLE. HOWEVER, COVERAGE OF HIS APPEARANCES
SHOULD BE MOST CIRCUMSPECT AND LIMITED TO STRICTLY PUBLIC
FUNCTIONS WHERE NO EMBARRASSMENT TO BUREAU CAN BE GUARANTEED.

ACCORDINGLY, SPEECH AT HARVARD SHOULD NOT BE MONITORED OR
ATTENDED BY BUREAU AGENTS.

COPIES MAILED TO NEW HAVEN AND SAN FRANCISCO.

- 1 - New Haven (BY MAIL)
1 - San Francisco (157-1203) (BY MAIL)

REC-30

333

RNB:cal
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/23/87 BY SP5C110MS

NOTE:

Above instructions to Boston believed necessary to prevent
possible embarrassment to Bureau. Charles Garry is BPP chief
attorney who would go to any lengths to embarrass the Director
and/or the Bureau. Director was advised by informative note
2/25/71.

XEROX

10 MAR 1 1971
MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT



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C O D E

5PM

TEL 2/18/71 BEH

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 19 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-3765)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

NEW YORK

SPRINGFIELD

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

b6
b7C

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

THE FRONT PAGE OF THE FEBRUARY TWENTY, SEVENTYONE, EDITION OF "THE BLACK PANTHER" NEWSPAPER, WHICH WAS PRINTED ON FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN LAST, BORE LARGE PHOTOGRAPH OF NEWTON WITH HEADING "HAPPY BIRTHDAY HUEY". NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE."

PAGE TWO OF THIS EDITION OF THE BPP NEWSPAPER CONTAINS A FULL PAGE ARTICLE CAPTIONED "PIGS THREATEN WELL-BEING OF THE SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE" WHICH POINTED OUT THAT NEWTON WAS RESIDING IN THE APARTMENT BUILDING IN OAKLAND FOR SECURITY REASONS. THE ARTICLE FURTHER STATED THAT NEWTON'S ADDRESS HAD BEEN PUBLICIZED ACROSS THE COUNTRY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ALLOWING "EVERY FOOL, BOUNTY-HUNTER AND PIG IN THE WORLD TO KNOW WHERE HE SLEEPS." THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES WITH THE PARAGRAPH: "FOR THE SALVATION, LIBERATION AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO EITHER KILL OR DIE." AND TO PRESERVE FOR EVEN A MOMENT THE LIFE OF THE KIND

12 FEB 25 1971

END OF PAGE ONE
TELETYPE
MAR 10 1971
NY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/07 BY SP5C/LMS

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

OF GENIUS WHICH HAS GUIDED OUR PARTY THROUGH THESE PAST YEARS,
WE CERTAINLY WILL NOT HESITATE TO PROVIDE WHATEVER IS NECESSARY."

PAGE SEVENTEEN OF THIS ISSUE OF "THE BLACK PANTHER" CONTAINED
AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT NEWTON WILL SPEAK FOR THE FIRST TIME IN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AT THE COLISEUM, ONE FIVE ONE THREE SOUTH WABASH,
ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY TWENTYONE NEXT, AT TWO P.M. DONATION OF ONE
DOLLAR WILL BE COLLECTED AT THE DOOR. A TELEPHONE NUMBER OF THREE ONE
TWO DASH NINE TWO FOUR DASH SIX FIVE SEVEN FIVE WAS LISTED TO BE
CALLED FOR FURTHER INFORMATION.

SOURCE ADVISED ON FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN INSTANT THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SAID THAT NEWTON WILL BE LEAVING SAN FRANCISCO
ON THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY NINETEEN NEXT EN ROUTE TO NEW YORK CITY
FOR A CONFERENCE WITH [REDACTED] SAID NEWTON
WILL FLY TO CHICAGO FROM NEW YORK CITY ON THE NIGHT OF FEBRUARY
NINETEEN OR THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY TWENTY NEXT.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE TO BUREAU, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN INSTANT.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK ALERT SOURCES REGARDING NEWTON'S TRAVEL
TO THOSE CITIES.

END OF PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON BEING FOLLOWED CLOSELY BY SAN FRANCISCO.
THE BUREAU AND APPROPRIATE OFFICES WILL BE KEPT ADVISED CONCERNING
NEWTON'S TRAVEL.

REND

HOLD PLS

EJF FBI WASH DC

cc - [illegible]
[illegible]

Date of Mail 211171

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL - Huey P. Newton

Removed By 97 MAY 1971

File Number 105-165429-385

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA75-6203*
DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5C110MS

Date of Mail 2/11/71

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL - Huey P. Newton

Removed By 97MAW - 1871127

File Number 105-165429-336

Permanent Serial Charge Out

RECEIVED
DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5c:ldms
6A75-6203

Mr. E. H. _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mear _____
Mr. E. H. _____
Mr. E. H. _____
Mr. C. Nelson _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. _____
Mr. _____
Mr. _____
Mr. _____
Mr. _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED **CA75-6203**
DATE **6/25/07** BY **SP5CJ/DMS**

PG TWOP

RESERVATION FOR MADISON, WIS, FEB. TWENTY, WAS CANCELLED WITH
NORTH CENTRAL AIRLINES AND SUTEL.

SAN FRANCISCO REQUESTED TO FURNISHE ITINERARY OF NEWTON
FOR NEXT FIFTEEN DAYS, IF AVAILABLE, AND SUTEL.

MILWAUKEE FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP BUREAU AND
ALL INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED REGARDING ALL ADDITIONAL
PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED.

END

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 18 1971

TELETYPE

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

NR007 MI PLAIN

503PM URGENT 2/18/71 LRK

TO DIRECTOR 105-165429

CHICAGO 157-3765

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203

FROM MILWAUKEE 157-1113

HUEY P. NEWTON. RM - BPP.

RE MILWAUKEE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR INSTANT DATE.

[REDACTED] UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW),

DEPARTMENT OF PROTECTION AND SECURITY, ADVISED INSTANT

DATE [REDACTED] UW AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER, ACCDED

TO UW DEMANDS AND SIGNED AGREEMENT THAT BPP MEMBERS ACCOMPANYING

SUBJECT WILL NOT POSSESS FIREARMS, NO SEARCHES WILL BE MADE OF

PERSONS ATTENDING SPEECH BY SUBJECT AND UW POLICE WILL BE

RESPONSIBLE TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR NEWTON. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT

NEWTON IS NOW SCHEDULED TO SPEAK FOUR PM, FEBRUARY TWENTY,

SEVENTYONE UW STOCK PAVILLION.

EX-114

REC-30

105-165429-338

MILWAUKEE FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP BUREAU

AND INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED OF ALL ADDITIONAL PERTINENT

INFORMATION DEVELOPED.

END

KPT FBI WASH

70 MAR 10 1971

copies to 150
1010
2/23/71
RMB/jr

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5C/LMS

F B I

Date: 2/9/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka.
RM - BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

OO: SF

Re Milwaukee nitel to Bureau, 2/2/71.

For information of Milwaukee, Subject was in Oakland, Calif., from 1/1/71 until 1/29/71, when he departed for New York City. On 1/30/71 NEWTON spoke at Lee High School, New Haven, Conn., and on 1/31/71 he spoke at Woolsey Hall, Yale University, New Haven. There were no unusual incidents in connection with these appearances.

For the further information of Milwaukee, following is a tentative itinerary for NEWTON during February, 1971:

2/9/71

Princeton University,
Dillon Gymnasium,
Princeton, New Jersey

2/10/71

Return to Oakland, Calif.
where he has court
appearance in Alameda
County Superior Court on
2/11/71

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CHS4203*
DATE *6/25/87* BY *SP5C10ms*

2/12/71

Return to New York City
where supposed to attend
private party at residence
of [redacted]

① Bureau (RM)
2-Milwaukee (157-1113) (RM)
2-San Francisco
JLC:kah #9
(6)

[redacted] New York City

FEB 11 1971

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

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b7C

70 MAR 10 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC:kah

2/13/71	State University of New York, Stony Brook, New York
2/14/71	University of Syracuse, Syracuse, New York
2/15/71	Columbia University, New York City, and City College of New York
2/17/71	Possible television appearance in New York City
2/18/71	Return to California

At speaking engagements by Subject, people attending are searched by BPP members and any person objecting to the search is not allowed to attend the speech. The BPP insists on being in charge of security when NEWTON speaks.

Milwaukee follow Subject's possible appearance at University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, on 2/20/71 and keep Bureau and San Francisco advised of all pertinent information developed.

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/22/71

Attached report of Chicago appearance before 2,000 people yesterday by Black Panther Party (BPP) leader Huey P. Newton is significant in that it reveals definite change in Newton's speech pattern towards revolution and violence which will definitely appeal to black militants. Instead of his usual dull Marxist-Leninist line, Newton called on revolutionaries to fight "fascism," free political prisoners and indicated he would try to get Angela Davis back into the BPP. In Chicago, Newton was house guest of [redacted] white female, who is well-known sympathizer of left wing and dissident groups.

Copy of attached being furnished Internal Security Division and Inter-Division Information Unit of Department. Pertinent parts regarding Newton's speech being included in teletype summary to White House, and data regarding his stay with [redacted] will be included in Summary of Extremist Activities, both of which receive high level dissemination.

ABF:cb

CDH
JRC

WBS

C975-6243

6/25/67

SP5C10ms

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR 004 CG CODE

7:52 PM 02-21-71 DJB NITEL

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765)

RACIAL MATTERS-BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA. / ~~RM~~ BPP; TREASON (KEY EXTREMIST).

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SPECIAL AGENTS (SA'S) FBI, OBSERVED APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED BLACK YOUTHS COMMENCE GATHERING IN CHICAGO COLISEUM, ONE FIVE ONE THREE S. WABASH STREET, CHICAGO, ONE TWENTY PM, FEBRUARY TWENTYONE, INSTANT TO HEAR HUEY NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER, BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), SPEAK. APPROXIMATELY FIVE HUNDRED YOUTHS (NIENTY PERCENT BLACK) HAD GATHERED BY TWO PM. [REDACTED]

BPP LEADERS WERE OBSERVED ARRIVING AT TWO THIRTYFIVE PM.

[REDACTED] OBSERVED BY SA'S DEPARTING COLISEUM AND PICKING UP NEWTON, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHITE FEMALE, NEW LEFT AND BLACK MILITANT SYMPATHIZER. NEWTON ARRIVED COLISEUM, ALONG WITH [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 2075-2203
DATE 12/21/87 BY SP5CJL/MS

EX 105

REC- 45

105-165429-340

"cc to IDIU, 1 SD
Adm. data deleted"

57 MAR 5 1971

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PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AT FOUR FORTYFIVE PM INSTANT.

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FIRST AND SECOND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED BOBBY RUSH INTRODUCED NEWTON TO SEVENTEEN HUNDRED TO TWO THOUSAND PEOPLE, TEN PERCENT WHITE, AT APPROXIMATELY FOUR FIFTYFIVE PM. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, NEWTON CALLED UPON THOSE PRESENT TO FREE ANGELA DAVIS, COMMUNIST WHO IS CURRENTLY UNDER INDICTMENT IN CALIFORNIA FOR CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT MURDER AND TO FREE BOBBY SEALE, NATIONAL BPP LEADER PRESENTLY IN CONN., AWAITING TRIAL ON CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT MURDER CHARGES. NEWTON WAS CRITICAL OF GUS HALL, NATIONAL SECRETARY, CPUSA. NEWTON ALSO SAID THE BPP SUPPORTED ALL ANTI-CAPITALIST ORGANIZATIONS. SOURCE ALSO SAID NEWTON TOLD AUDIENCE HE HAD TALK RECENTLY WITH ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, NATIONAL BPP LEADER IN EXILE, WHO CALLED UPON ALL REVOLUTIONARIES TO ORGANIZE AND FIGHT FACISM. ONE DOLLAR ADMISSION CHARGED AT COLISEUM.

THIRD CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED NEWTON TOLD THOSE PRESENT BPP WAS ATTEMPTING TO GET ANGELA DAVIS BACK INTO THE PARTY. NEWTON ALSO SAID BPP HAD BUILT SHOE FACTORY ON WEST COAST RECENTLY AND WOULD, IN FUTURE, BUILD OTHERS IN U.S. TO MAKE SHOES FOR CHILDREN IN U.S. AND OVERSEAS. NEWTON ALSO TOLD
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

THOSE PRESENT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER THAT HE
(CLEAVER) WOULD RETURN TO U.S. WHEN IT WAS SAFE FOR HIM TO DO SO.

SA'S OBSERVED MEETING CONCLUDED APPROXIMATELY SIX TEN PM

[REDACTED] NEWTON AND OTHERS RETURNING TO RESIDENCE [REDACTED]

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DEPUTY SUPERINTENDANT OFFICE, CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT ADVISED
AREA VICINITY COLISEUM RETURNED TO NORMAL SIX THIRTY PM WITH NO
INCIDENTS REPORTED.

ADMINISTRATIVE::::::::::::

REMYTEL FEBRUARY TWENTY, LAST. FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THIRD SOURCE IS [REDACTED] (PROTECT REQUESTED).

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SA'S OBSERVING - [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] *LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM*

CHICAGO FOLLOWING. / LHM FOLLOWS.

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

TKS CLR

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b7C

ROOM 724 920

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FOR 100-1000

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Woods	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR001 MI PLAIN

1214PM 2/17/71 URGENT MAB

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)
SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
CHICAGO (157-3765)

FROM: MILWAUKEE (157-1113) (P) 2P

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP.

[REDACTED] UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW),
DEPARTMENT OF PROTECTION AND SECURITY, MADISON, WIS., ADVISED
THIS DATE UW CHANCELLOR H. EDWIN YOUNG DURING MEETING WITH
MEMBERS OF UW AFRO AMERICAN CENTER, FEB. SIXTEEN LAST ADVISED
UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL NEWTON BE ALLOWED OR COMMITTED TO
SPEAK ON UW CAMPUS WITHOUT WRITTEN ASSURANCE THAT NO ATTEMPTS
WILL BE MADE BY NEWTON'S BODY GUARDS OR MEMBERS OF AFRO AMERICAN
CENTER TO SEARCH PERSONS ATTENDING AND THAT UW POLICE WILL
PROVIDE SECURITY.

[REDACTED] AFRO AMERICAN CENTER, ADVISED
HE WAS NOT IN POSITION TO GIVE ASSURANCES AND ANOTHER MEETING
WAS SCHEDULED FOR EIGHT THIRTY AM THIS DATE.

END PAGE ONE

REC- 30

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/07 BY SP5/ams

57 MAR 15 1971

9 MAR 1 1971

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PAGE TWO

ALSO ADVISED REPRESENTATIVES OF AFRO AMERICAN CENTER
FAILED TO ATTEND EIGHT THIRTY AM MEETING AND ANOTHER MEETING
IS SCHEDULED FOR FOUR THIRTY PM INSTANT DATE.

b6
b7C

MILWAUKEE FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP BUREAU AND
INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED OF ALL ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
DEVELOPED.

END

JTJ FBI WASH DC

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/18/71

Attached reveals yet another example of the problems being encountered by Black Panther Party (BPP) leader Huey P. Newton on his current speaking tour at colleges and universities. Basis for these problems is demand by BPP that it be responsible for security of Newton and the tight security precautions implemented including search of everyone in audience. A "metal detector" has been used by BPP in the searches.

Copy of attached being furnished Internal Security Division and Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department. Speaking tour of Newton is receiving close and intensified investigative attention.

ABF:drl

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203
DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5C10ms

Mr. Tolson_____
 Mr. Sullivan_____
 Mr. Mohr_____
 Mr. Bishop_____
 Mr. BrennanCD_____
 Mr. Callahan_____
 Mr. Casper_____
 Mr. Conrad_____
 Mr. Dalbey_____
 Mr. Felt_____
 Mr. Gale_____
 Mr. Rosen_____
 Mr. Tavel_____
 Mr. Walters_____
 Mr. Soyars_____
 Tele. Room_____
 Miss Holmes_____
 Miss Gandy_____

NR 011 SF PLAINTEXT

9 08 PM NITEL 2/25/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-3765)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE).

RE MILWAUKEE TELETYPES FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST AND FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE INSTANT.

FOR INFORMATION OF CHICAGO AND MILWAUKEE, NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO DEPART SAN FRANCISCO FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT, EN ROUTE TO BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, WHERE HE IS TO ATTEND A BPP FUND RAISING COCKTAIL PARTY BEING GIVEN BY [REDACTED] NO OTHER TRAVEL OF NEWTON IS KNOWN TO SAN FRANCISCO AT THIS TIME, BUT NEWTON HAS INDICATED HE WILL RETURN TO SAN FRANCISCO ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSEVEN NEXT, FROM BOSTON.

SAN FRANCISCO HAS RECEIVED NO INFORMATION INDICATING THAT NEWTON WILL APPEAR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, ON FEBRUARY TWENTYEIGHT NEXT, OR AT TIME IN THE. MAR 1 1971
 END PAGE ONE

62 MAR 10 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203
 DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5C1/DMS

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

NEAR FUTURE. SHOULD ANY INFORMATION BE DEVELOPED CONCERNING HIS APPEARANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY, THE BUREAU AND MILWAUKEE WILL BE IMMEDIATELY ADVISED.

BOSTON ADVISED SEPARATELY OF NEWTON'S TRAVEL.

END...

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 25 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR011 CG PLAIN

507PM 2-25-71 NITEL JMD

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) (P) 1P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST). OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
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[REDACTED] NORTH CENTRAL
AIRLINES, CHICAGO, ADVISED APPROXIMATELY NINE AM, FEBRUARY
TWENTY LAST, HUEY P. NEWTON HELD RESERVATION NORTH CENTRAL
FLIGHT ONE THREE ONE TO MADISON, WISC., ARRIVING THREE
FORTY EIGHT PM. [REDACTED] NORTH CENTRAL AIRLINES,
RECEPTIONIST, O'HARE FIELD, CHICAGO, ADVISED APPROXIMATELY
TWELVE THIRTY PM SAME DATE, RESERVATIONS FOR NEWTON AND
PARTY TO MADISON HAD BEEN CANCELED. FLIGHT ONE THREE
ONE DEPARTS CHICAGO.

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RE MILWAUKEE TEL FEBRUARY TWENTY FOUR LAST. AM COPY
SAN FRANCISCO.

REC-56

343

END

DRL FBI WASH DC

MAR 1 1971

51 MAR 8 1971 370

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-27-81 BY SP2 TBP/CLK
SP5C10MS C015-6203

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR004 CG CODED

1216PM URGENT 2-18-71 EOM/RAG

FEB 18 1971

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

TELETYPE

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

NEW YORK

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

SPRINGFIELD

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) 3P

6/25/87
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
SP5C10MS
CAR 54203

DATE 4-21-81 BY SP-2
TAP/ELW

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM-BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED LATE FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN LAST,
PROBLEMS BEING ENCOUNTERED AT UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW),
MADISON, RE APPEARANCE HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), AT THAT INSTITUTION FOR SPEECH
FEBRUARY TWENTY NEXT. UW AUTHORITIES RELUCTANT TO CONSENT
TO ABOVE APPEARANCE AS THEY INSIST ON HANDLING ALL SECURITY
MATTERS RELATIVE TO SPEECH THEMSELVES. NOTHING SPECIFIC TO
DATE HAS BEEN RESOLVED RE UW APPEARANCE.

REPRESENTATIVE, NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF BPP, INSTRUCTED

ILLINOIS
ILL. / CHAPTER OF BPP,

CHICAGO, TO SEND THREE AIRLINE TICKETS TO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
FOR NEWTON AND PARTY OF TWO FOR TRAVEL TO CHICAGO. ITINERARY

END PAGE ONE

REC-30

105-165427-344

2Xerox
Blocked out admin
conf. Sp I
to IDIU, & ISD
K/S 2/25/71
ABF/ARB

57 MAR 15 1971

EX-114

FEB 1 1971

PAGE TWO

NOT DESIGNATED. INFO AVAILABLE REFLECTS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS APPARENTLY FEELS NEWTON STILL HOLDS SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, NORMAL, ^(ISU) ON FEBRUARY NINETEEN NEXT AND, THEREFORE, INSIST ISU BE RESPONSIBLE FOR TRAVEL CHARGES TO CHICAGO, NORMAL, AND MADISON. [REDACTED] NOT INDICATED TO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS THE ISU ENGAGEMENT HAS BEEN CANCELED AND THAT CURRENT DIFFICULTIES BEING ENCOUNTERED RE NEWTON'S UW APPEARANCE IN MADISON.

b6
b7C

SOURCE ADDED RENTAL MONEY FOR CHICAGO COLISEUM, FEB. TWO ONE, NEXT, WHERE NEWTON ALSO TO SPEAK, NOT RAISED TO DATE BUT THAT PROPERTY PROTECTION AND LIABILITY INSURANCE FOR THAT SITE HAS BEEN OBTAINED BY BPP IN AMOUNT OF THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. PREMIUM FOR SUCH POLICY WAS THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS.

SOURCE ALSO ADVISED ONE [REDACTED] (PHONETIC) FROM HARLEM, NEW YORK, REPORTEDLY CONTACTED BY REPRESENTATIVE, ILL. CHAPTER, BPP, REQUESTING A "METAL DETECTOR" IN HIS POSSESSION BE IMMEDIATELY PROVIDED THE ILL. CHAPTER TO BE USED BY BPP

END PAGE TWO

b6
b7C

PAGE THREE

SECURITY GUARDS IN CONNECTION WITH PROVIDING SECURITY FOR
NEWTON'S APPEARANCE, CHICAGO [REDACTED]

<- NOT FOIPA DELETION

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHICAGO/^{TELETYPE}TEL FEBRUARY SIXTEEN LAST AND MILWAUKEE/^{TELETYPE}TEL

FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN LAST. SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE SPECIFIC
ITINERARY OF NEWTON AND PARTY OF TWO TRAVELING CHICAGO
COMING WEEKEND. NEW YORK ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED] (LNU).
MADISON CONTINUE EFFORTS TO DETERMINE SPECIFIC INFO NEWTON'S
APPEARANCE UW. CHICAGO FOLLOWS CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP BUREAU
AND INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED AS TO NEWTON'S ACTIVITIES
CHICAGO AREA. IN EVENT ABOVE DISSEMINATED IT SHOULD BE
SUITABLY PARAPHRASED AND CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.

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END

JTJ FBI WASH DC

[REDACTED]

F B I

Date: 2/19/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP
OO - San Francisco

ReSftel 2/18/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) photostat copies of an article by TIM FINDLEY which appeared in the 2/18/71, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" entitled "The View From Newton's 'Prison'".

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - San Francisco
JLC/jr
(3)

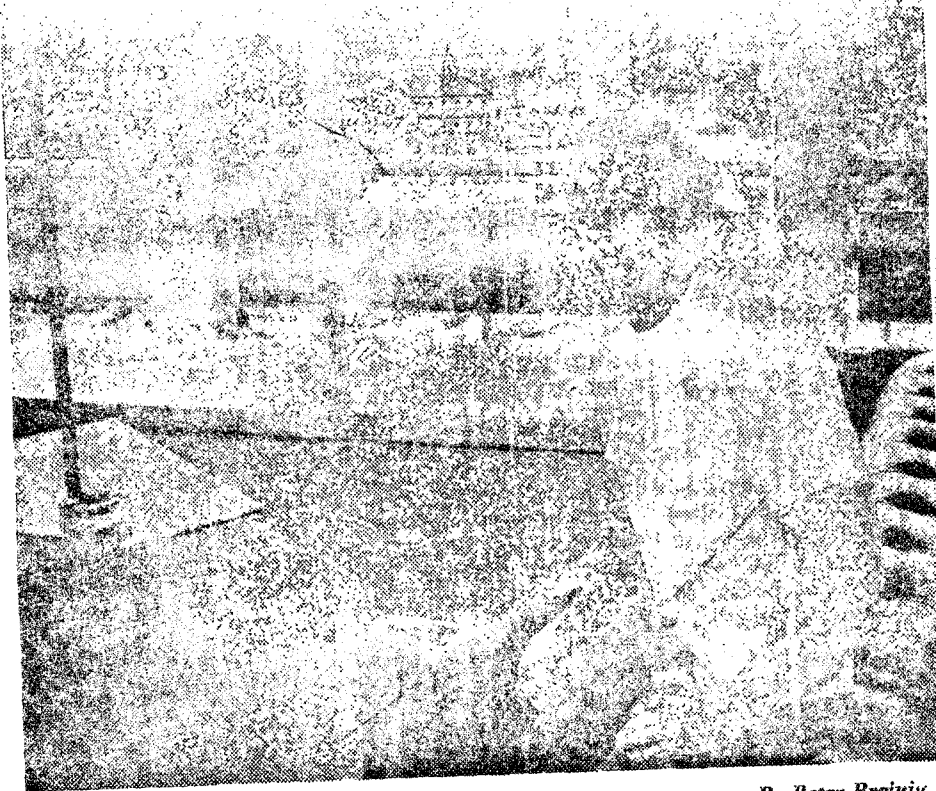
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA156203*
DATE *6/25/87* BY *SP5ailoms*

54 MAR 16 1971

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Special Agent in Charge

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By Peter Breinig

The Panthers have insisted that Newton live in the plush apartment overlooking Lake Merritt for reasons of security

The View From Newton's 'Prison'

By Tim Finley

From the long veranda where Huey P. Newton spends much of his time these days, virtually all of what tourist-book America calls Oakland opens in his face.

The penthouse at 120 Lakeshore Avenue overlooking Lake Merritt is what has been described as the "posh Panther pad" and Huey Newton's "office," yet to the young man who lives there it is a prison.

Newton, the revolutionary leader of the Black Panther party,

was released from a more formal prison last year after a higher court reversed his conviction of manslaughter in the 1967 slaying of an Oakland police officer.

Since then, the 29-year-old Newton (his birthday was yesterday) has returned to functional leadership of the national party.

The party's national policy is being set by a seven-member "central committee" in which Newton is a member, but with his own power to overrule the body.

LANDED

Had he that power, Newton says he would never have landed in the 25th-story two-bedroom penthouse.

That was a decision of the central committee, and it was based on providing not opulent comfort for Newton, but secure protection.

The \$700 a month now expended to insure his safety is considered by the Panther leadership to be almost a bargain.

Only one other resident of the apartment house lives on the 25th floor and he is at the other end of the building. It

See Back Page

San Francisco Chronicle
February 18, 1971

6/25/87 SP341002

ENCLOSURE

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The View From Newton's Plush Penthouse 'Prison'

From Page 1

would virtually require an army to "raid" the place.

BOOK

The time he has spent in the pad has largely been occupied in writing his book — a lengthy dissertation on Panther ideology.

In order to see him at the apartment, one must first contact Panther officials by telephone.

If permission is granted, the visitor first approaches a uniformed apartment house doorman and guard.

The guard then contacts the apartment on an intercom, and, if you have telephoned in advance, there will come a reply.

"Who is it?"

"Mr. Findley to see Mr. Newton."

"Have him stand in front of the camera."

SWITCH

Channel 13 on the apartment's color TV set blinks on with a switch from the remote control hand unit, revealing a perfect view of the person in the lobby.

Once on the 25th floor, the visitor must ring another buzzer for the apartment and be viewed through a peep-

hole in the door.

"I stay here because it is a security building," Newton said, looking out the panorama of Oakland flooding the apartment's floor-to-ceiling windows.

"I'd like to be back in the streets; like it was before, Bobby (Seale) and I, and letting Bobby be the spokesman. But at least here if the police did storm in, they'd have a lot of explaining to do to the other tenants."

TENANTS

The other tenants display some open nervousness about their controversial neighbor, occasionally encountering him in an elevator or in the apartment house exercise room and sauna Newton frequently uses.

"It's like prison, really," Newton said, seated at the long conference-sized dining table in the apartment. "I feel like I'm a prisoner. I can't walk down the streets like I used to; when I go, there's a force that goes with me."

The pad is comfortably, if somewhat sparsely furnished with vinyl leather couches and expensive motel-room like accessories. It has the appearance, in fact, of a kind

of high-level motel room with a neatness that looks unlivable.

The whole thing is overwhelmed by the view—itsself a kind of ironic panorama of Newton's life. To the west, the triangle of Merritt College's vocational school (Newton attended academic classes at the college's other campus); to the northeast, the Kaiser building filling the lake with a glare of reflections; and to the north and south the ghettos of Oakland.

For all the panorama, however, the view is dominated by the squat peaked building.

"I can see it all the time, from every room," Newton said gesturing toward the white stone Alameda County Courthouse. "I can look down on it whenever I want."

At night, the building shows only a necklace of lights at the base of its triangular shaped roof, revealing activity in the Alameda County jail.

Newton pointed to a square of light shining from one cell in the left corner of the building.

"I spent a year there once too," he said.



Huey Newton pointed from the window to the Alameda county courthouse and jail—he can see it from any window in the apartment

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR 001 MI PLAIN

230 PM NITEL 2/28/71 TJL

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP.

RE: MITEL TO BUREAU SF AND CG , TWO TWENTY-FIVE SEVENTYONE.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN(UW) DEPARTMENT PROTECTION SECURITY, ADVISED INSTANT DATE, UW AFRO AMERICAN CENTER HAS NOT REQUESTED FURTHER MEETING WITH UW ADMINISTRATION TO OBTAIN UW FIELDHOUSE FOR SPEECH BY HUEY NEWTON.

[REDACTED] ADVISED IS EXTREMELY UNLIKELY NEWTON WILL SPEEK UW CAMPUS AS ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT NEGOTIATE ON QUESTIONS OF WHO WILL PROVIDE SECURITY AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ALLOW SEARCHING OF PERSONS ATTENDING ANY FUNCTION ON UW CAMPUS.

b6
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CANVAS OF LOGICAL SOURCES DEVELOPED NO INFORMATION THAT NEWTON WILL APPEAR ON UW CAMPUS THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE: MILWAUKEE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW.

END.

DRL FBI WASH DC

CLR

61 MAR 1971

REC 12 105-165429-346

3 MAR 2 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 6125-6203
DATE 6/25/07 BY SP5C/LDM/S

Mr. []
 Mr. []
 Mr. Mohr []
 Mr. Bishop []
 Mr. Brennan []
 Mr. Callahan []
 Mr. Casper []
 Mr. Conrad []
 Mr. Dalbey []
 Mr. Felt []
 Mr. Gale []
 Mr. Rosen []
 Mr. Tavel []
 Mr. Walters []
 Mr. Soyars []
 Tele. Room []
 Miss Holmes []
 Miss Gandy []

NR 002 SF PLAINTEXT

9:12PM NITEL 2/28/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM DASH BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

A PRE-TAPED CONVERSATION WITH NEWTON AND LOUIS FREEMAN, MODERATOR OF PROGRAM "BLACK MONTAGE", WAS BROADCAST OVER KDIA RADIO STATION, SAN FRANCISCO, FEBRUARY TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT, FROM FOUR THIRTY P.M. UNTIL SIX P.M. NEWTON SPOKE ON VARIOUS TOPICS COVERING HIS EARLY CHILDHOOD, MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY, EDUCATION, ORGANIZATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LIVING IN THE HIGH-RISE APARTMENT IN OAKLAND, AND THE REVOLUTIONARY DAY OF INTERCOMMUNAL SOLIDARITY TO BE HELD IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ON MARCH FIVE NEXT. THE COMMENTS BY NEWTON WERE BASICALLY THE SAME AS THOSE HE HAS MADE IN RECENT STATEMENTS AT VARIOUS SPEAKING APPEARANCES, AND NO STATEMENTS MADE REGARDING ANY POLICIES OF THE BPP.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CONVERSATION WITH NEWTON WAS TAPED BY THE SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE AT THE TIME OF THE BROADCAST. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PROGRAM, THE MODERATOR NOTED THAT THE CONVERSATION HAD BEEN TAPED PRIOR TO THE CONTROVERSIAL STATEMENTS MADE BY ELDRIDGE

END PAGE ONE

MAR 8 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

CLEAVER ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX LAST CONCERNING BPP CHIEF
OF STAFF DAVID HILLIARD DURING A SAN FRANCISCO TELEVISION
PROGRAM ON WHICH NEWTON APPEARED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END...

REC 2 FBI WA RDR

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	ED ✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR004 MI PLAIN

715 PM URGENT 2/20/71 TJL

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-3765)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

STAG.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] DIRECTOR UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW) ,
DEPARTMENT PROTECTION AND SECURITY, ADVISED INSTANT DATE APPROX-
IMATELY THREE THOUSAND ATTENDED SCHEDULED SPEECH UW STOCK PAVILLION
INSTANT DATE AFTER WHICH UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE MADE ANNOUNCEMENT
THAT NEWTON WOULD NOT APPEAR IN AS MUCH AS UW PROMISED FIELD HOUSE
FOR SPEECH AND ALSO SECURITY PROVIDED BY CAMPUS POLICE,
WHOLLY INADEQUATE.

END PAGE ONE.

REC-2

2 MAR 1 1971

61 MAR 5 1971
"cc to IDIU
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA 75-6203
DATE 6/23/87 BY SP5C10ms

PAGE TWO.

MI(157-1113)

SPEAKER ADVISED NEWTON WILL SPE^AKK ON CAMPUS AT A LATER DATE
AND URGED STUDENTS TO LEAVE PAVILION AND CRASH FIELD HOUSE.

HANSON ADVISED APPROXIMATELY THREE TO FIVE HUNDRED MARCHED
TO FIELD HOUSE ENTERED BUT WERE IMMEDIATELY DISPERSED BY CAMPUS
POLICE WITHOUT INCIDENT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

MI IS FOLLOWING AND WILL KEEP BUREAU ADVISED OF ALL PERTINENT
INFORMATION. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END.

LRC FBI WASH DC

CLR

ROOM 712-A 9&D

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES

MENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
(Attn: Domestic Intelligence Division)

DATE: 2/24/71

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-1995)(P)

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON, aka
PM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 1/27/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies, and for San Francisco two copies, of HUEY NEWTON's speech at Boston College on 11/18/70.

This speech was attended by SA's [redacted] and [redacted] and monitored by means of a secure recording device by SA's [redacted]
[redacted]

Summary of NEWTON's speech was previously furnished to Secret Service locally and, therefore, complete text is not being disseminated to Secret Service.

ST-103 REC-25

FEB 26 1971

ENCLOSURE

②-Bureau (Encs. 8)(RM)
2-San Francisco (157-1203)(Encs. 2)(RM)
2-Boston
JTB:cms
(6)

AGENCY: ~~ACST~~, ~~NIC~~, ~~OST~~, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT: ~~ISD~~, ~~CSB~~, ~~MAO~~, IDIU, ~~CS~~

HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 3/1/71
BY: RWD/SP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203
DATE 6/26/67 BY SP5 c.10ms

EXP. PROC.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

February 24, 1971

HUEY P. NEWTON

On November 18, 1970, Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Boston, Massachusetts, observed Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party (BPP), deliver a speech at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.

Characterizations of the BPP, Progressive Labor Party, and Socialist Workers Party are contained in the appendix.

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

105-165421-349

ENCLOSURE

VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH BY
HUEY P. NEWTON
BOSTON COLLEGE, CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS
NOVEMBER 18, 1970

HUEY :

NEWTON:

(HN)

(Unintelligible) if it were not for the power of the people. So, you're responsible and only you.

I would like to petition you to do the same for Bobby Seale, our Chairman, for Erica Huggins, for Angela Davis, for the New York 21, for the Soledad Brothers. Free all political prisoners and prisoners of war. Free the people. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of November, we will have a People's Revolutionary Convention in Washington, D. C. We cannot have that convention if the people do not come, because, after all the people are the makers of the world's history. The people are responsible for everything. So, how can we have a convention if we have no people. Some people think that you can have a People's Convention without the people being there. I think that is the case in 1777.

Tonight, I would like to outline for you the Black Panther Party's program and also explain how we arrived at our ideological position and why we feel it necessary to institute a Ten Point Program, a Ten Point Program that is not revolutionary nor is it reformist. It is a survival program. We feel that we are threatened

the people are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism is rampant not only in this country but throughout the world; and the ruling circle in North America are the responsible parties. We intend to change all of that. In order to change it, there must be a total transformation; but until such time that we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive; and, therefore, we need a survival kit. The Ten Point Program is the survival kit, brothers and sisters. In other words--in other words it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy with a mind that can be functional and creative. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a breakfast program for children. We also have a community health program. We have a program--a busing program. We call this the bus for relatives and parents of prisoners because we realize that the fascist regime who operates the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. If we get the relatives and parents of the prisoners, they can expose the treachery of the fascists. So, this, too, is a survival program.

We must--we must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that it's the people--if the people are not here then, of course, the revolution cannot succeed because the people make revolution and only the people.

The theme of our People's Revolutionary Convention is "Survival Through Service to the People." At the convention, we'll present our total survival program. The survival program works very much like a first-aid kit or perhaps a kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft and you need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a few--ah--protein tablets in order to last until you can get to the shore until--you can get to that oasis, where you can be happy and healthy. If you do not have those things necessary to get you to that shore, then, possibly, you will not exist. At this time, the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we're afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or to see the revolution.

The Black Penther Party--the Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people--matter of fact, we draw the line of demarcation--and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality, murder of any kind. Matter of fact, we're not gonna sit around--we will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself, then, I accuse him of suicide. I accuse him of reactionary suicide because the reactionary set up the conditions that caused his death. I repeat. If we do nothing, we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is, by doing nothing, we're accepting the situation--the situation is the condition of reaction. So, therefore, reaction will cause that death. We will not accept that. Matter of fact, we say that if the alternatives are very narrow, we still will not sit around. We will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw. (Applause)

Yes. Because we feel that where there's courage, where there's self-respect and integrity, there's a possibility that we can change all of the conditions; that we can possibly win. And this is called revolutionary

enthusiasm and revolutionary--and it is called--ah--
the kind of stuff that is needed in order to guarantee
a victory. We say that if we must die then we will
die the death of the revolutionary suicide. The
revolutionary suicide says that if I'm put down--if I'm
driven out--I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I
would much rather be driven out with a stick because with
the broom, when I'm driven out, it will humiliate me and
I will lose my self-respect; but if I'm driven out with
a stick then at least I can remain with the dignity of
a man and die the death of a man, rather than die the
death of a dog. (Applause)

Of course, our real desire is to live--our real desire
is to live, but we will not be cowered. We will not be
exterminated.

I would like to declare to you the method that the Black
Panther Party used to arrive at our ideological position
and also, more than that, I would like to give to you a
framework or a process of thinking that might help us
solve the problems and the contradictions that exist
today. Today the world is very complicated. There are
many things in operation at the same time. It reminds
me of a little saying: "When I was a boy what was so
was so, what is not is not. But now I am a man, things
have changed a lot. Some things nearly so. Others

nearly not. Is a puzzlement." How do we solve this? We must approach the problem with sanity. We must approach the problem with a method. We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on divorced from an attitude and emotion that we usually project into a situation. In other words, that we will attempt to be as objective as possible. We will be as objective as possible without accepting dogma. We will let the facts speak for themselves, but we will not remain totally objective because knowledge and facts are no good if we do not put them to use to serve our interests. So, we will become subjective when we apply knowledge that we receive from the external world using the scientific method; but at that time we will admit that we will be subjective because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrated theory of practice, and this is what the Black Panther Party is all about.

Some people criticize the Black Panther Party. They call us many names. They call us--ah--revisionists. They call us hoodlums. They call us--ah--everything but child of man, but tonight we'll answer those people; and I hope all of them are in the front seat because--ah--

I would like to have a dialectical argument with them. You know, in order to understand--ah--a group of--ah-- forces operating at the same time, science--ah-- developed--ah--what they call--ah--a discipline--ah-- one of the--ah--properties or characters--ah--characteristics of this discipline--the first is disinterest, to be disinterested. Not disinterested in the sense that you want to walk off from the problem but--ah--disinterested in the particular outcome. In other words, you will not promote an outcome. You just want to know the facts. The other thing is that science starts off with a basic premise. That is very important. And from time to time I will ask you to stipulate a few things with me. You see that--ah--even science starts off with a basic belief. Most basic premises start out with--ah--a belief because it is very difficult to test your first premise; but after we agree or stipulate a first premise, then we can have an intelligent argument because then we will just require each other to be consistent down to--ah--a valid conclusion.

So--ah--tonight I would like you to stipulate that an external world is a reality.

The second thing that I would like for you to stipulate is that things are in a constant state of change--cr

transformation rather--in other words, flux, flux,
all is flux. (Applause)

After we--ah--agree to that, we can go on with our
discussion.

You know--ah--the scientific method relies heavily upon
a concept called empiricism; but the problem with
empiricism is that it tells you very little about the
future--that it only tells you about the past. In other
words, it can only tell you what you gained through
observation and experience; and that's always past tense.
So, therefore, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated
a theory developed by Immanuel Kant called rationale. Kant
called his process of reasoning pure reasoning because
Kant's reasoning did not depend upon the external world.
It only depended on consistency. It only depended upon
dealing with symbols in such a way where you might
manipulate them to come out with--ah--reason based--a
conclusion based upon reason. For example, if the sky is
above my head, when I turn my head upwards I see the sky.
There is nothing wrong with that. Matter of fact, that
is the truth. But I haven't said anything about the
existence of the sky. I said "if," and that is why with
rationale you do not have to depend upon the external
world. With empiricism you can tell very little about the

future. So, what will we do? In order to understand what is happening in the world, Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism and came up with a concept called dialectical materialism, because after you integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking not only are we in touch with the world outside of us, we also can explain that constant state of transformation and, therefore, make some predictions about the outcome of phenomena that is not only in constant change but also in conflict attempting to reach some harmony.

You know--ah--also, Marx as a social scientist criticized other social scientists because he felt that some of them attempted to explain phenomena or part of phenomena by taking it out of its--ah--environment--isolating it and putting it in a category and not letting anyone know--ah--about the fact that once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment the phenomena was transformed. It was not the same. In other words, a discipline such as sociology, where we study the activity of groups and how groups hold together and how groups fall apart. Without understanding everything else that is happening and everything that

is connected to the group we will get a false conclusion about the nature of the group. So, what Marx attempted to do was to develop a way of thinking that would explain phenomena.

In the physical world, when forces collide, they are transformed. In physics, I think they say when two atoms collide they--ah--are transformed into protons and neutrons (phonetic), if I remember correctly what happens to the atom. It was transformed.

In social world, the same thing happens--or a similar thing. I can apply the same principle. In sociology, when two--ah--cultures collide a process--ah--occurs, or a condition occurs that I believe the sociologists call acculturation, where two cultures are modified because of the--ah--contact.

Well, Marx called--ah--the social forces--when the social forces collide in a clash--contradiction. In the physical world, when--ah--two physical forces collide sometimes we call it--just that, a collision. For the cars--when two cars meet head on trying to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed.

Sometimes, other things happen. Matter of fact, had the two cars been turned back to back and sped off in

opposite directions they would not have a contradiction. They would be contrary, covering different spaces in different times.

Sometimes when people meet, we argue and we miss each other--we miss each other because in the first place we think we have a contradiction when we're only being contrary. For example: I would say the wall is ten feet tall and you would say the wall is red; and we would argue all day, thinking that we have a contradiction when actually we are being contrary. When people argue and also when one offers a thesis and the other offers an antithesis, we say there's a contradiction; and we hope that we argue long enough provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope we can have some kind of synthesis; and--ah--tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party.

I think that--ah--the mistake is some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact. In spite of their claim to scholarly research--in spite of their claim to follow the discipline of dialectical materialism, they fail to search deeper like the scientist is required to do. To get beyond the apparent and come up with the

more significant. I know you wonder how this connects with the Black Panther Party. I will explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist party because we follow the dialectical method and we also try--also integrate theory with practice. What we are not--we are not mechanical Marxists and we are not historical Marxists. (Applause).

Some people think they are Marxists when actually they are following the thoughts of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxists-Leninists and they refuse to be creative. So, therefore, they're tied to the past. They're tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thought that edges upon dogma and what we sometimes call flunkeyism. (Applause).

Marx attempted to set up a framework--just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain--ah--phenomena and after you learn some things about a particular set of conditions then you try to move on and apply that framework to other thinking or those principles. And you're not afraid about the outcome because you know that things change and you're willing to acknowledge the change because you're objective--

because you realize that the method that you'll use, if you use the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it last time because that's history. And if things are in a constant state of change we will not expect for them to be the same. So, therefore, therefore, words that were used to describe the old phenomena perhaps will be useless to describe the new and if we use the old words to describe the past events then we might confuse people. They might think things are static and, therefore--ah--contradicting the theory of dialectical materialism.

In 1917, an event occurred in the Soviet Union that was called a revolution. Two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed. In this country in 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document.

Our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, who is now in Algiers, Algeria, wrote the pamphlet and called it "On Panther Ideology." Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletariat of this country at this time or the industrial worker does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claims that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumping--lumpen-proletarians carries that revolutionary potentiality and in fact it carries the people of the

world to the final climax of the transformation of society and it, therefore, will act as the vanguard.

(Applause)

It has been stated--it has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor--(Boos and applause)--that it is impossible.

How can the lumpen-proletarians carry out a successful socialist transformation when they are only a minority, and in fact, how can they do it when history shows that only the proletarians have carried out successful social revolutions. I would agree--I would agree that it is necessary for the people to carry out a social revolution to represent the popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people. I would agree to that.

In the Soviet Union, 1917, we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that in this country that it would take a popular force to achieve the transformation; but I also--I also will agree that the lumpen-proletarians are actually the minority in the country. No disagreement.

"It seems that I've contradicted myself. That only goes to show that--ah--what's apparent might not actually be a fact. Sometimes, we think things are--things are

really a contradiction and it's only paradoxical. It might seem what it's not, you see. So, what we will do is turn this thing about. We will analyze it.

Now in the Soviet Union in 1917, the Soviet Union was basically an agricultural society, that of a very large peasantry. There was a set of social conditions existing there at that time that were responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base, they called them--ah--proletarians. Lenin, using--ah--Marx's--ah--theory, saw the threats because he was not a historical Marxist. He was a dialectical materialist; and, therefore, he was very interested in the ever-changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority at that time, in 1917, they had the potentiality to carry out a revolution because their class was on the upsurge and the peasantry was on the decline. That was one of the conditions. The proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also carried the necessary properties to carry out a revolution that resembled a socialist revolution.

In this country, the Black Panther Party, taking careful note of the dialectical method--taking careful note of the social threats in the ever-changing nature of things,

we see that while the lumpen-proletarians are the minority and the proletarians are the majority and also that technology is developing at such a rapid rate that we're starting with automation, going to cybernation, and then going from there probably to technocracy.

As I came into town, I saw MIT over the way. If the ruling circle remains in power, it seems to me that they will go on developing their technological machinery. They will go on developing their technology--their technological machinery because in the capitalists' hands and the ruling circle's hands, he's not listening to the people. So, therefore, I would expect from him the logic that he's always promoted. That is, to make as much money as possible and pay the people as little as possible unless the people demand more and finally demand his head. (Applause).

At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately--and I say almost immediately and I say this because the trend that technology is making leaps--it made a leap all the way to the moon. So, therefore, I say that if the ruling circle remains in power the proletarian world--the proletarian working class will definitely be on the decline because they will be unemployables and, therefore swell the ranks of the lumpen,

who are unemployables--unemployables because the ruling circle does not need them any more. So, every worker is in jeopardy because of the rule of the ruling circle and this is why we say that the lumpen-proletarians carry the potentiality for revolution and, in fact, will carry the revolution out probably and in the near future will be the popular class, the majority.

Of course, I would not like to see all my people unemployed or unemployables, but being objective, because we are objective, because we are dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts and that's all we're doing. You know Marx outlined a rough process of development of society. Roughly, he said society goes from a slave class to feudalism--feudalistic--ah--ah--class structure to a capitalistic class structure to a socialistic class structure and finally to communism. Or, in other words, from capitalist state to socialist state to non-state, communism. I think we can all agree, and I would ask that you stipulate that--ah--virtually the slave class of the world is--ah--has been transformed into wage slaves. In other words, the slave class in the world no longer exists as a significant force and if we can agree to that, we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence.

If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else, or not disappear but be transformed and take on other characteristics, then it's also true that the political or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course, the people did not disappear. They would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in is the fact that the ruling circle did not need him and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production then he will not be called unemployable or a lumping--or a lumpen. So, I think that's logical. I think that's dialectical. I think it would be strange to think that only the slave class could disappear. You know, Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist because he said--he stated, "One thing I'm not--I'm not a Marxist." In other words, he was trying to warn--he was trying to tell Progressive Labor not to accept the past or the present as the future but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and, therefore, act in an intelligent way so that we can bring about the revolution that we all want. (Applause)

After taking those things under consideration, we see that--ah--as time changes and as the world is transformed that we need some new definitions to the situation, because if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. Therefore, they will get a fallacious picture of the world. They will think that the world's static. I would be very amazed--I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 still exist--would still be in existence today. Matter of fact, you know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. Matter of fact they looked at toil and working for your necessities as somewhat of a curse; and the whole, Lenin's whole theory after he applied or practiced--put Marx's analysis into practice was geared to get rid of the proletariat. In other words, that by the proletariat class or the working class seizing the means of production they would plan it such a way that they would be free from toil. Matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons, and move mountains. It sounds like to me that he saw a proletarian working class transformed so they could have a free block of time so they could indulge in productive creativity so that they could think about developing their universe to a higher manifestation so

that they could have the happiness, the freedom, and the pleasure that man seems to seek and value.

At this time, the capitalist has developed the machinery to such a point where he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will be able to do this and the technocrat will be so specialized until he cannot really be identified as a proletarian. In fact, that group of men will be so small until we will have to do something to explain the other people; we would have to come up with another definition. Now, sometimes when we theorize we can argue all day. We can argue all day and if we have no practical application of a theory we will come up with nothing worthwhile. So, I'm saying despite the criticism that we've received from certain people we would say in practice many of our activities would be the same.

That is, because people would not disappear; not with our survival program they will not. They will not disappear. They will still be around. So, therefore, we need to lift their consciousness so they can deal with the ruling circle. We must lift their consciousness whether they're working in a factory or already been kicked out. So, therefore, the Black Panther Party says it is perfectly correct to organize the proletarian because after he's kicked out of the factory because he'll be called

unemployable or lumpen doesn't stop or transform a (unintelligible) and in order to live he has to eat (unintelligible) the machinery that he has produced so that he can produce the abundance so that he and his brother can live. (Applause).

Now I'm saying that we will not wait until the proletarian becomes the lumpen proletarian to educate him. Today, we must lift the consciousness of the people so that we--so that we can get a clear picture of what is to be done. We need to know that because the wind is rising and the rivers flow. Times are getting hard and we can't go home again. We can't go back to our mother's womb nor can we go back to 1917. (Applause)

As the United States or what I like to call North America was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from a nation to an empire, because an empire is a nation transformed, it caused a total change in the world because no part of a thing interrelated to change can leave everything else the same. So, when the United States or North America became an empire, it changed the whole composition--it changed the whole phenomena in the world. There were other nations in the world; but empire means that the ruling circle who lives in the empire or the imperialists control all other nations.

Now, sometime ago in history there existed a phenomena we call--well, I call--primitive empire. That was the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of the known world; but in fact it did not know all of the world. So, therefore, some nations still existed because they did not control all of the land.

In modern days, I would like for you to stipulate that probably all of the world is known as far as where any large number of people live. So, the United States as an empire would necessarily have to control the whole world or affect that part that it doesn't control so much until we would call that control. We also said--we also see that--that if we understand dialectics that every determination brings about a limitation, and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words, while one force may give rise to one thing it might crush other things or even crush itself. In other words, we might have a concept we call the negation of a negation. In other words, we might say that while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism, they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. They were doing this because it is necessary in order to have a social

society some centralization of the wealth--we would have to have some equal distribution of the wealth. We would have to have some harmony between the people. So first, the United States ruling circle, while it changed the whole world--while it rules the whole world and when I say nation--when I say nations, I will roughly give some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. First, economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety. The United States has violated every country--every nation in the world and, therefore, transforming that nation. Transforming the nation into what? We will talk about that later on.

When the Black Panther Party was--when the Black Panther Party was founded in 1966, we called ourselves--we called the party--a black nationalist party--we called ourselves black nationalists because we thought nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that, we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism. That is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more, we felt that it was impractical and even a contradiction. So, therefore, we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that

in order to be--for this is what we really want--
to be free--we thought that the nation would make us
free--we saw that in order to be free, we would have to
crush the ruling circle; and, therefore, we had to unite
with the people in the world. So we call ourselves
internationalists. We sought solidarity with the people
of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought
were the nations of the world. But then what happened?
We found that because everything's in a constant state
of change and that because of the development of
technology, because of the development of mass media,
because of the fire power of the imperialists, because
of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation
but an empire, that nationhood did not exist because
they did not have the criteria for nationhood, because
their self-determination was destroyed, because their
economic determination was destroyed, because their
cultural determination was transformed--and I would like
for you to strike "destroyed"; I would like for you to
put in "transformed." Excuse me--all of the nations
were transformed at the hands of the imperialists of
the ruling circle for the interests of the imperialists.
So, we found that in order to be an internationalist
we had--we had to be also a nationalist or at least

acknowledge nationhood. So, all internationalists are also nationalistic because as I understand that word, "inter" means some interrelationship between things and "nationalism" or "nationhood" means the interrelationship between a group of nations. Now, if no nation is in existence and if in fact the United States is an empire, that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists. We are no longer internationalists, and we're not afraid about that. Matter of fact, we will try to shed light upon and we will define the new transformation and the phenomena and we will call ourselves "intercommunalists" because nations have been transformed into communities of the world. (Applause) So, tonight the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim internationalism and support intercommunalism. (Applause).

We have a problem--we have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information they had that when non-state finally came to be a reality it would be caused or ushered in by the people and by communism.

• A strange thing happened; the ruling reactionary circle, through the process of being an imperialist, transformed into what we call reactionary intercommunalism, because the ruling circle has laid siege on all the communities

of the world dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by institutions in their land. Well, the Black Panther Party would like to establish--to reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of revolutionary intercommunalism. This will be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world. We see very little difference in what happens to a community here in the--in North America and what happens to a community in Vietnam. We see very little difference in what happens even culturally to a Chinese community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong. We see very little difference in what happens to a black community in Harlem and a black community in South Africa, a black community in Angola and Mozambique. We see very little difference.

So what has actually happened, that non-state has already been accomplished but it's reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions that serve the people who live there.

It differs from a nation because a community revolves around a greater structure that we usually call the state

and the state has certain controls over the community. It also serves the community if the administration represents the people or if the administration happens to be the people's commissar. It's not so at this time. So, there's still something to be done. I said earlier-- I spoke about the negation of negation. I spoke earlier about the fact of redistribution of wealth. We think that it's very important to know that in the world today that socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? It will not exist because it cannot exist. Also, I would say socialism would not exist any place in the world. I would also say that socialism does not exist any place in the world because socialism requires a socialist state and if so how can socialism exist? So what--how do we define certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we-- how do we describe certain progressive countries or communities as we call them, the North Korean people? How do we define certain communities as the Vietnam's people, North and the provisional government in the South? How do we explain these communities if in fact they, too, cannot claim nationhood. We say this. We say they represent the people's liberated territory. They represent a community liberated. (Applause)

But that community is not sufficient. It is not satisfied. Just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only ground for the preparation of the liberation of the world, the seizing of the world from the ruling circle and equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve with the help of the power of the people because without the people nothing can be achieved. (Applause)

Now I said--I want to start a question and answer period because I can go on for hours and hours and--I would really like to try but--yeah, sit down and don't start your question and answer--but I wanna tell you first--I said that the United States would not be--ah--socialism would never exist. I say that in order for a revolution to occur in the United States you would have to have a redistribution of wealth, not on a national level but on an international level--not on an international level but on an intercommunal level. And this is because how can we say that we have accomplished a revolution and redistribute the wealth just to people in North America when the ruling circle itself trespass de bonas as per tada. That is, they've taken away the goods of the

people of the world and transported them to America and used them as their very own. That is a tort.

(Applause.)

Now, remember in 1917, when the revolution occurred, you had a redistribution of wealth on a national level because nations existed. You see now if you have to speak in terms of planning an economy on a worldwide level, on an intercommunal level, that's saying something. That's saying that the people have been ripped off and it's much like the people in one country being ripped off and when the people seize the means of production then they redistribute. So we say this. How--liberation will not serve because the people have not only been robbed of their own materials; they've also--their raw materials have also been invested--their raw materials have been made into a technological machine. The people are responsible for that. So the people of the world will have to have control of that not for X amount of time--not for a limited amount; but it's theirs. So, all I can see, in order to plan a real intercommunal economy we would have to acknowledge the world is hooked up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that sometime ago nations did exist because technology

had not advanced to the level it is now. Some people will argue that nations still exist because of cultural differences. By way of definition, just for functional argument is a collection of our learned patterns of behavior--learned patterns of behavior. We see that here in the United States black people, Africans, were raped from the mother country, were brought here; and we've literally lost most of our African values. Perhaps we still hold onto some surviving Africanisms but by and large, you see, the transformation; this was achieved through a long stay but also through the highly technological society that has a tremendous mass media and indoctrination center. I say that the ruling circle has also launched satellites in order to put the beam across the world, to indoctrinate the world. We say that while there might be what we call cultural differences the difference is not a quantitative difference. In other words, if technologies and the ruling circle go on as they are going now that the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt western values. I think Japan is a good example; and the difference between people in fact are getting very small. But, again, it's in the interests of the ruling circle. I don't believe

that history can be backtracked. You see. So if the world is really interconnected then we will have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free then they would control the institutions in their community and also have some form of representatives in the technological center that they produce. So, the United States would have to, in order to correct the robbery of the world, would have to first return that. So, I don't see where we could talk about socialism when we're talking about world redistribution. I think that is what Marx talks about when he talks about non-state.

I was at Alex Haley's house some time ago, and he talked to me about his search for his past. He found it in Africa, but he returned there shortly afterwards and he was in a state of panic. His village hadn't changed very much but when he went back he saw an old man walking down the road and he had something in his ear that he cherished. That was a small, transistor radio that was zeroed in on the British Broadcasting Network. So what I'm trying to say, that the mass media plus the development of transportation makes it impossible for us to think of ourselves in terms of separate entities as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to get here from San Francisco to here.

It only takes about ten hours to get from here to Vietnam. We see that the ruling circle no longer acknowledges wars. They call them "police actions." They say we have a domestic disturbance because the Vietnamese people are right. (Applause)

What I'm saying--what I'm saying is that the ruling circle accept and realize what they have done. They know that it's one world but they're determined to follow their logic of exploitation. They know, because a short time ago, in Detroit, a community was under siege and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid siege on that community and that house; and they used the weapons, the same weapon they use in Vietnam. Matter of fact, two tanks rolled up. We see that the same thing happens in Vietnam because the police are there also. The police are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and use the same tools; and they're there for the same purpose--that is the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. So, if everything--(Applause)--we accept--we see that it is true--it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community but we're not satisfied where power is. We want power for the people. (Applause)

I said earlier--I said earlier and I strayed--wait--
that the theory of negation of negation is very valid.
Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa,
and Latin America the resistance always seek the goal
of a collective society. They seem not to institute
the economy of the capitalist. They seem to go all the
way from feudalism and try to jump to a collective
society, and some people can't understand why. Why
won't they follow historical Marxism or historical
materialism? Why won't they go from feudalism, develop
a capitalistic base, and finally go to socialism? They
don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do
it for the same reason that the black community in Harlem
cannot develop capitalism. The black community in Oakland
or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism because the
imperialists have already pre-empted the field. He has
already centralized the wealth. So, therefore, in order
to deal with him, all we can do is liberate our community
and move on him with a collective force. (Applause)
You know we have long arguments with people. We used
to call ourselves, before we became conscious, a
dispersed collection of colonies here in North America;
and people argued with me all day and all night and they
told me how can you possibly be a colony. In order to

be a colony you have to be a nation; and you're not a nation, you're just a community. You're a dispersed collection of communities and because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or be transformed, tonight, I would like to accept the criticism and say you are absolutely right, that we are a collection of communities just as the people of the world represent a collection of communities, just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people are a collection of communities--a dispersed collection of communities (Applause)--but--because they have no superstructure or they do have a superstructure of the industrial base that made labor to produce what was all put on Wall Street; and we would all agree that once a particular land or a particular people centralize the wealth and create a capitalist base we won't fight it in every single community, you see, because every single community would not have the resources, because it's already been centralized. Sort of a destroyed form of collectivity. See? Everything's been collected but it's used for the interest of the ruling circle. So, after the things are collected; then how can you expect for someone to have a surplus that's already been ripped off?

And this is why the Black Panther Party denounces black capitalists and say that all we can do is liberate our community not only in Vietnam but here; not only in Cambodia and the People's Republic of China and Korea, but the people of the world must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy. Worries will end. State itself will no longer exist and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away because we know that in sociology we say that when change takes place, when a structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. In other words, after the people--after the people possess the production, we will probably not move directly into communism but we will linger with revolutionary intercommunalism until such time that we can--until such time that we can wash away bourgeois thought--until such time that we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking--and until such time when people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is attached to the soil--until such time that people can gain their sanity and develop a culture that is essentially humane, that will serve the people instead of serving some god. You see (applause) it will be necessary to do that because

we cannot avoid contact with each other. We cannot avoid contact with each other because of the changing set of conditions; so, because we can't, we will have to then develop a value system that will make us function together in harmony. This will be necessary.

So, tonight, I think I've covered some of what I have to say. I will allow you to talk. We will have a question and answer period. But before I do that, I would like to deliver a message to you. Our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver asked me to prepare a place for him because he would like to return home. (Applause)

And, also, I would like to thank the people of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to reside in their liberation community in their liberated territory. (Applause)

So, they've actually set the example for us. We know what we have to do to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate our communities. (Applause)

Alright, we'll have a question and answer period before everyone leaves.

(Applause)

Unknown person: (Unintelligible)

HUEY NEWTON (HN): (Unintelligible) agree with part of that. Something--some--oh, I'm sorry, roughly--I had to try to (unintelligible) because I would like to give you fair representation; so I will--I will tell a paraphrase about Rome that you can get. Now, listen--no, I think I remember--the brother--the class brother--the class brother--the objective brother, in other words, I would like to explain something first, that the two kinds of enemies--that both are objective enemy and the subjective. Sometime, most of the time, the objective enemy is really a class friend. You see. Only the objective enemy or one who has different interests than you is really your real enemy. So, he is objectively your enemy because he can advance at your expense. While the subjective enemy will hurt you, but he is only hurting you because of lack of consciousness. So, you treat those two contradictions differently. With the objective enemy you try to destroy him. With the subjective enemy, you try to teach him. You try to educate him and make him conscious. You can do this most of the time through understanding and love. So, first, I applaud that brother, not because I agree with everything he's

saying, but because I recognize him as an objective class friend and I think the statements are based upon a lack of understanding. Your statement was this, and it's partially correct. He said this: "Fuck Karl Marx." He said: "Fuck Lenin." He said: "Fuck everything that you have said. Why? Because--because the real problem today is nothing more than racism." Now, let's analyze that. First, what's racism? Racism is an attitude of values. Racism is a way of thinking and relating to people. Racism is something that's called by something else because I would like you to stipulate the fact that attitudes all come from something else and that's the material. We cannot have racism without having a man. You cannot have racism by-- you cannot have racism without having another set of conditions that will induce racism. So, this is what we like to explain. However, we did not have racism as such in 1100, according to Malcolm Davidson (phonetic) and Melvin J. Hirschcovitch (phonetic), who wrote "The Enigma (phonetic) of the Negro Past the Black (unintelligible)." We said, according to those historians, that Europe and Africa have an equal relationship, mutual respect, where many of the leaders respected the African soul and that they were sure that

the universities of Timbuktu were the cultural center of the world. But then, something else happened. The world changed and it became profitable for the ruling circle in Europe and Spain and Portugal--it became profitable and it also became a possibility that they could travel to the mother country with gunfire stolen from the Chinese, kidnap the Africans, take them to their country and scatter them throughout the world. In order to get labor and in order to justify it to their conscience, they developed an attitude of racism. So, therefore, so, therefore (unintelligible) racism because the Europeans needed labor. So, therefore, because of a property called (unintelligible), they kidnaped the Africans out of the (unintelligible). And, if you think attitudes and values exist independently of materials then show me how you can have a value or any man can have a value without having a body. Is the body not material? So, therefore, I think all spiritual things come from material. All the tangible things come from the material. So, while what my brother said seems to be correct, in fact is correct, in order to change the spiritual we have to change the material. In order to change racism, we have to change the racist-capitalist

structure--(applause and sounds of "Right on.")

But to change this--but to change this--but to change this (unintelligible) the people of the world will attempt to launch--will get the key of culture and a value system that is essentially human. Why do I say this? Because all of us changed anyway. There is no thing that is static. Flux, flux, all is flux. We cannot return to Africa of 1100; nor--nor can anyone return to a time that is already past. It is impossible. Because we cannot return to the past, we have to look for a solution in the future; and it is simple making--to just go around spouting words without analyzing the phenomena around us. And that is why I took so much time to give a framework of thinking so that perhaps, brother, you can go home and analyze that and know that in order to stop racism you would have to stop the domination of the capitalists because he don't hate you--(applause)

Listen--listen--he does not hate you just because something came up in the sky and said: "Hey, man." He hates you, brother, because he can use that hate to indoctrinate some other white people to corral you so that he can exploit both of us. (Applause)

Now--now--everything--listen--everything has a dual character. Everything has a dual character, and on research, now, perhaps I'll find that my hypothesis is wrong or that perhaps I'll find it is right. Now, the gentleman said--my class brother said--the brother whom I love said--the brother whom I will attempt to educate tonight said that--"Fuck Karl Marx because he's irrelevant. Well, I won't say that, but I'll say this. I will (unintelligible) research now to try and find out something because the brother said that down with the dialectic because it's--ah--ah--it's not important. It doesn't give anything. And I'll say this. I would doubt seriously--I would doubt seriously whether Karl Marx' is the real originator or whether he was really was the first to expound upon dialectics. Dialectics is actually trying to explain the dual character of things and the relationship between things. The University of Timbuktu even before that time--even before that time--it was acknowledged by the anthropologists that the African (unintelligible) had a religion they called dualism, while in Europe they preferred the absolutism. That is (unintelligible) our God had two or more heads. He had a head for good; a head for evil; a head for

fertility; a head for love; and a head for hate. And the African then would attempt to manipulate these things so that convince the world to good. To give them what he wanted (unintelligible) and I would think that this was the start of the dialectical method. I think that it is strange that in Greece that the Greeks had also a form of dualism. And you have now that in Europe first, you have absolutism where the God had one head. That is, he was absolutely good. He was not evil. He had no sexual properties and so forth. In other words, he deviated from the likeness of man and we all know that man created God. So, what I'm trying to get at is that why would the Greeks have a dual god. Why would the Greeks have a dual god and yet the other Caucasians did not is probably because Aristotle attended the University of Timbuktu and was educated by the Africans. So, you get back to the characteristics and established the type of religion that the Greeks had and perhaps went around to some scholars. And this was the start of the dialectical method; and this is only speculation but--as ~~soon as~~ I finish, I will let this young lady--maybe--I don't know. She looks very angry--she might be objective and I can't deal with emotions but--(applause)

(Sound of person shouting in the background)

So, I stay away from (unintelligible). I would like to tell you this. Here in America--here in America--racism is rampant and we have to do something about that and we see that many of our objective class brothers act in a way to harm black people. In other words, they are subjectively our enemies and I would like to use the hard hats as an example. The hard hats are exploited. They have become increasingly employed. In other words, they are well on their way to becoming unemployable and instead of blaming the masses, they are blaming us for it. Now, wait just one minute. So, because that contradiction is different than the objective enemy, we would try to first educate the hard hats. We would try to lift their consciousness because basically, as black radicals, it is our responsibility to do this. Now wait a minute. Hold it. Now if--if we can convince the hard hat through dialectical arguments, through dialectical arguments, then we will have to use stronger stuff because even if a man is objectively our friend and subjectively our enemy, we have to preserve ourselves until such time until we can educate him because we will not let insanity prevail. So, in order to insure that

sanity will remain real, we might have to take the head of the insane man, but when we do this we will weep when he happens to be our class brother because it will diminish us. It will diminish us because it--it will diminish our numbers. You see? But we have to defend ourselves because if we do not do that then that will mean we let an insane man prevail. As long as there is one ounce of sanity in the world, there's a hope for the new world. And this is why that we must down fascism.
(Applause)

Unknown Male (UM): First of all, I would like to say--

HN: Right on, brother.

UM: I would like to get down to this point. What you were saying about revisionists and--ah--I been thinking on the problem (unintelligible) I don't think the Party is (unintelligible) and I would like you to explain.

HN: Explain?

UM: Explain how the Party can be revisionist.

HN: Yah. OK. Fine.

Well,, first, we would like to say a word--ah--did everyone hear that? The brother's question?

(Shouts of "No.")

HN: The brother would like to explain why some people would say the Party is revisionist. Is that right?

UM: Right on. You said that right.

HN: Well, first--ah--a revisionist--a revisionist is someone who revises the theories of Marxist-Leninism and tries to say that he is still an essentialist. You see? Now, I would like to say something, how a revisionist differs from Marxism. Karl Marx had a vision and then Trotsky had a revision; and the Black Panther Party is now having a revision with intercommunalism.

UM: (Unintelligible)

HN: Go ahead and if anyone revises that, he's a revisionist.

UM: Ah--I don't think I asked the right--ah--I'm gonna leave.

Unknown Female: (UF) OK. I just want to make a few comments. The first thing, Huey, is that you are not my enemy. You see you don't--

HN: I love you sister.

UF: I love you, too, and I'm proud of the brother. You said a lot of beautiful things tonight, but I'm gonna--let me make a few comments and then you can comment. OK? Well, first of all, I appreciate greatly many beautiful things you said tonight, but I say this. You see, you don't come here to educate us, brother. We learn from

each other and you said a lot of things. You didn't have to start with Marx or Kant or any of those guys because the communism comes from Africa--tribalism.

Unknown Voice: Right.

UF: We had the--we knew the first dialectics and we understood here. And you said a lot of big words. So, you see, my brother Malcolm X was a great prophet. He didn't have--he didn't have to use all those words. He didn't have to come up with all those names, brother, and he reached the masses. He didn't have to talk about that. All this can mean is one damn thing. He's superior to anything--I haven't finished yet, brother. (Audience makes noise) You see, I haven't finished yet--you see--you gotta reach those kids; and you gotta reach those educated folks; and you don't use a whole lot of big words on me, honey. Not to me, cause, see, you don't reach the little kids when you do that. You gotta reach all the people. You gotta tell 'em the truth. You see. You gotta tell 'em that so much comes from Africa. You don't talk about Russia, that big, radical Russia (audience noise drowns speaker out)

HN: Yeah--yeah.

UF: You understand. You see you--you see everything comes from Africa. Don't bother to mock me.

HN: I agree with you--

UF: (Unintelligible) no more.

HN: I agree with you.

UF: (Unintelligible) to educate me.

HN: You're right.

UF: We educate each other, brother.

HN: Applaud her. She's right.

UF: They're through with you. They're through with you, I I don't say it with hatred. I won't let the white man stand between us. You're a black man, and I love you too much. I just want you to keep telling the truth and I want you to reason with people, cause you're a beautiful brother who's got a lot of good things--(applause)

HN: Love you, sister.

UF: (Unintelligible) Don't think you control, brother. Don't think you control, honey. Don't think you rock with me. Sing with me. Shout with me. Cause, you see, all this--this talking--all this beautiful stuff comes from the power of the people, the deeds of the people--the great lovers, the great musicians, the great poets, the great people, the black people, the first man from Africa--the Party people. Just show us the power comes

from God, man. You praise God. The white man in Texas can't (unintelligible). You must christianize America now. You talking something like it was to people. Don't be afraid to tell the truth, brother. Don't leave the word "God" (unintelligible) and don't be afraid to talk, brother. Don't be afraid, brother. I know you've suffered a lot. You're suffering now through people. But you can't (unintelligible) won't let the white man tell you (unintelligible) because when a man loves he cannot commit adultery.

HN: If--

UF: Hold on--

HN: If you love me, you'll let me say something.

UF: Alright, brother.

HN: Alright.

UF: I'm going. Power to the people. Power to Huey. Power to the Panthers. Now say it. So long, brother.

HN: Thank you.

First point. I believe she said that socialism came from Africa. I agree with that because even Marx himself acknowledges that at a point in history before modern technology, before industry, that we had socialism in Africa because we had an economy for our collectivity. We had an economy based upon sharing. But this is not

and was not modern socialism. It wasn't modern by way of definition because I cannot say in 1100 the same in 1970. We have to make some distinction in order to understand the--ah--the nature and also understand the passage of time. We also can get confused; so all I'm saying is socialism actually did exist in the mother country south of Sahara before Marx ever was born; but the new kind or the kind that we're talking about today is based upon the fact it has to be European. It's based upon society that has a large base of black people working together under one law and in order to return--in order to return the wealth to the people, we have to have a technique; and Lenin instituted that technique. So, we apply the modern theory that Marx probably got from Timbuktu because I already acknowledged that dualism or the start of the dialectical method might have come from south of Sahara. So look, girl. You misunderstood me.

UF: (Unintelligible).

HN: Now, I would like to apologize if everyone here did not understand the words I used. It shows I'm not a teacher. It shows how uneducated--it shows I have such an inability to communicate and telling it is difficult for me to convey ideas. Now, words solely for the purpose to get the understanding so that my fellow man can

understand me. If you don't, then I've failed. So, I deserve the criticism that my sister gave me. But now, maybe she can teach me how to speak in a better way and a better way so--I think better--and I'll qualify it by saying a more effective way--so that I can communicate with my little brothers over there.

Now, the other thing is this --is that you said that God gives everything and I said that is correct but I say this--I did say without a man I can't see where you would have a tangible and if you think that God is spiritual or is he material. Is God a spiritual or can you touch God? Is God material or is he a concept. And I say this, sister, that in order for God to exist, you have to exist. So, therefore, you have to produce your God. You produce your God because you're producing something in you're own image and I say this--(applause) I say this--any spiritual thing, any spiritual thing that is produced would have to come from some material source. So the concept of God, the concept of God cannot exist independently of man. So, I believe in God--I believe in God because it is commonly accepted. It's commonly accepted that the cause is greater than the effect. If man caused God, then man is greater than God because he can create. He can create the spiritual world and I

can go further than that. I cannot explain the first existence of things or the first to exist. We do not know that yet; but we do know this. It is commonly accepted in the discipline of our anthropology that before man stood erect, that before man could really be called man he was something else. In other words, he was transformed by the passage of time. He was transformed because somehow he had a mind that enabled him to transform his body. According to Doctor Leakey, it is the cradle of man--the cradle of man is Africa south of Sahara; and the name of the missing link is probably Zinjanthropus. This is commonly agreed that all people probably had an African genesis. But, that is only a skimpy fact, if it is fact. Much of it is speculation because we don't know about it. But, after we know these things, do--what does it mean? Does it mean because man has African genesis that people should slaughter each other on the basis of color. No. I say this--I say when people harm each other it's a sin against God because it's a sin against man; and I say this--and I say this with love. I say this with respect. I say this with guidance and respect for you. Matter of fact, supreme respect. I respect you more than I respect your God; and I say this, sister--I say this with love--you and your God can

kiss my behind because mine is mine (applause).

Now, after we finish that--after we finish that, we're not gonna run around being drunk on religion because we accept that religion is like a bad wine or like opium. Religion is like opium of the mind. They only accepted that because they can't get what they really need. So, I'm gonna give them what they really need. So, I'm gonna give to that person what she needs so she won't have to depend on the God in the sky because I don't trust him. But sister can trust me so long (unintelligible) you would not have to rely upon a spirit in order to give you salvation. The more you make of your God, the less you become. The more you become, the less your God becomes. Kill your God and you'll become a man--you'll become a strong man. You'll become a man that can create the new world that we will call communism--just as revolutionary intercommunalism. We can only do this with the confidence that we have in ourselves because some person's God might do what the white racist's God did for him. He just sealed up a note put in his pocket and told him he had the right to kill.

Female Voice: Right on.

HN: There's no way we can test that. There's no way we can deal with racism other than to deal with it objectively.

We have to deal with it. We have to deal with it rationally. We cannot deal with it and be affected so much by it until we lose all of racial faces because if we do this, then the ruling circle, which are by definition racists, would get the final victory because as far as I'm concerned there is no such thing as a black racist. Black people are always victims of racism. (Shouts of "Right on.") and because we're victims of racism that many times it destroys us. But we refuse to be destroyed. In other words, we would not go insane despite of the brutality of racism. When this happens, it just puts us in a position where we have to depend upon something--something supernatural to solve our problem because we feel so much victim to the white racists of America. But I say this-- we will restore sanity to an insane situation; and we will restore love to the world because the reactionary ruling circle has created an atmosphere of hate. We will say, even when we have to defend ourselves--even when we have to kill, we will weep for man. We will weep because the death of any man diminishes us because we're involved with mankind. We will not hesitate to defend ourselves and this is why the Vietnamese people when they shoot down the American planes, when the plane

crashes and the pilot is dead, they very carefully bury the pilot; put flowers on his grave every week. A reporter asked the Vietnamese people why they do this and they say first we're sorry that he was duped to come over here. He was duped by the ruling circle because we have the same history and we want to preserve his race so that his people can come and take him home again because we are a part of the people of America. We are a part of the African people. We're for all people but we're against the reactionary, racist, ruling circle and we refuse to be overcome by it.

So, all I'm saying--I'm not saying racism doesn't exist. I think most white people in America are racists. I think all are affected by racism. I will say that I'm very very careful when I see a person who is himself victimized by racism and so they always talk in terms of black and white. Hate white and love black. He thinks he's talking opposites but really he's not talking opposites because love and hate grows from the same soil, that is involvement. The difference between love and hate is a difference and I say that the black who lives in America, he's gonna have a very difficult time to be objective, to step out of that realm of emotion, to step out of that realm of love and hate and get indifferent because the

white world has so much affect upon him. So, what he has to do is develop a strategy. He has to develop a tactic in order to seize the power. And when he seizes the power, because he loves, he will not necessarily look for revenge but will take the master off his high horse and make him equal and all war criminals will be punished but the people will decide that because as far as I'm concerned I will persuade you--I will persuade you only--to take what is yours and then let the man live. Take his power but don't take his life.

(Shouts of "Right on.")

Now (applause) we must understand the difference between the violence of the aggressors and self-defense of the victims. The Black Panther Party and the Vietnamese people, the National Liberation Front, are all using self-defense because black peoples initiated--their aggression was initiated by the fascist police working for the ruling circle who live right here in North America. So, it is always of our rights to defend ourselves. Much of the time, aggression takes many forms--it takes many forms. It is not always--ah--by the violence of a service revolver. It is not always the type of violence that took the life of little Bobby Hutton (phonetic). It is not always the type of violence

that has been taking black people's lives for many years. According to Melvin J. Hirschcovitch (phonetic), fifty million black people died of (unintelligible) alone. Violence is not direct by a weapon, is not always--it does not always come from a revolver or the bomb that killed many Japanese people at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It sometimes comes in the form of depriving a man of his self-respect. It comes in the form of depriving a man of the work he needs in order to live, of the health care that he needs in order to live. This violence is treacherous and much of the time more difficult to bear than the sudden violence where your life can be ended in a minute. So, we feel that we have the right, we have the right to defend ourselves in the name of preserving man because if man--if man has an obligation to carry life on and it's the original obligation because if man had not lived and multiplied we would not have this life today. So, when we see a fascist fool attempting to murder the world we can deal with it any way we choose in order to guarantee the lawful rights of man. May man prevail forever (applause). Power to the people. Yeah--ah--I think I lost my half of the audience. So, are you ready to go home?

(Shouts of "No.")

HN: Alright. Questions?

Second Unknown
Male (SM):

Yes. I have a question here from a fellow operating a piece of equipment here. He says, "Needless to say, our society today is controlled by a system of cooperative capitalism (unintelligible) and an essay on liberation states that any revolution is to take place and, in fact, is successful, then there must be a total change in the nature of man himself. Did you agree or disagree? Explain if possible."

HN: I agree that man is changing all the time because if I were to stay static I would not be the cause of dialectical materialism. So, therefore, it is quite true.

(Noise from crowd)

The Socialist Workers Party? Ah--I think that sometimes-- I think that sometimes the Socialist Workers Party might seem to be somewhat historical in their approach. I think that sometimes they plan to theorize without thinking it necessary to develop a survival program; and this is why I believe they criticize us for developing what they call an (unintelligible) program. So, I would say that as far as the Socialist Workers Party is concerned we would like to get an understanding and work

together because purely we are not objective enemies. There must be some misunderstanding of the phenomena. So, maybe they could help us and we could help them because what we want to do is understand the world so that the people--so that the people can get what there is. I'm not here to shut anyone down. I'm not here to out argue anyone. I'm here to be educated and I'm sure that--ah--we can become educated--we can become educated through some dialectical arguments and this is all. And I realize this--that I don't speak very well. So, it reminds me of what Fidel Castro told Jean Paul Sartre (unintelligible) only ninety miles from home shortly after the Cuban revolution. Sartre was out on the street with Fidel and people were constantly stopping to meet and the peasants there, they would stop, ask Fidel for this and for that and Fidel would write it down and talk to them a while and be gone. And then Sartre said, "Do you feel you must give them everything they ask for?" And Fidel said, "Yes." And Sartre said, "What if they ask you for the moon?" Fidel said, "I would attempt to give it to them; and if I can't, it will prove that I'm a poor administrator and I should not have my job because the people do not claim to be theoreticians, politicians, philosophers. They want to live, and if you

present yourself as a leader of theoreticians then you must give them what they want." So, he said this; and I say it tonight, people, that if I cannot communicate so that you can understand then it's because I am a bad theoretician and I will go home and I will study very hard so that I can communicate better. This is all I can do.

(Applause)

Third Unknown
Male (TM):

Yes. OK--you will have to have strategy and tactics; but let's not (unintelligible) Hack people. And, also, I question the methods about organizing the working class faction (unintelligible) Shouldn't we--shouldn't we develop our own ideology instead of adopting something from Marx and Lenin because Marxism and Leninism hasn't worked in the Soviet Union and it hasn't worked in China and any place else it has not worked.

Unknown Voice:

Right.

TM:

So what are we doing regarding an original ideology. Why can't we produce our own? Don't we have the means and the resources to produce our own ideology and can't we build on something outside the dialectic because man is that narrow.

HN:

Do you have an ideology?

TM: Do I have an ideology?

HN: That's what I said.

TM: I'm developing one.

HN: I see. Alright. Well, after you develop that ideology, if it proves to serve the people and it proves a solution for the problem then I will adopt your ideology and drop my African ideology.

TM: That's the truth.

HN: Now, wait a minute. I let you talk, now you let me talk. I will drop my African ideology--and I emphasize African because I stated earlier, if I remember correctly, that I believe that the dialectical method probably started south of Sahara and I also stated further that not only did that philosophy or that theory start south of Sahara, I said that the genesis of man was probably south of Sahara according to Doctor Leakey and other reputable anthropologists. So, therefore, we're not talking about Marx. We're not talking about Lenin. But we're talking about understanding the phenomena of the world. Would everyone please sit down because--well, just sit on the sides so that people can see behind you. Alright. Please? OK.

TM: Now this--

HN: Wait a minute now.

TM: Alright.

HN: So, what I said is if the genesis of man was south of Sahara that means that everything after that had an African genesis. Now, perhaps my first presumption is wrong. I don't know. But whether it is or not is not, I can't see what difference it makes. I would agree with this, that man is a homo sapien or of the same species and because he's of the same species that means that he's very like a sissy. What we have to do is find out what is cowering us and what is lowering us and crush that because--

TM: I see.

HN: (Unintelligible) and this is what we need to do. But, I am not gonna stand here tonight--I am not gonna stand here tonight or any other time and say that if a theory happens to come from (unintelligible) if the theory happens to come from a man who happened to be born in Europe or a man who we will define as a Caucasian, that doesn't automatically invalidate that theory. As far as the white working class--I said that the proletariens do not have--do not have a potentiality to theoretically accept the revolution even if they had in Russia. I also said that if the Russian territory--if the Russian territory--might only be at the most what we call a

liberated territory. So, because a thing has not worked in the past, because a theory has not worked in the past, that does not mean it won't work in the future. In other words, perhaps it hasn't reached it's final climax. And that's what I claim. I claim that the only way that communism can still work--the only way that revolutionary intercommunalism can work in the interest of the people there is a prerequisite. We would have to down the ruling circle because a slave can never run away from a master. A slave cannot divorce himself from the master. In order to better the situation, then he has to transform the master. He has to take away the master's power, pull him down off his high horse, and make him equal because if he does not do that he will never be free. He will never be free because as long as the master exists--as long as the master exists he will be in danger. So, I say this, as long as reactionary, racist capitalism exists, the people of the world will be in danger. So, I will not accept a solution such as in schism (unintelligible), that is, let's separate.

I say the house that we separate (unintelligible) of the United States when the ruling circle will not let the people ten thousand miles away--ten thousand miles away in South Africa separate. You follow this all

over the world. So, the biblical phrase is very appropriate. The biblical phrase is very, very appropriate. That is--that is: "I went to the mountain to hide my face. The mountain cried out, 'No hiding place.'" So, I'm not gonna run to Africa because I know the imperialist's presence is in Africa. I know that it is present in Latin America. I know that it is present in Asia. I know that it is present Europe and it is running amuck in America. So, in order to change the situation you cannot run away. So, you must attack and say that that would show not only a certain amount of courage, it would prove very difficult for the ruling circle to deal with because the people of the world are popular. The people of the world represent the majority; so, therefore, I'm very, very optimistic. It's called revolutionary optimism--I'm sure that we will down the circle, transform society, and--and also I'm sure that the vanguard group--that the vanguard group will be black people, not in Africa but black people here in America. Black people here in America because black people in America are probably the most progressive people in the world because of our history. Sociologists and anthropologists--sociologists have concluded that people with a long, unbroken history tend to be somewhat

chauvinistic because they are tied to the past and this is why the Chinese people destroy everything over seventeen years old because they said it was--ah-- it tied them to the past--the tradition, such as Chiang Kai-shek. So, therefore, they destroy most of their history. So, what I'm saying is this. I said earlier that everything has a dual character and everything has many sides; and, brother, that's dialectical but also African so that's what I meant by (unintelligible) Africanism. Cause the Africans always view a (unintelligible) as two sided. They didn't view it as absolute. But, brother, if you can view things as absolute if you say all white people are absolutely bad, then you're being very European because an African would say he's probably both bad and good at the same time and what I would try to do is figure out which policy overshadows the other and try to deal with that; so, what I'm really trying to say is you have to understand the totality of the world in order to get the real picture because if you understand a portion of it, you take a thing out of its context and you're acting like a psychologist and sociologist who claim because something is true after isolating certain variables and put it

on a possibility--wait a minute--I'm talking bullshit.

I can't communicate attempting to be too academic.

Power to the brothers and sisters

(End.)

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

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

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously reelected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon, and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

Source advised on May 25, 1970, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
Boston, Massachusetts

A source advised on March 13, 1961, that the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, was formed in the latter part of the 1930s. This source stated that as of July, 1958, this group was the Boston local of the Socialist Workers Party.

A second source stated that as of May 22, 1970, the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, is the local affiliate of and follows the aims and purposes of the national Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031) (P)
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
RM-BPP (KEY EXTREMIST)

DATE: 2/22/71

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a speech made by the subject at New Haven College on 2/5/71. Three copies of the LHM are enclosed for San Francisco.

Confidential source mentioned in LHM is

b6
b7C

REC-42

105-165429-350

FEB 25 1971

ENCLOSURE

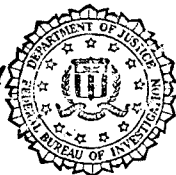
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2-Bureau (RM) (Encls. 8)
2-San Francisco (RM) 157-1203 (Encls. 3)
2-New Haven (157-1601)
WAW:jch
(6)

b6
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DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

MAR 17 1971

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Haven, Connecticut

February 22, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
APPEARANCE AT NEW HAVEN COLLEGE
WEST HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, FEBRUARY 5, 1971

On February 5, 1971 at about 1:30 p.m., HUEY P. NEWTON, Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party, spoke at the Student Center, University of New Haven, West Haven, Connecticut. On this same date, a reliable and confidential source advised that the crowd numbered approximately 250, and was comprised primarily of college students. The speech lasted about one-half hour. This same source advised that NEWTON made some of the following points during his speech:

The problem of survival is a most important one. Since laws are made by man, they are sometimes unjust. There are ways to correct these laws without reverting to physical violence; such as marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, etc.

He spoke out against the death penalty since there is no appeal from death in the event the state makes a mistake.

He stated there is a need to reconstruct the social system. If the system will not allow reconstruction, you have the right and duty to take necessary steps to correct it.

The Black Panther Party's aims are to help the socially oppressed whites and blacks; to reconstruct society so the people can take it over.

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ENCLOSURE

10-163425-350

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Many business leaders and governors of states consider the rest of the people as inferior; the Panthers intend to bring power back to the people. The power structure is hindering progression in some areas. Despite advances in medicine, people are not benefiting. The Panthers have set up about 44 health clinics in various states and have recently opened up a shoe factory which serves all who come.

He asked that all present support BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS by coming to the court house during the trial.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 25 1971

NR004 MI PLAIN

535PM URGENT 2/25/71 LRK

TO DIRECTOR 105-165429

CHICAGO 157-3765

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203

FROM MILWAUKEE 157-1113

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dabney	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. [redacted]	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6
b7C

HUEY P. NEWTON; RM - BPP

[redacted] UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW),
DEPARTMENT OF PROTECTION AND SECURITY, ADVISED INSTANT DATE
[redacted] AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER, WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
[redacted] AT HIS MEETING WITH UW OFFICIALS FEBRUARY
TWENTY FOUR LAST. [redacted]

[redacted] NEW LEFT GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS. AT THE
MEETING, [redacted] CHARGED UW WITH BREACH OF CONTRACT FOR NOT
PROVIDING FIELD HOUSE FOR NEWTON'S SPEECH, AND AFRO-AMERICAN
CENTER WILL, THEREFORE, NOT PAY EIGHT HUNDRED DOLLARS AGREED
UPON FOR USE OF STOCK PAVILION. [redacted] ALSO STATED IF UW WOULD
MAKE FIELD HOUSE AVAILABLE FOR NEWTON AND AGREE TO ALLOW BLACK
PANTHER PARTY (BPP) TO PROVIDE SECURITY AND TO KEEP ALL POLICE
AWAY FROM THE FIELD HOUSE, THEY WOULD PAY THE EIGHT HUNDRED

b6
b7C

END PG ONE

62 MAR 16 1971

REC 99

105-165429-351

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DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C11/mjs

PG TWO

DOLLARS. UW OFFICIALS ADVISED THEY WOULD DISCUSS WITH THEIR ATTORNEYS AND WOULD REPLY BY LETTER.

A LETTER FROM UW ADMINISTRATION WAS SENT TO AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER INSTANT DATE, WHICH STATED UW POSITION IS AFRO-AMERICAN ~~ONE~~ QUARTER LIABLE FOR EIGHT HUNDRED DOLLARS AS PER AGREEMENT, AND UW WILL TAKE LEGAL ACTION TO COLLECT. IN REGARD TO USE OF FIELD HOUSE, UW OFFICIALS WILL ~~WILL~~ DISCUSS ARRANGEMENTS ONLY UNDER CONDITIONS UW WILL PROVIDE SECURITY.

[] ADVISED A SMALL GROUP OF BLACK STUDENTS, ACCOMPANIED BY KNOWN CAMPUS RADICALS, APPEARED AT UW CHANCELLOR YOUNG'S OFFICE ~~X~~ INSTANT DATE, AND YOUNG ADMITTED THREE BLACK STUDENTS AS SPOKESMEN TO HIS OFFICE FOR APPROXIMATELY THREE MINUTES DURING WHICH TIME THEY PRESENTED YOUNG WITH PETITIONS, WHICH STATED THE SIGNERS AGREED TO BE SEARCHED BY BPP WHEN NEWTON SPEAKS ON CAMPUS. SPOKESMEN DELIVERED ULTIMATUM TO YOUNG TO GRANT USE OF UW FIELD HOUSE FOR NEWTON'S SPEECH AND DEMANDED ANSWER BY FOUR O'CLOCK INSTANT DATE. [] ADVISED YOUNG DOES NOT PLAN TO ANSWER DEMANDS AS UW POSITION WAS MADE KNOWN IN LETTER TO AFRO-
END PG TWO

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

PG THREE

PG THREE

AMERICAN CNETER EARLIER THIS DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

RE MILWAUKEE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST.

CHICAGO AND SAN FRANCISCO REQUESTED SUTEL INVESTIGATION
REQUESTED IN RETEL, AND ALSO REQUESTED TO CONTACT BPP SOURCES
FOR ANY INFORMATION RE PLANS FOR NEWTON'S APPEARANCE AT UW
AND SUTEL. MILWAUKEE FOLLOWING CLOSELY.
END

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 26 1971

TELETYPE

REC 173

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Woods _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR006 SF CODE

7:11PM NITEL 1/26/71 DWC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

ALBANY

BOSTON

NEWARK

NEW HAVEN ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED ^{CA75-6203}
NEW YORK DATE 6/24/87 BY SP5C110MS

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM-BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

ON JANUARY TWENTYTHREE LAST, SF T-ONE ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BPP, PRESENTLY

AT BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, CONTACTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE PANTHERS IN NEW YORK

AND ASKED HER FOR THE ITINERARY FOR NEWTONS TRIP TO THE EAST

COAST. FOLLOWING ITINERARY FOR NEWTON FURNISHED BY [REDACTED]

FEBRUARY NINE NEXT, AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY IN DILLON

GYMNASIUM. CONTACT IS [REDACTED] MEMBER OF THE NEW

UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE, OFFICE TELEPHONE NUMBER AREA CODE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HOME

PHONE [REDACTED]

TIME OF APPEARANCE

ABELIEVED TO BE SEVEN THIRTY PM.

END PAGE ONE

MAR 22 1971

MAR 4 1971

Records
11c

100-456507

SM-505

MAR 3 1971

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

PAGE TWO

FEBRUARY TWELVE, PARTY AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW YORK CITY, HOME TELEPHONE NUMBER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OFFICE TELEPHONE NUMBER SAME AS TELEPHONE

NUMBER [REDACTED] TIME FROM

SEVEN TO TEN P.M

FEBRUARY THIRTEEN, STONY BROOK, NEW YORK (APPEARANTLY STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK).

FEBRUARY FOURTEEN, CHAPEL AT UNIVERSITY OF SYRACUSE, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK, SPONSORED BY THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY, THE UNIVERSITY UNION AND THE BLACK STUDENT UNION (BSU). CONTACT IS [REDACTED] TELEPHONE NUMBER AREA CODE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THREE ROUND

TRIP AIRLINE TICKETS FROM NEW YORK TO SYRACUSE ON MOHAWK AIRLINES BEING PROVIDED. TIME BELIEVED TO BE SEVEN THIRTY P.M

FEBRUARY FIFTEEN, CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK.

FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN, POSSIBILITY OF A TELEVISION APPEARANCE. (AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, NEW YORK CITY CHANNEL THIRTEEN
END PAGE TWO

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

PAGE THREE

TELEVISION STATION DESIRES TO HAVE NEWTON SPEAK FOR NINETEY
MINUTES FOR WHICH HE COULD RECEIVE FIFTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS,
TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN NEXT).

ON JANUARY TWENTYFIVE LAST, T ONE REPORTED THAT

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] THE BSU AT STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, STONY
BROOK (SUNY-SB), TELEPHONE NUMBERS AREA CODE [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IS THE PERON TO CONTACT CONCERNING THE
CONTRACT REGARDING NEWTONS APPEARANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY.
A TENTATIVE DATE OF FEBRUARY THIRTEEN NEXT, WAS MENTIONED
FOR NEWTONS APPEARANCE AT SUNY-SB.

ON THE SAME DATE, SF T ONE ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] CONTACTED
[REDACTED] AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY REGARDING NEWTONS
APPEARANCE THERE. [REDACTED] SAID HE HAS RAISED THIRTYFIVE
HUNDRED DOLLARS BUT CANT GUARANTEE FIVE THOUSAND DOLLAR.
HE SAID HE IS HAVING A MEETING ON THE ^NIGHT OF JANUARY/END PAGE THREE

b6
b7C

PAGE FOUR

TWENTYFIVE TO DECIDE WHAT THEY ARE GOING TO DO AND WILL ADVISE

[REDACTED] ON JANUARY TWENTYSIX INSTANT.

ON JANUARY TWENTYFIVE LAST, SF T TWO ADVISED THAT NEWTON
AND [REDACTED] HAD ON THAT DATE DISCUSSED THE THREE
DAY SEMINAR SCHEDULED AT YALE UNIVERSITY ^{TY} ON ^{FEBRUARY} ~~FE~~ TWO NEXT,
THROUGH FEBRUARY FOUR NEXT, WITH ERIK ERICKSON AND THE FACT
THAT THE GROUP AT YALE UNIVERSITY WHO IS TO PARTICIPATE IN
THE DISCUSSION, DOES NOT WANT WHITE EDITORS TO ATTEND. NEWTON
COMMENTED HE WANTED THEM THERE BECAUSE OF THE PUBLICITY BUT HE
TOLD [REDACTED] APPEASE THE GROUP WITH A PROMISE OF A PRIVATE
MEETING. [REDACTED] AND ^E ~~N~~WTON ALSO DISCUSSED THE FACT THAT
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY IS HAVING DIFFICULTY COMING UP WITH FIVE
THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR NEWTONS ENGAGEMENT ^E ~~T~~HRE AND NEWTON SAID
HE WILL NOT AGREE TO A PENNY LESS.

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

SF T TWO FURTHER ADVISED THAT NEWTON TOLD [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ON JANUARY TWENTYFIVE LAST ~~THAT~~ THAT NEWTON WILL
DEPART SAN FRANCISCO FOR NEW YORK CITY ON JANUARY TWENTYEIGHT
END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

OR TWENTYNINE NEXT, AND MAY SPEND A FEW DAYS AT [REDACTED]
RESIDENCE.

SF T THREE REPORTED ON JANUARY TWENTYFIVE LAST, THAT
NEWTON HAD STATED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL ACCOMPANY HIM TO NEW YORK CITY ON JANUARY
TWENTYEIGHT OR TWENTYNINE NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SF T ONE IS [REDACTED]

SF T TWO IS [REDACTED]

SF T THREE IS [REDACTED]

RECEIVING OFFICES ATTEMPT TO VERIFY NEWTONS SPEAKING
ENGAGEMENTS AT THE DESIGNATED LOCATIONS AND IDENTIFY SPONSORS
OF HIS APPEARANCES.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL FOLLOW AND ADVISE FURTHER INFORMATION
DEVELOPED CONCERNING NEWTONS TRAVELS.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

b6
b7C

b2

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429) DATE: 2/26/71

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-777) (RUC)

SUBJECT: HUGHIE P. NEWTON
RM - BPP
TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Re New York letter to Bureau, 2/23/71.

Enclosed for Los Angeles are two copies of referenced letter.

Inasmuch as Chino is in Los Angeles area, Los Angeles handle lead.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C10MS

REC 9/05-1111 353

17 MAR 5 1971

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (157-2702) (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco (157-1204) (RM)
 - 2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 1 - Sacramento
- RQS:emk F168
(7)

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 2/25/71

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-1995)

SUBJECT: ROEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
RM-BPP
(OO: San Francisco)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 625-623
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C10ms

Re Boston teletype to Bureau, February 7,
1971.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of
an LHM concerning NEWTON's visit to Boston area,
2/5/71. It should be noted that NEWTON made no
public speeches while in the Boston area.

Enclosed for New York, San Francisco, Los
Angeles, and Albany are two copies each of instant
LHM in view of their interest in the subject.

This LHM is classified "~~confidential~~" to
protect the identity of the sources, disclosure of
which would effect the national defense adversely.

Sources utilized in the LHM are as follows:

Identity of Source

Contacted By

BS T-1 is [redacted]

SA [redacted]

BS T-2 [redacted]

SA [redacted]

BS T-3 is [redacted]

REC-73

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b7C
b7D

354

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc.8) 4d.
- 2 - New York (RM) (Enc.2)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM) (Enc.2) 1cc 806
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM) (Enc.2)

9 MAR 5 1971

RECEIVED SECT.

101-123
JRH:eb

ENCLOSURE

copies to 1SD
10/10
3/12/71
JLA/jio

BS 157-1995

Included in this LHM is information regarding

[redacted] who was also in Boston during the pertinent weekend. This information is included since New Haven had reported [redacted] HUEY NEWTON in New Haven, prior to NEWTON's departure from New Haven for Boston, on 2/5/71.

b6
b7C

Confidential sources in the Boston Office have been unable to furnish any information linking [redacted] with BPP in Boston, and should any information come to the attention of the Boston Office regarding his association with BPP members in Boston, it will be forwarded to the Bureau.

The Albany Division was previously requested to determine the identity of the owner of a dark Ford Mustang, parked in front of [redacted] residence [redacted] bearing New York license [redacted] Albany determined this was an improper number with insufficient digits. Due to weather conditions and the time of day, it was difficult to view the numbers of the plate. It is believed number should have read [redacted]

Special Agents observing [redacted] were:
on 2/5/71 [redacted] on 2/6/71
were [redacted]

b6
b7C

LEAD

ALBANY

Albany Office is requested to determine the registered owner of dark Ford Mustang with New York License [redacted]



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Boston, Massachusetts

In Reply, Please Refer to

February 25, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On January 14, 1971, BS T-1 advised that the only public date for Huey Percy Newton to make an appearance in Boston was to be February 8, 1971. Huey Percy Newton is Supreme Commander Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and co-founder of the BPP.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix hereto.

On February 5, 1971, BS T-1 advised that "the Minister" was coming to Boston tonight and was in need of some penicillin for his sore throat.

On February 6, 1971, BS T-1 advised that Huey (Newton) was in Boston but did not know if he would attend the social planned by the BPP at Columbia Point Housing Project in Roxbury, on the evening of February 6, 1971.

On February 7, 1971, BS T-1 advised Huey Percy Newton had inspected BPP headquarters at 21-23 Winthrop Street, Roxbury, on February 7. On February 7 BS T-1 advised two persons were leaving Boston airport at 1:30 p.m., on February 7, by way of flight 267, arriving La Guardia Airport at 2:15 p.m. On February 7 officials at the American Airlines, Logan International Airport, advised flight 387 left Boston at 1:30 p.m., on February 7, 1971, and arrived at New York 2:20 p.m., but the name of Newton did not appear on the flight

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SP5C11 PMS
DECLASSIFIED BY 3430
ON 8-17-78
62687 245/0/4
CA75-6203

354

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

manifest. Eastern Airlines personnel at Logan International Airport advised on February 7 that no complete records are maintained of shuttle passengers from Boston to New York, and added that shuttle flights from Boston to New York leave every hour on the hour for La Guardia Airport in New York City.

On February 5, 1971, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Boston, observed greatly increased activities at the home of [redacted] Massachusetts. [redacted]

[redacted] who has been friendly towards the BPP in the past. A dark Ford Mustang with New York license [redacted] was observed parked in front of [redacted] house on February 5, 1971.

b6
b7C

On February 6, 1971, BS T-2 learned from Huey Newton that Newton was staying as a guest of [redacted] Newton advised that [redacted] was not at home at the present time, [redacted] was shopping at the shopping center.

Throughout the day of February 6 and part of February 7 Newton remained in the residence of [redacted]

On February 7, 1971, BS T-2 was advised by [redacted] that Huey Newton, who had been a house guest of [redacted] had recently left Boston for New York City by air. [redacted] that BPP headquarters in New York would possibly know his present whereabouts.

b6
b7C
b7D

On February 5, 1971 BS T-3 advised that [redacted]

[redacted] BS T-3 advised that [redacted] arrived by taxicab, and was not known to be in contact with Huey Percy Newton. BS T-3 advised that [redacted]

On February 6, 1971, BS T-3 advised [redacted] had been contacted by an unknown female from [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EDDY PERCY NEWTON

[REDACTED]

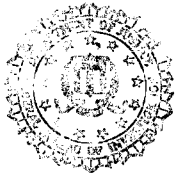
On February 8, 1971 BS T-3 advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is not known to be a militant organization.

b6
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

February 5, 1971

Title HUEY PERCY NEWTON, also known as
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Character RACIAL MATTERS--BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference LHM of SA [redacted] dated
and captioned as above

b6
b7C

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 18 1971

TELETYPE

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

NR014

DE PLAIN

9:32PM

NITEL

2-18-71 JRK 3P

TO DIRECTOR

CHICAGO

MILWAUKEE

FROM DETROIT (157-4104)

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM, - BPP, TREASON (KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST) OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

DETROIT FILES REFLECT KEY BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
ACTIVISTS IN MUSKEGON, MICHIGAN AREA ARE THREE NEGRO MALES,
[REDACTED] IDENTIFIED AND DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS.

END PAGE ONE

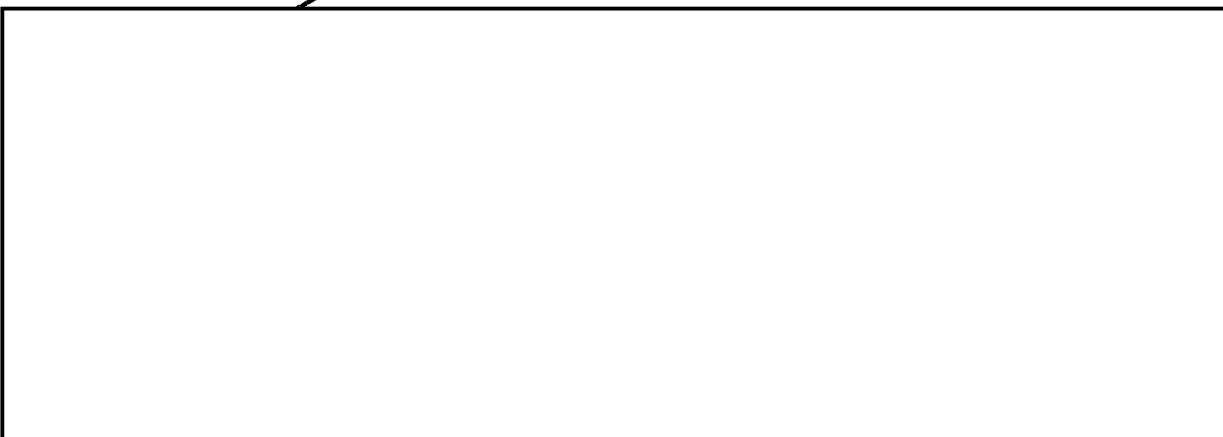
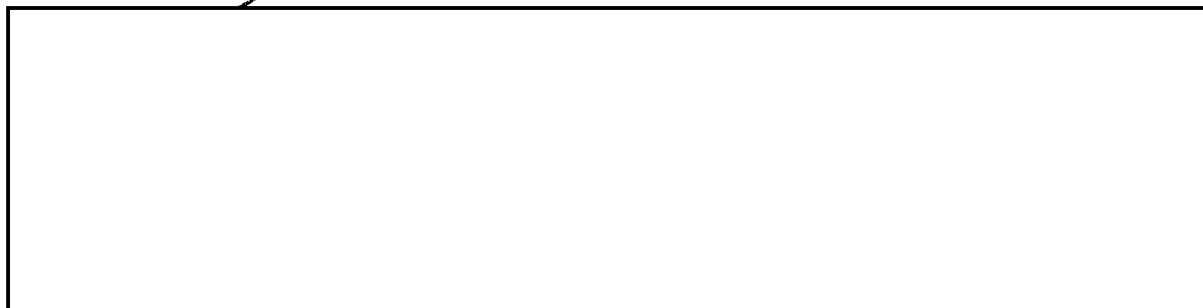
378
70 MAR 22 1971

1 MAR 5 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CMS-6203*
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5CJ/MS

PAGE TWO

DE 157-4104



b6
b7C

THESE INDIVIDUALS HAVE HAD CONTINUED CONTACT WITH THE
BPP AT CHICAGO AND HAVE ATTEMPTED TO HAVE AN OFFICIAL BPP
CHAPTER AT MUSKEGON, MICHIGAN. LATEST INVESTIGATION INDICATES
THEY WILL ABANDON THE BPP IDENTITY AND FORM THEIR OWN
GROUP AT MUSKEGON CALLED ~~THE MUSKEGON COMMUNITY WORKERS.~~ //
THEY CAN BE LOGICALLY CONSIDERED AS REPRESENTATIVES AT
CHICAGO, ILL., ON FEBRUARY NINETEEN, NEXT, DURING
END PAGE OTWO

PAGE THREE

DE 157-4104

APPEARANCE OF HUEY NEWTON. SOURCES AT MUSKEGON CONTACTED TODAY, HOWEVER, HAD NO INFORMATION TO INDICATE THEY ARE MAKING DEFINITE PLANS TO TRAVEL TO CHICAGO. PHOTOGRAPHS OF ALL ARE AVAILABLE AND WILL BE FORWARDED TO CHICAGO.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHICAGO TEL, FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN, LAST.

THIS TEL BEING DIRECTED TO MILWAUKEE IN CONSIDERATION OF POSSIBILITY THAT NEWTON AND FRIENDS MIGHT APPEAR AT MADISON, WISCONSIN ON SPEAKING TOUR. IN VIEW OF THEIR CONNECTION WITH BPP AND PERSONAL ARREST HISTORIES, THE PERSONS DESCRIBED IN THIS TELETYPE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

AM COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO.

END

HOLD FOR ONE MORE

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/25/71

Attached reports that Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party (BPP) Supreme Commander, will travel to Boston to attend a BPP fund raising party 2/26/71 with BPP Attorney Charles Garry. Party sponsored by [redacted] who supports radical causes in Boston area.

Intensified coverage being afforded Newton's travel.

Attached also sets out lead for Boston to monitor a proposed speech by BPP Attorney Charles Garry at Harvard 2/26/71. We do not think this desirable and are so advising Boston separately.

Attached being furnished Internal Security Division and Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department.

RNB:cb

TEL TO BOSTON 2/25/71
RNB:cb

426187

SP5c10MS

C873-6283

b6
b7C

NR 010 SF C O D E

8:54PM NITEL 2/24/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

BOSTON

NEW HAVEN

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 4PS

O RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, -X- BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

CHARLES R. GARRY, ~~REDACTED~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CATS 4003*
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5/ellms

FIRST RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTED THAT IS HOLDING
A FUND-RAISING COCKTAIL PARTY FOR NEWTON AND THE BPP SUPPOSEDLY
IN BOSTON ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT AT NINE P.M., AND THAT NEWTON
AND BPP ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY WILL ATTEND. ACCORDING
TO SOURCE, GARRY IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY
AT SEVEN P.M. THE SAME DATE PRIOR TO ATTENDING THE PARTY. SOURCE
FURTHER STATED THAT A FEE OF TWENTYFIVE DOLLARS PER PERSON HAS BEEN
MENTIONED BY AS THE CHARGE FOR ATTENDING THE PARTY.

A SECOND RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTED THAT HAS SUPPOSEDLY
SENT FIVE HUNDRED INVITATIONS TO VARIOUS PERSONS TO ATTEND THE
FUND-RAISING PARTY WHICH IS BEING CALLED "AN EVENING WITH CHARLES
GARRY AND HUEY NEWTON." SOURCE INDICATED THAT THE INVITATIONS
DO NOT SHOW FOR WHAT PURPOSE THE MONEY RAISED WILL BE USED AND
END OF PAGE ONE

REC-22

105-165429-356

9 MAR 4 1971

61 MAR 11 1971

Tel. 1-135, Hsok, RNB/col

cc 806
Copies to 150
1010

3/4/71
RNB/ppo

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

THAT ON THE BACK OF THE INVITATIONS IS A NOTE THAT IF THE INDIVIDUAL WHO RECEIVED IT CANNOT ATTEND, HE SHOULD MAKE HIS CHECK PAYABLE TO THE LEGAL DEFENSE FUND.

A THIRD RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTED THAT NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO ATTEND A PARTY GIVEN BY [REDACTED] IN BOSTON ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT, AND THAT NEWTON WILL PROBABLY DEPART SAN FRANCISCO FOR BOSTON VIA AN AIRLINES FLIGHT AT ELEVEN FORTYFIVE A.M., FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT.

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[REDACTED] TRANS-WORLD AIRLINES (TWA), SAN FRANCISCO, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT TWA FLIGHT ONE EIGHT SIX FOR BOSTON DEPARTS SAN FRANCISCO AT ELEVEN FORTYFIVE A.M., BUT CHECK OF THE RESERVATIONS LIST FOR THAT FLIGHT ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT FAILED TO LOCATE ANY NAMES IDENTIFIABLE AS BPP MEMBERS OR ASSOCIATES.

THE SECOND SOURCE FURTHER REPORTED ON FEBRUARY TWENTYTHREE LAST THAT [REDACTED] TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEAD-QUARTERS, OAKLAND, ON THAT DATE IN ATTEMPT TO TALK WITH [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] WAS NOT AVAILABLE, SO [REDACTED] LEFT MESSAGE FOR [REDACTED] THAT A TELEVISION TALK SHOW IN BOSTON WOULD LIKE TO DO AN INTERVIEW WITH NEWTON, POSSIBLY FOR FRIDAY (APPARENTLY

END OF PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT). [REDACTED] FURTHER COMMENTED THAT PEOPLE
HANDLING THE TELEVISION SHOW ARE "PRETTY GOOD PEOPLE, THEY HAVE HAD
OTHER PEOPLE ON THE PROGRAM WHO HAVE SAID GOOD THINGS ABOUT
THE PARTY, AND I DON'T THINK THEY WOULD GIVE HIM (NEWTON) A BAD
TIME".

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE ONE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

THIRD SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

BOSTON SHOULD ALERT SOURCES OF POSSIBLE TRAVEL BY NEWTON

TO THAT AREA ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT, AND ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE DETAILS

REGARDING THE FUND RAISING PARTY GIVEN

BY [REDACTED] INASMUCH AS [REDACTED] MASS.,

b6
b7C

IT IS POSSIBLE THE PARTY WILL BE HELD [REDACTED] BOSTON

SHOULD ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY TELEVISION PROGRAM DESIRING TO

INTERVIEW NEWTON AND DETERMINE IF NEWTON SCHEDULED TO APPEAR.

END OF PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

SF 157-1203

INASMUCH AS THE BUREAU HAS REQUESTED INTENSIFIED COVERAGE OF BPP ATTORNEY CHARLES GARRY (BUFILE ONE HUNDRED - TWO FIVE NINE NINE ZERO TWO; SF FILE ONE HUNDRED - TWO SIX SIX EIGHT FIVE), BOSTON IS REQUESTED TO COVER GARRY'S SPEECH AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND OBTAIN RECORDING AND TRANSCRIPT OF HIS SPEECH, IF POSSIBLE.

NEW HAVEN IS REQUESTED TO DETERMINE IF GARRY IS GOING TO ATTEND THE BOSTON FUNCTIONS AND ADVISE OF ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED IN THAT REGARD.

ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON BEING CLOSELY FOLLOWED. THE BUREAU AND APPROPRIATE OFFICES WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ANY INFORMATION RECEIVED CONCERNING HIS TRAVEL.

END

CL 10/10/68

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/26/71

Attached relates that Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party (BPP), was making arrangements to meet with Bernadette Devlin, Irish member of Parliament and a leader of the civil rights movement in northern Ireland, who is currently visiting the United States.

Copy of attached furnished Inter-Division Information Unit. Pertinent parts will be included in summary to the White House, State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, Attorney General and Secret Service.

JTK:cb

CD

JTK

6/26/87

CAJX-6203

SPS:ilams

Mr. Sullivan ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Bishop ✓
 Mr. Brennan ✓
 Mr. Callahan ✓
 Mr. Casper ✓
 Mr. Conrad ✓
 Mr. Dalbey ✓
 Mr. Felt ✓
 Mr. Gale ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tavel ✓
 Mr. Walters ✓
 Mr. Soyars ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Miss Holmes ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

MR 010 SF CODE

9 10 PM NITEL 2/25/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

BOSTON

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE).

RELIABLE SOURCE REPTED ON FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST, THAT AN INDIVIDUAL IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED] HAD CONTACTED NEWTON AND TOLD NEWTON THAT BERNADETTE DEVLIN WANTED TO MEET WITH NEWTON WHEN HE WAS IN THE BOSTON AREA ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT.

ON FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE INSTANT, NEWTON INSTRUCTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TO CONTACT DEVLIN AND INVITE HER TO [REDACTED] PARTY IN BOSTON ON THE NIGHT OF FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX NEXT. NEWTON INSTRUCTED THAT DEVLIN BE ADVISED THE PARTY WOULD BE OF NO COST TO HER AND THAT HE DESIRED TO TALK WITH HER AT THAT PARTY.

SOURCE STATED THAT NEWTON WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS SUPPOSED TO SPEAK AT SOME COLLEGE IN THE BOSTON AREA

END PAGE

ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA75-6203*
 DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C11DMS

REC-85

EX-103

17 MAR 4 1971

UNRECORDED COPY

MAR 8 1971

"cc to
 Adm. d. 156"

b6
 b7C

b6
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5263
 105-165429-357

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY TWENTYSEVEN NEXT AND HE WAS INFORMED
[REDACTED] THAT THE COLLEGE HAD CANCELLED, THAT THEY DIDN'T
HAVE A CONTRACT SIGNED AND THAT THE PEOPLE AT THE COLLEGE
HAD SAID THEY DIDN'T LIKE HAVING TO PAY FOR HIM TO SPEAK TO
BLACK STUDENTS. NAME AND LOCATION OF THE COLLEGE NOT MENTIONED
AND ARE UNKNOWN TO SOURCE.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

BOSTON NOTE THAT BERNADETTE DEVLIN WILL POSSIBLY ATTEND
THE PARTY GIVEN BY [REDACTED] AND APPROPRIATE COVERAGE
SHOULD BE PROVIDED.

b6
b7C

SAN FRANCISCO HAS DEVELOPED NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
CONCERNING NEWTON'S TRAVEL TO BOSTON. HIS ACTIVITIES WILL
BE CLOSELY FOLLOWED AND THE BUREAU AND APPROPRIATE OFFICES
ADVISED.

END...

REC 4 FBI WA RDR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
(Key Black Extremist)
RM - BPP
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

DATE: 3/5/71

6/26/87
SP5C110MS CA75-6263
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-81 BY SP5C110MS/SP5C110MS
#555/6
4/1/75

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM concerning an article entitled, "Colloquy Miscarried: Huey Newton at Yale." The article appeared in "The New Journal" dated February 28, 1971. Instant article contains detailed information concerning NEWTON's activities while in New Haven as well as verbal quotes from his various speeches.

Instant LHM is not classified in view of the fact that "The New Journal" is considered open material.

Source who furnished instant LHM is [redacted] who also obtained detailed notes of NEWTON's seminar with ERIK ERIKSON. No derogatory information is contained in New Haven indices concerning authors ELIZABETH BALLANTINE and JOEL ROGERS, however, in view of their student status New Haven is not considering interviewing them for additional details at this time.

b6
b7C
b7D

ST-103

1 cc 806
2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 8)
4 - New Haven
2 - 157-1031
1 - 157-1601
1 - [redacted]
TFM/lec
(6)

REC- 66

358

9 MAR 8 1971

SECT.



MAR 18 1971

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New Haven, Connecticut
March 5, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
JANUARY 28-FEBRUARY 5, 1971

On March 3, 1971, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the enclosed article entitled, "Colloquy Miscarried: Huey Newton at Yale." This article appeared in "The New Journal" dated February 28, 1971.

"The New Journal" is a publication of the New Journal at Yale, Inc., a non-profit corporation which is located at 3432 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut, and is printed at the News Press, a division of the West Hartford News.

This article contains detailed information concerning NEWTON's appearance at Lee High School in New Haven, his appearance at Woolsey Hall, and his three day seminar with ERIK ERIKSON at Yale University. This article is set forth as follows:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-12-81 BY 2842 PMV/lyg/sab
#55,516
6/24/87
SP5C1/DM5
CATS-6203

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Colloquy miscarried: Huey Newton at Yale

by Elizabeth Ballantine
and Joel Rogers

Elizabeth Ballantine is a senior in Trumbull College majoring in Russian Studies. Joel Rogers, a freshman in Silliman College, is an assistant editor of The New Journal. Photographs by Reginald Krasney.

Thesis, antithesis, synthesis. Fichte via Hegel. Negation of the negation of the rational form of every thought that is logically real or true. Man comes to fulfillment through a self-conscious historical/dialectical process, of which reason is the essence. The State as actualization of the Ethical Idea. Feuerbach's transformative critique. Hegel shown to be predicating man to thought, essence to being. Marx's radical movement beyond Feuerbach's abstract materialism, seeking to transcend philosophy by actualizing it. Man posited as the essence of the historical process, which he creates, but is defined by. The dynamism of the historical process is found to exist in the negation of the negation, the negation of the abstracted right of civil society found to be the proletariat, devoid of right, the negation of the negation to be the revolutionary movement of upheaval of the disenfranchised class. In the revolutionary movement, man will be enabled to return to his species nature, his collective identity.

At last Newton, who reinterprets the impact of Marx's transcendence of speculation. "We must go beyond na-

tionalism," he says, "because nationalism is only an abstraction made up by people to exploit other people." The lumpen proletariat, consisting of the oppressed peoples throughout the world, must see that it is a single group, must act out the revolution as a world class. "The reactionary ruling circles of death" must be renounced the world over. In a forceful upheaval, "we must renounce the covenant of death. Then the whole world will belong to the people, and monsters of all kinds will be destroyed." Revolutionary intercommunalism finds articulation.

Some say that was why Huey Newton, cofounder, Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, came to New Haven.

Others are not sure, saying that Newton came not so much to spread the ideology of revolutionary intercommunalism as to live it, in trial-related actions for Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, in helping to administer the "survival programs" (how to stay alive and well before the revolution) of the New Haven Panthers.

While in New Haven, Newton spoke at Lee High School and Woolsey Hall,

stayed several days in the guest suite of Trumbull College while participating in a three-day colloquium with several Yale students and Erik Erikson, abortively attempted to get to know other Yale students before departing for another speaking engagement late in the week of February 5. His visit had been erratically successful: somewhat romantically clandestine at best, disappointing and boring on the balance. Newton is said to have been appalled at the low level of student political interest and awareness, although pleased and very impressed with Erik Erikson.

Huey's presence at Yale marked the invasion of one distinct set of values (i.e., revolutionary, communal, egalitarian, violent) into the alien territory of a university whose value system is reflected in its policy of established, individualistic, academic training. But the visit turned sour. The potential vitality of the colloquia as a meeting ground between Newton and Yale students was denied, deadened by the failure of both parties to verbalize the overwhelming contradiction of the visit, and to incorporate an awareness of the physical situation into the questions they posed Huey.

Erik Erikson seemed to accomplish the task of relating to Huey far more successfully, by drawing parallels to his own thinking. Of course he had the advantage of several casual conversations with Newton in the congenial atmosphere of Master Kai Erikson's house to supplement his experience in the colloquia, but nonetheless the students were clearly caught short of polished ideas. From reports of the event, they had given little attention to their formulation of their own political and philosophical convictions. Constantly Huey was perturbed by specialized pragmatic questions which he could only

answer in the terms of his own system. It appeared as though Huey were begging the question, when in effect the fault lay with the form of the question.

Monday night, in his first appearance as guest-in-residence, Huey ate dinner in the Trumbull dining hall. It was an important moment, Newton's first exposure to Yale students in their own element, mashed potatoes and ham. Newton sat facing the door, talking with the students clustered around him at his table. At one point in the meal, he turned and smiled to some students behind him, who had been sitting at another table, staring at his back. Caught in their stares by his positively ebullient smile, they turned back to their mashed potatoes. Newton was slightly put off..., but finished his dinner in good spirits and left the dining hall with David Hilliard. In the Trumbull Common Room, where he and Hilliard paused to pick up their coats, the God Squad was holding forth about the eschatological possibilities of this deluded, affluent, material life. Newton was slightly amazed. Then he reached for his coat and found it spattered with saliva and mucus. Ah playful Yale. Newton was angry. He left the Common Room, and took no more meals in Trumbull, or any college dining hall. Commenting on Newton's reaction to the treatment his coat had received, Charles Garry said he found it a "disgraceful, racist, and insulting" gesture, due cause for Newton's coolness toward students during the rest of the stay. A Trumbull participant in the colloquium simply called the evening a "weird, repulsive scene." The colloquium had not yet begun, although its impossibility might already have been insured. As one close observer of Panther affairs commented about Monday night, by that time Huey realized that "the social dynamic of Yale requires flattery. Yalies want the feeling that they're the best.

If you tell them the truth, they're turned off immediately. I think Huey saw that as well and didn't want to be put in that position." His solution was to avoid telling them anything much at all, to reduce contact to a minimum.

Monday night was an important point in the visit, precisely because it was so typical of what was to happen throughout Newton's stay. To clearly understand it, however, it must be located in time, be seen along with the speeches at Lee and Woolsey, later conversations with Erik Erikson, and the actual logistics of setting up the Newton/Yale exchange.

Early in the year, several people close to the Panthers indicated Huey's interest in exchanging ideas with the Yale community. The choice of Trumbull was not a particularly studied one. Mike Lerner, Assistant Professor of Political Science, was first contacted about Newton's interest by Donald Freed, a teacher, UCLA professor on leave to write a book about the Seale trial. Freed had been in New Haven for several months previous. Lerner, a Fellow of Pierson College, first called Peter Brooks, the master of Pierson College, but received no answer to his ringing phone. So he called Kai Erikson, Chairman of the Council of Masters. As Erikson describes it, he had just returned with his wife from a New Year's celebration and visit with friends. His suitcase still in hand, having just come in the door of the master's house of Trumbull, Erikson told Lerner that he was interested.

There were problems. The Panthers asked travelling expenses for a party of three from Oakland. Erikson contacted Elting Morison, Timothy Dwight Master and Chief Trustee of the Chubb Fund, to see if money could be obtained from that source. Morison tentatively assented. Very soon after, he left Yale to spend January

But the final note of the speech was intensely humanistic. Newton said he wanted to be a minister to and of the people, that he wished to meet them in their homes. He said he hoped for some invitations to the private homes of people in the audience. "Don't be surprised if I show up around suppertime," he remarked.

At Woolsey, the scene was different. The crowd consisted of a mixture of subdued, unusually well-dressed whites and blacks of late college age and older, who, unlike the Lee audience, were obliged to pay a two dollar donation at the door. Huey again was late. His speech did not begin until about ten o'clock, but the crowd remained passive, and soft-spoken while waiting. At Lee, there had been a local band that performed and warmed the audience up and down for some forty minutes before Garry spoke. There was no such warm-up at Woolsey. Panthers stood in the balconies, where no one was allowed to sit. Perched above the crowd, they surveyed their strange symphony hall domain, the great room housing the slightly embarrassed and unsure crowd that seemed lifted out of some Godard revolutionary flick of pretended pretending revolutionaries.

When Newton did arrive, he was not received with the warmth of the previous night. Several people got up and left during the speech. His twanging monologue on the philosophic origins of current Panther ideology was seldom broken by applause. He admits to disliking public speaking generally, but he seemed distinctly more uncomfortable in the Yale setting than with the community people. The audience seemed suspicious of his attempted academic approach. They were impatient with his abstraction. The "covenant of death" was academized into abstract right and natural law. "Making

revolution" was conceived of in a distinctly more dialectical sense than the night previous. Historical considerations were more fully considered. The speech was otherwise the same, however.

The current Panther ideology of revolutionary intercommunalism, as originally expressed in a speech by Newton before Boston College last November 28, has its roots in the social and political thought of Marx. In Woolsey Hall Newton sought to explain, that the ideology must be seen as developing out of other previous great systems of philosophy. There is nothing ahistorical about revolutionary intercommunalism, says Huey. To make the jump to the sort of consciousness that can understand it, one need only be a materialist. "Strictly arbitrarily, the Black Panther Party accepts the materialist view as our basic premise." Once one has made the leap to materials and "reality," recognizing "that there is an external world that is out there..." one can easily apprehend the universal identity that is man's. One may also see the uselessness of most of the education he is receiving. "So we say as Malcolm said, 'Watch in the halls of justice, injustice being done.' We can also say, with equal validity, 'Watch in the halls of education, mis-education being done.' I hope that is not the case with this particular institution, but I am inclined to think so, because if you knew your true interest, you'd be across the street." Newton's ideas were understandable only through the veil of his prose. He spoke with pauses just long enough to make the audience apprehensive about his next point, and joined long, convoluted sentences with expletives and conjunctive phrases like "if you will," "but you might say," "but yet." Newton, said Charles Garry later, was pleased with the Woolsey Hall address. Huey saw it as the beginning of "an intelligent, dialectical argument" with Yale, to be refined in the three days of talks.

scheduled to begin on Ground Hog day.

The deadness of the Woolsey Hall address contrasted little with the deadness of the colloquium. The choice of the fourteen students who participated in the three day talks reflects fairly accurately the Yale humdrum student constituency, with the notable absence of (even humdrum) radicals. Erikson and Morison, in selecting the students, seemed to act according to the criterion that there be no rash political figures picked. Eventually, six blacks and eight whites were chosen. The participants in the talks were, then: Kai Erikson, Morison, Newton, Erik Erikson, and the fourteen students. In addition, a variety of people were allowed to observe the proceedings, including Connie Matthews Tabor and David Hilliard, Marty Kenner, active with Panther Defense, Bubba Rush, a N.Y. Panther and bodyguard for Newton, Herman Blake, a California sociologist, Judy Schneider, the wife of the producer of *Five Easy Pieces*, and some various staffers of Yale Press, most notable among them Chester Kerr. It was Kerr who first showed Kai Erikson into the general conference room of Yale Press, with its thick squishy red carpet and book-lined (Yale University Pressed) walls. Dominating the library-like meeting room is a monstrous, twenty by five foot oaken table. Erikson decided the room was the perfect place to host Huey Newton, and sched-

uled the meetings for the Press building, Tuesday through Thursday. Kerr arranged for security measures (three campus police) each day, and set up the table for the following seating: Newton and Erik Erikson were directly across from each other, each sitting in the middle of one of the long sides of the table. Students sat on either side of both men, and one student, along with one Master, sat at each end. Behind Newton were Newton's people. Behind Erikson was Chester Kerr, who invited friends and members of the

University Press to join him. The second group varied in size more than the first. The seating was unfortunate because it tended to fragment the already distracted attention of the participants. The division of the room into Panther and Press camps did nothing for existing tensions. Finally, the change in the people who did observe was an added distraction.

The first day, Newton arrived about a half hour late for the session, scheduled to begin at ten o'clock. Kai Erikson suggested that Newton "begin." Newton talked for well over an hour, expounding about revolutionary intercommunalism, but not really expanding the thought as already expressed in his two New Haven speeches, or in the Boston College speech reprint as it

appeared in the January 23 issue of the party paper. Student then asked questions of Newton, and found it hard going. He seemed intent upon quibbling over the most minor of points. They seemed inadequate to task of asking intelligent, probing questions.

On the second day, it was Erik Erikson's turn to arrive about twenty minutes late. Initiating the session, he talked for an hour and a half about his impression of the previous day. He made frequent allusions to previous work he had done, in identity formation that, citing *Gandhi's Truth and Young Man Luther* both. "We missed the old Huey in the new Newton," he began, noting Huey's ideological, strict stand.

He remarked upon a "historical genius" in Newton and Seale when they established the Panther Party, restoring the identity of the lumpen proletariat and giving it discipline, or a newly ritualized behavior, similar to what the Zionist movement has done among dispersed Jews or to Gandhi's efforts in India. He compared Gandhi's non-violence with Newton's violence: the antagonism is not between violence and non-violence, in the revolutionary mind, but between discipline and non-discipline.

Disciplined violence and disciplined non-violence go together. In response to Newton's intercommunalism, Erikson proposed his theory of pseudo-speciation, the obstacle in man to realizing he is a part of a single species, and to achieving his "universal identity." America is an example of pseudo-speciation. It is a false identity, more a way of life than anything else.

By the time the third day rolled around, more miscellaneous persons (e.g. Charles Garry, wives of Y.U.P. executives) were allowed to sit in on the sessions. Someone compared the setting to a medical school class watching the dissection of a cadaver. That someone was Kai Erikson, who was entrusted to direct and moderate the flaccid conversation. According to reports of participants, since the tran-

script will not be available until the book is published, this, the last day of talking and first day of really open discussion, yielded no dazzlingly fruitful exchanges. Newton grew petulant with silly inquiries into how Panther ideology related to people not sure of their willingness to commit themselves to revolution. The standard questions were asked by almost everyone, it seems, phrased in different ways. During the discussion no one challenged Newton or Erikson on questions of their abstract theory. Participants vary in their criticism of the third day. Some said they held it in "awe," while others, the majority, were unimpressed. It appears that if any good was derived from the experience, it was of a very personal, incommunicable sort, since most members of the colloquium refused to discuss the session with the press. Embarrassment over the disappointing performance of the students may be the largest factor in those students enforced silence.

The visit suffered from a moving locus of concern. Newton found out about the proposed university event much later than did Kai Erikson. Their expectations, and actions in accord,

ance with those expectations, were necessarily different. The Trumbull master wanted a "fruitful exchange" between Huey and the students of his college. The Minister of Defense, when asked on the first day of talks why he had come to Yale, replied that proceeds from a possible book, along with the desire to meet Erik Erikson, had proved sufficient lure. Students did not figure

largely in his expectations, although he did express private concern over the lack of student response to his presence. But if a book is to be produced, out of the transcript of the tape of the talk (only the official table talk was taped; there was much unofficial conversation during breaks that might have been more interesting and informative) it will probably have to omit consideration of the intellectual questions at stake in the confrontation of Newton and Erikson. At this point, no one is sure, and many people are doubtful, that during the colloquium any significant questions were raised. Instead of an intellectual discussion, or an "intelligent, dialectical argument," as Newton desired, there was an unsuccessful interaction between the student and Newton, and the students and Erikson. Newton and Erikson, as the principals in a surrounding emptiness of debate, became quite friendly over the course of the visit. Newton, according to Panther sources, Charles Garry, and Lubell, was extremely impressed by the senior Erikson. Indeed, during his stay, the psychoanalyst remained an exception to any gener-

alization that could be made about his and Newton's engagement at Yale. According to Garry, Newton "thought that Erik Erikson had a real and complete understanding of the struggle, and an understanding of the sociological conflicts of our society. He was tremendously impressed with him." The Erikson/Newton affinity, however, was developed largely in private conversation. What is on tape, many of those present suggest, provides no more reason to write a book than would a tape of any given Yale Alumni Convention.

Logistically, certain completely understandable mistakes were made. The selection of the posh Y.U.P. room was unfortunate. Newton, who during the colloquium reminded Chester Kerr of Paul Newman, having "the same narrow head, slender lithe look, muscular stance, and surprising smallness," could hardly have been comfortable in Kerr's extravagant library. It was also a mistake for a black waiter to serve the colloquium participants sandwiches, soup, and beer at each break in the talk. But such obvious blunders of tact seem inevitable. It was curiously honest of Yale to be so insensitive to the Newton party, typical and "above board" for Huey's meal in Trumbull to be a source of embarrassment for both him and the students there. The antagonism,

the implicit snobbery, his reaction to an attitude perhaps less deliberately snobbish than it might appear, all arise from the essential tension of the stay. What is unfortunate is that the tension was taken advantage of, was never directly pointed to by either side in the discussion. Whether or not the contradiction could have been dynamicaly resolved in language is doubtful, but the failure even to articulate the terms of the contradiction denied the material with which the members of the colloquium would work. Because of the failure to recognize the essential contradiction that was contained in Newton's visit to Yale, that contradiction could never be verbally explored.

The fact that the book (to come out of the colloquium) assumed the importance that it did is ironic in the extreme. The book, in reflecting in print the unresolved, unrecognized contradiction, cannot rise above the tension. It can only preserve the tension in muddled verbiage.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Sullivan.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Bishop.....
Mr. BrennanCD.....
Mr. Callahan.....
Mr. Casper.....
Mr. Conrad.....
Mr. Dalbey.....
Mr. Felt.....
Mr. Gale.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tavel.....
Mr. Walters.....
Mr. Soyars.....
Tele. Room.....
Miss Holmes.....
Miss Gandy.....

NR001-BS CODE

FEB 27 1971

5:50 PM URGENT 2-27-71 WFF TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (ATTN: DOMINTEL)

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO.

FROM BOSTON (157-1995) (P)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK

EXTREMIST). CHARLES R. GARRY, RM-BPP.

RM-BPP.

RE BOSTON TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, FEBRUARY TWENTY FIVE, SEVENTYONE.

ON FEBRUARY TWENTY SIX SEVENTY, SAS OF THE FBI OBSERVED HUEY NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER, BPP, ACCOMPANIED BY

ARRIVED LOGAN AIRPORT VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT THREE ONE ZERO FROM CHICAGO AT NINE FORTY SEVEN PM. SCHEDULED ARRIVAL WAS EIGHT THIRTY SIX PM, DELAY CAUSED BY HEAVY AIR TRAFFIC.

END PAGE ONE

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b6
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21072

1cc 806
copies to 15D, 1010
3/3/71
RUBIN
55 MAR 15 1971
F32

ST-10

REC 74

105-1654-9 359

4 MAR 3 1971

2 HEROX
MAR 4 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

PAGE TWO

NEWTONS PARTY WAS MET AT GATE NUMBER TEN, LOGAN
AIRPORT BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND AN OLDER WHITE
MALE WITH A BEARD WHOSE IDENTITY IS UNKNOWN. THEY DEPARTED
LOGAN AIRPORT IN [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND PROCEEDED DIRECTLY TO [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] MASSACHUSETTS,
ARRIVING THERE AT TEN TWENTY FIVE PM.

b6
b7C

THE COCKTAIL PARTY BEING HELD [REDACTED] RESIDENCE TO
RAISE FUNDS TO FINANCE LEGAL FEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF BOBBY
SEALE AND HUEY P. NEWTON AND CHARLES R. GARRY, OAKLAND
CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY WHO IS DEFENDING BOBBY SEALE BEGAN AT
NINE PM , FEBRUARY TWENTY SIX, SEVENTYONE, PRIOR TO NEWTON'S
ARRIVAL. FIFTY FIVE PEOPLE ATTENDED, TWENTY SEVEN MALES,
TWENTY WHITE AND SEVEN BLACK, AND TWENTY EIGHT FEMALE, TWENTY
ONE WHITE AND SEVEN BLACK. THE INVITATIONS TO THIS PARTY
BILLED IT AS AN INVITATION TO ATTEND AN EVENING WITH CHARLES
GARRY AND HUEY P. NEWTON, TWENTY FIVE DOLLARS PER PERSON,
THEREFORE, THE MAXIMUM AMOUNT RAISED FOR THE DEFENSE FUND
WOULD HAVE BEEN ONE THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS.
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SA'S OF THE FBI IDENTIFIED SOME PERSONS ENTERING [REDACTED]
RESIDENCE AS HUEY NEWTON, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] BPP, BOSTON, CHARLES R. GARRY,
AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE PARTY ENDED AT APPROXIMATELY TWO AM JANUARY
TWENTY SEVEN, SEVENTY ONE. NEWTON REMAINED AT [REDACTED]
RESIDENCE.

b6
b7C

ON FEBRUARY TWENTY SEVEN, SEVENTY ONE, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AMERICAN AIRLINES RESERVATIONS, ADVISED THAT
HUEY P. NEWTON, [REDACTED] HAVE
RETURN RESERVATIONS TO SAN FRANCISCO ON AMERICAN AIRLINES
FLIGHT TWO ONE FIVE DEPARTING BOSTON AT THREE PM, EASTERN
STANDARD TIME.

ON TWO TWENTY SEVEN INSTANT, [REDACTED]
AGENT, AMERICAN AIRLINES, LOGAN AIRPORT, BOSTON, ADVISED NEWTON AND
PARTY DID NOT BOARD AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO ONE FIVE FOR SAN
FRANCISCO ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT CANCEL HIS RESERVATIONS.

b6
b7C

OBSERVATION [REDACTED] HOUSE INDICATED NEWTON REMAINED AT
[REDACTED] RESIDENCE IN [REDACTED] ON TWO TWENTY SEVEN INSTANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

BOSTON WILL ATTEMPT OBSERVE NEWTON'S DEPARTURE AND
ADVISE INTERESTED TFFICES. A LHM WILL BE SUBMITTED
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

SETTING FORTH FULL DETAILS OF THE COCKTAIL PARTY. SPECIAL
AGENTS MAKING OBSERVATIONS AT THE AIRPORT WERE SA'S [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] OBSERVATIONS AT THE RESIDENCE OF

[REDACTED] WERE MADE BY SA'S [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
SAN FRANCISCO ADVISED BY PHONE.

[REDACTED] AMERICAN AIRLINES LOGAN AIRPORT CONTACTED BY SA'S

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] TWO TWENTY SEVEN INSTANT .

OBSERVATION AT [REDACTED] RESIDENCE CAMBRIDGE MASS TWO
TWENTY SEVEN INSTANT BY SA'S [REDACTED]
END

MGS FBI WASHDC

TU CLR

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2-25-71

We were previously advised that Huey Newton, Black Panther Party (BPP) Supreme Commander, would attend a BPP fund-raising party in Boston, Massachusetts, on 2-26-71 and that this party was sponsored by [redacted] [redacted] supports radical groups in Boston.

Attached relates [redacted]

[redacted]

is also attempting to arrange for Newton to appear on a television talk show in Boston which also according to [redacted] would be favorable to Newton.

Attached being furnished Inter-Division Information Unit and Internal Security Division of the Department.

ABK:lrs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED ^{CA15-420}
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 25 1971

TELETYPE

b6
b7C

Mr. Brennan
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

NR016 BS C O D E

6:20PM URGENT 2-25-71 JAM

TO: DIRECTOR ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIV 105-165429

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203

FROM: BOSTON 157-1995

also known as
HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Racial Matter-Black Panther Party

CHARLES R. GARRY, RM-BPP.

b6
b7C

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED FEBRUARY TWENTY
FOUR, SEVENTYONE.

FIRST RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THAT

[REDACTED] MASS., IS HAVING A COCKTAIL
PARTY ON FEBRUARY TWENTY SIX, NEXT, [REDACTED] RESIDENCE TO RAISE
FUNDS TO FINANCE THE LEGAL FEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF BOBBY SEALE.
HUEY P. NEWTON, NATIONAL LEADER OF THE BPP, AND CHARLES R. GARRY,
AN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY WHO IS DEFENDING BOBBY SEALE, ARE
SCHEDULED TO ATTEND.

b6
b7C

END PAGE ONE

55 MAR 15 1971

"cc to IDIU & ZSD
Adm. data deleted"

MAR

XEROX

5 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 675-6203
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-9271-157-21077-

SOURCES HAVE ADVISED THAT

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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SECOND SOURCE ADVISED

[REDACTED]

APPROXIMATELY

THREE HUNDRED INVITATIONS WHICH READ "YOU ARE CORDIALLY
INVITED TO ATTEND AN EVENING WITH CHARLES GARRY AND HUEY
P. NEWTON. TWENTY FIVE DOLLARS PER PERSON. THE PARTY IS
SCHEDULED TO FOLLOW A PUBLIC LECTURE BY GARRY AT LOWELL
LECTURE HALL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS., WHICH
COMMENCES AT SEVEN PM". INVITATION STATED THAT IN THE
EVENT INVITEE COULD NOT ATTEND CHECKS MAY BE MADE PAYABLE
TO: CHARLES GARRY OR THE LEGAL DEFENSE FUND AND FORWARDED
END PAGE TWO

BS 157-1995

PAGE THREE

TO [REDACTED] RESIDENCE.

A THIRD RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THAT NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO ATTEND A PARTY GIVEN BY [REDACTED] IN BOSTON, MASS., ON FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX, NEXT, AND THAT NEWTON WILL PROBABLY DEPART SAN FRANCISCO VIA COMMERCIAL AIRLINE AT ELEVEN FORTY FIVE AM, FEBRUARY TWENTYSIX, NEXT.

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[REDACTED] TRANSWORLD AIRLINES (TWA), SAN FRANCISCO, ADVISED THAT ON FEBRUARY TWENTY FOUR LAST THAT TWA FLIGHT ONE EIGHT SIX FOR BOSTON DEPARTS SAN FRANCISCO AT ELEVEN FORTY FIVE AM, BUT A CHECK OF THE RESERVATIONS LIST FOR THAT FLIGHT ON FEBRUARY TWENTY SIX NEXT FAILED TO LOCATE ANY NAMES IDENTIFIABLE AS BPP MEMBERS OR ASSOCIATES.

ON FEBRUARY TWENTY THREE LAST SOURCE ONE ADVISED SONY HAMLIN, CO-HOST OF A TELEVISION TALK SHOW, "FOR WOMEN TODAY", AIRED IN THE BOSTON AREA ON WEEKDAYS AT NINE AM, CONTACTED [REDACTED] CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERVIEWING NEWTON ON THAT PROGRAM IN NEAR FUTURE. THE PROGRAM CONSISTS OF A ONE HOUR TALK SHOW DEVOTED EITHER TO A TOPIC OR A PERSONALITY PROFILE. [REDACTED] WILL CONTACT NEWTON'S OFFICE FOR NECESSARY INFORMATION .

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END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

THE FOURTH SOURCE REPORTED ON FEBRUARY TWENTY THREE LAST THAT [REDACTED] TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, ON THAT DATE IN AN ATTEMPT TO TALK WITH [REDACTED] WAS NOT AVAILABLE, SO [REDACTED] LEFT MESSAGE FOR HARRIS THAT A TELEVISION TALK SHOW IN BOSTON WOULD LIKE TO DO AN INTERVIEW WITH NEWTON, POSSIBLY FOR FRIDAY (APPARENTLY FEBRAURY TWENTY SIX NEXT). [REDACTED] FURTHER COMMENTED THAT PEOPLE HANDLING THE TELEVISION SHOW ARE "PRETTY GOOD PEOPLE". "THEY HAVE HAD OTHER PEOPLE ON THE PROGRAM WHO HAVE SAID GOOD THINGS ABOUT THE PARTY, AND I DON'T THINK THEY WOULD GIVE HIM (NEWTON) A BAD TIME.

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ON FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE INSTANT, [REDACTED] FOR TELEVISION PROGRAM, "FOR WOMEN TODAY", ADVISED THAT THE TELEVISION DESIRES TO HAVE NEWTON INTERVIEWED ON SAID PROGRAM BUT AT THIS TIME NO ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIS APPEARANCE HAVE BEEN MADE.

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ADMINISTRATIVE: SOURCE ONE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOURCE TWO IS [REDACTED] (PROTECT IDENTITY BY REQUEST), [REDACTED]

THIRD SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

FOURTH SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2
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ON FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE SEVENTYONE, [REDACTED] WAS CONTACTED UNDER SUITABLE PRETEXT BY SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

BS 157-1995

RACIAL INFORMANTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD SOURCES
HAVE BEEN ~~T~~ARGETED TO DETERMINE FUTHER DETAILS CONCERNING FUND RAISING
PARTY AND NEWTON'S ACTIVITIES IN THE BOSTON AREA.

[REDACTED] BOSTON DIVISION WILL FOLLOW

b7D

AND REPORT ON ACTIVITIES.

SAN FRANCISCO IS REQUESTED TO SUTEL INFORMATION
RE. NEWTON'S DEPARTURE FROM SAN FRANCISCO AND PERSONS ACCOMPANYING.
END.

PLS HOLD

DRL FBI WASH DC

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Brennan *CB* _____
 Mr. Callahan *AK* _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Dalbey _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Walters _____
 Mr. Soyars _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

NR004 HN CODE

528 PM HST NITEL 03-04-71 BRFH

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (VIA WASHINGTON)

FROM HONOLULU (157-173) (P) 1P

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 b7D

HUEY P. NEWTON; RM DASH BPP; 00: SF.

ON MARCH FOUR INSTANT [REDACTED] WHO HAS

FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST, ADVISED HUEY P. NEWTON HAS BEEN EXTENDED INVITATION BY ASSOCIATED STUDENTS, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII (ASUH), LEGITIMATE STUDENT ORGANIZATION, TO GIVE SPEECH AT UH, SUBJECT OF HIS CHOICE, DURING PERIOD OF MARCH TWELVE THROUGH FIFTEEN NEXT. SOURCE ADVISED ASUH HAS PAID AS HIGH AS FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR INDIVIDUAL SPEAKERS AND ON THIS OCCASION ARE WILLING TO GIVE THIS AMOUNT TO NEWTON.

SF REQUESTED TO ADVISE IF ANY INFORMATION IN ITS POSSESSION WHICH WOULD INDICATE NEWTON WILL BE IN HAWAII DURING ABOVE PERIOD. IF NOT, REMAIN ALERT FOR SUCH INFO, ADVISING HN IN ADVANCE SO NECESSARY PREPARATIONS CAN BE MADE TO COVER APPEARANCE.

E N D

TRC FBI WASHINGTON D

62 MAR 15 1971
 TELETYPE TO:
 SF

REC-79

EX 100

8 MAR 9 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6/26/07 BY SP5C110MS

FBI

Date: 2/25/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
 FROM: *WAB/HB* SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)
 SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON, aka
 RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
 OO: San Francisco

Re Chicago airtel and LHM, 2/23/71; and Milwaukee
 tel, 2/24/71.

On 2/24/71, [] who has furnished
 reliable information in the past, is a highly confidential
 source, provided the following information:

An unknown male from the Afro Student Association
 of the University of Wisconsin (UW), Madison, was in
 contact with []
 Illinois Chapter, BPP, Chicago.

In that connection, [] informed that
 the Center in Madison was attempting to arrange for the
 rental of a hall for 2/28/71, at the UW, and that the
 conditions for utilizing such hall were that there would
 be no UW policemen or other policemen in the vicinity of
 the hall and that representatives of the Center and the
 BPP would make use of metal detectors and perform all
 security aspects in connection with the possible appearance
 of NEWTON on that date. It was indicated that these demands

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - Milwaukee (157-1113) (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)
 3 - Chicago
 1 - 157-1291 Sub J
 1 - []

CES:mr

MAR 15 1971

REC-33

FEB 27 1971

6126187

CA75-6203

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

DATE

6-3-81

CA#70

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were nonnegotiable insofar as the Center was concerned. It was also stated that the Center had refused to pay the \$800 due the University for NEWTON's prior scheduled appearance on 2/20/71, inasmuch as the University had breached the contract.

It was stated that the young black brothers from Milwaukee and Chicago attending the UW had met the previous evening and turned the tide of things around by assisting in influencing many of the "reactionaries" at the UW in view of the previous cancellation of NEWTON's appearance.

It was stated that "the People" at the UW still desired very much to see NEWTON and that he be immediately contacted to determine if he would appear on 2/28/71, at the UW. It was felt that the UW Administration would not permit such an appearance unless pressure from the students was brought to bear upon them. It was also indicated that the Afro Student Center was contemplating a libel suit against the UW newspaper, "The Cardinal", and the "Capitol Times", a Madison, Wisc., newspaper. It was indicated in that connection that these publications had libeled the BPP and the Center by criticizing the failure of NEWTON to appear as scheduled on 2/20/71.

The above is provided for the info of the Bureau and Milwaukee as it may provide info of value in connection with following activities at the UW. It is not being put in LHM form inasmuch as it presents an extremely one-sided viewpoint of the situation.

In the event the above is disseminated, it should be suitably paraphrased and classified confidential.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: FEB 23 1971

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/26/87
BY SPS ci 10ms

CA75-6203

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM-BPP; TREASON
(KEY EXTREMIST)

5-4781
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP2TTP/abv
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 3-24-01

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re Chicago teletypes dated 2/19, 2/20, and 2/21/71,
and Milwaukee teletype dated 2/20/71, also captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM.
Also enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of an FD-376. Five
copies of the LHM are being furnished the San Francisco Division
in view of their interest in this matter. One copy of the LHM
is being furnished the U. S. Secret Service.

The Special Agents observing NEWTON's arrival at
O'Hare Airport were [redacted] The
Agents observing the Coliseum on 2/21/71, and NEWTON's activities
were [redacted] and
[redacted]

③ - Bureau (Encl. 14) (RM)

REC-10

(1 - 157-HUEY NEWTON)

5 - San Francisco (157-1203) (Encl. 5) (RM)

(1 - 157-HUEY NEWTON)

EX-100

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

6 - Chicago

(1 - 157-1291)

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

(1 - [redacted])

ARS/catd
(14)

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RACIAL INT. SECT.
INT. SEC.

AGENCY: ACSI, NTC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, CND, RAO, IDIU, CD

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW M

BY:

Per

ENCLOSURE 1971

Approved: _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 157-3765

[redacted]
[redacted] (protect requested). The American
Airlines representative [redacted]
[redacted]

The first confidential source is [redacted]
second confidential source is [redacted] the
third confidential source is [redacted] (protect
requested), and the fourth confidential source is
[redacted]

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No effort was made by Chicago [redacted]
[redacted] to
secure a verbatim transcript of NEWTON's speech because
of security measures placed in effect by the Panthers
in that each individual admitted to the Coliseum was
searched.

Chicago will continue to follow NEWTON's activities
and advise the Bureau and interested offices of all per-
tinent developments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 23, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior:
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

- 3 -

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-3765

Chicago, Illinois 60604

FEB 23 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP), is attached as an appendix hereto.

The confidential sources referred to herein have all furnished reliable information in the past.

Special Agents (SAs), of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), observed on February 19, 1971, Huey Percy Newton, Supreme Commander, National BPP, [redacted]

[redacted]
at National BPP Headquarters, arrive at O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, Illinois, aboard American Airlines Flight 222, at 10:23 p.m. Newton was met by officials of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, including [redacted]
[redacted]

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Newton and his party, according to Agents on the scene, registered at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel, 505 North Michigan Avenue, but later checked out of the hotel when adjoining rooms could not be given, and stayed with [redacted]
[redacted] who is a sympathizer with New Left and Black Militant groups in Chicago. [redacted]

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[redacted] Newton was scheduled to speak at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, on February 20, 1971.

5-4-81
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP2-TAP/ah
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 2-23-91

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/26/87 BY SP5C/L DMS

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

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

363

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] University of Wisconsin at Madison, and a member of the Department Protection and Security of that University, advised on February 20, 1971, approximately three thousand students had attended the University's Stock Pavilion to hear Newton speak. An unidentified Negro male announced that Newton would not appear because of security provided by the campus police and due to the fact that the University's fieldhouse had been promised for the speech, but promised to appear at a later date, which was not announced.

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[redacted] source advised Newton and his party remained at the [redacted] on February 20, 1971.

SAs of the FBI on February 21, 1971, observed approximately one hundred black youths gathering before the Chicago Coliseum, 1513 South Wabash Street, at 1:20 p.m. Newton was scheduled to speak at 2:00 p.m. that date. The SAs noted that at about 2:00 p.m., approximately five hundred youths, ninety percent black, had gathered in front of the Coliseum.

[redacted] Illinois BPP, were observed by the SAs arriving at 2:34 p.m.

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About 4:00 p.m., Agents observed [redacted] leaving the Coliseum and observed them picking up Newton along with [redacted] and return Newton and his party to the Coliseum arriving at about 4:45 p.m.

A first and second confidential source advised on February 21, 1971, that they had attended the speech of Huey Newton, along with seventeen hundred to two thousand other individuals ranging in age from nineteen to thirty. Of the total present, about ten percent were white, according to the sources. Both stated that a one dollar donation was charged

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

at the door and that everyone entering the Coliseum was searched for weapons, cameras, and recording devices. Both sources stated Newton told those present the BPP supported all anti-capitalistic organizations. Newton was critical of Gus Hall, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), because of the fact that Hall was operating in 1917, rather than in 1971. Both sources also stated that Newton informed the audience he had had a recent discussion with National leader Eldridge Cleaver, currently in exile in Algeria, who had informed Newton the people had to organize and fight against fascism in the United States. The first source stated Newton also spoke on the fact that Bobby Seale, National BPP leader, presently in Connecticut awaiting a trial for Conspiracy to Commit Murder, was also a victim of American fascism.

A third confidential source advised Newton thanked those present for lending their help and support while he was in prison. Newton also stated he wanted to get Angela Davis, a Negro female Communist currently in California awaiting a trial for Conspiracy to Commit Murder, to return to the folds of the BPP and denounce the Communist Party (CP). Newton, according to the source, stated the BPP in California had constructed a shoe factory and were presently making shoes for children less fortunate. Newton also called upon all political prisoners to be freed.

A fourth confidential source also advised that of the individuals present, he noted a delegation of about fifteen people from Cairo, Illinois, lead by the [redacted]

[redacted] the United Front, Cairo, Illinois. The United Front has been active in racial turmoil in that area in the past. Also noted in attendance was Claude Lightfoot, a Negro Communist, who is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA, [redacted]

[redacted] Chicago Angela Davis Defense Committee, and [redacted] which is a store specializing in literature regarding Negro History.

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source stated Rush introduced Newton as the "Man of the hour." At the outset of his remarks, Newton proclaimed the fact that he was a "revolutionist" and wanted people freed, noting specifically that Bobby Seale and Angela Davis must be freed. Source stated that Newton advised those present the BPP was behind Angela Davis, but wanted her to return to the BPP and denounce the CP. If she would do this, then the BPP would give her all out support.

Newton also spoke as to how the people had freed him from prison. Newton also stated that the people are being oppressed and that this power that is in the hands of the oppressor must be taken from the oppressor by the people. Newton stated he was against Gus Hall because all the CP understood was how people lived in 1917 and that the CP could not relate to the present. Newton also informed the audience that Eldridge Cleaver wanted to return to the United States and in time he will come back, but could not return since all of the people were not free. Newton also stated that Bobby Seale was not guilty and that the State had no reason to say when an individual should live or should die.

Newton, during a question and answer period, stated that Elmer Pratt also referred to as "Geronimo" was a traitor to the people and for that reason, had been suspended from the BPP.

Newton called upon those present to go to 4233 South Indiana Avenue, the south side headquarters of the Illinois BPP. He wanted people to work for the Panthers and after a six month period, could be called Panthers.

Source also stated that Newton was critical of Jesse Jackson, leader of Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who is presently running for Mayor of Chicago because Jackson would not say whether he was a revolutionist or not.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source advised the speech was concluded at about 6:00 p.m.

The SAs observing the Coliseum noted that at about 6:10 p.m., Newton, along with [redacted] others in his party, left the Coliseum and returned to the [redacted]
[redacted]

The Deputy Superintendent's Office of the Chicago Police Department advised that area in the vicinity of the Coliseum had returned to normal by 6:30 p.m., with no incidents reported.

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A representative of American Airlines, Chicago, advised on February 22, 1971, Newton, along with [redacted] [redacted] departed Chicago on American Airlines Flight 65 at 11:55 p.m., February 21, 1971. Their destination was San Francisco, California.

The following agency is being furnished a copy of this memorandum:

United States Secret Service

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NR 004 SF CODE

225PM NITEL 3-9-71
TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

HONOLULU (157-173) ...VIA WASH
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

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b7C

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

RE HONOLULU TEL MARCH FOUR LAST.

THE ONLY INFORMATION SAN FRANCISCO POSSESSES REGARDING A POSSIBLE
TRIP TO HAWAII BY SUBJECT DURING MARCH, NINETEEN SEVENTYONE, IS
THAT ON FEBRUARY NINETEEN, LAST, [REDACTED]
REPORTED THAT ON THAT DATE SUBJECT CONVERSED WITH [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] DURING THAT CONVERSATION [REDACTED] ASKED SUBJECT "IS THAT
HAWAIIAN THING STILL GOOD FOR THE MIDDLE OF THE MONTH?" AND SUBJECT
REPLIED YES. NOTHING ELSE WAS SAID CONCERNING THAT AND IT WAS NOT
INDICATED WHICH MONTH THEY WERE REFERRING.

FOR THE INFO OF HONOLULU, SUBJECT IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN COURT
AT OAKLAND, CALIF., ON MARCH TWELVE, NEXT, FOR A HEARING ON THE
SETTING OF DATE FOR TRIAL AND SUBJECT HAS INDICATED THAT FOLLOWING
THAT HEARING HE WILL TRAVEL TO NEW HAVEN TO PARTICIPATE IN RALLIES
FOR BOBBY SEALE.

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SAN FRANCISCO WILL REMAIN ALERT FOR ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING
POSSIBLE TRAVEL BY SUBJECT TO HAWAII AND IMMEDIATELY ADVISE THE
BUREAU AND HONOLULU.

END

V

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 675-6203
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5/10ms

PLB FBI WA ACKS FOR SF 007 AND 004 AND IS THAT IT FOR NOW

REC-83

105-165429-364

15 MAR 11 1971

RECEIVED TO 3 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 11 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD <i>dy</i>
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR004 HN CODE

726 PM HST NTIEL 03-10-71 BRFH

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (VIA WASHINGTON)

FROM HONOLULU (157-173) (RUC) 1P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA; RM-BPP; TREASON ^N ~~USA~~ (KEY ACTIVIST)

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

RE SF TEL MARCH NINE LAST

ADVISED TODAY

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII (UH) CAMPUS PAPER PUBLISHED INSTANT DATE INDICATED ASSOCIATED STUDENTS UH LEADER NEIL ABERCROMBIE, RESEARCH ASSISTANT UH AND SDS SYMPATHIZER, HAD RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM NEWTON ADVISING NEWTON WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO COME TO HAWAII TO SPEAK AT UH AS SCHEDULED, WITH NO INDICATION ANY APPEARANCE FOR NEWTON IN HAWAII WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN FUTURE.

E N D

R RELAY REM

FBI WASH DC

REC 113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *675-6203*
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C/10ms

TELETYPE TO: *86*
57 MAR 19 1971

105-165429-365
2 MAR 12 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 18 1971

TELETYPE

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

NR 003 SF CODE

1214PM URGENT 2-18-71 MS

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 4P

Domestic Intelligence
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., /RM-BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

X San Francisco F.O.

THE FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN INSTANT ISSUE OF THE "SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE," A DAILY SAN FRANCISCO NEWSPAPER, CONTAINED FRONT PAGE ARTICLE CAPTIONED "THE VIEW FROM NEWTON'S 'PRISON,'" WRITTEN BY TIM FINDLEY, A CHRONICLE STAFF REPORTER. THE ARTICLE REPORTS THAT "THE PENTHOUSE AT ONE TWO ZERO (CORRECT ADDRESS IS ONE TWO ZERO ZERO) LAKESHORE AVENUE OVERLOOKING LAKE MERRITT IS WHAT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS THE 'POSH PANTHER PAD' AND 'HUEY NEWTON'S HIDEAWAY,' YET TO THE YOUNG PANTHER LEADER WHO SOMETIMES LIVES THERE, IT IS A PRISON."

THE ARTICLE CONTINUES THAT "THE PARTY'S NATIONAL POLICY IS HANDLED BY A SEVEN-MEMBER 'CENTRAL COMMITTEE,' OF WHICH NEWTON IS A MEMBER, BUT WITH INSUFFICIENT VOTING POWER TO OVERRULE THE BODY."

"HAD HE THAT POWER, NEWTON SAYS HE WOULD NEVER HAVE LANDED IN THE TWENTYFIFTH-STORY TWO-BEDROOM PENTHOUSE."

END PAGE ONE

EX-104 REC-15 105-165429-366
CLASSIFYING RECORDED
42 MAR 17 1971

"cc to - ISD
Adm. data deleted"

61 MAR 29 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C10ms

ORIGINAL FILED IN 67-149000-366

PAGE TWO

"THAT WAS A DECISION OF THE 'CENTRAL COMMITTEE' AND IT WAS BASED ON PROVIDING NOT OPULENT COMFORT FOR NEWTON BUT SECURE PROTECTION.

"THE SEVEN HUNDRED DOLLAR A MONTH NOW EXPENDED TO INSURE HIS SAFETY IS CONSIDERED BY THE PANTHER LEADERSHIP TO BE ALMOST A BARGAIN."

THE ARTICLE FURTHER DESCRIBES THE PROCEDURE ONE MUST GO THROUGH IN ORDER TO SEE NEWTON AND DESCRIBES THE SECURITY MEASURES OF THE APARTMENT BUILDING.

THE ARTICLE CONTINUES: "I STAY HERE BECAUSE IT IS A SECURITY BUILDING," NEWTON SAID, LOOKING OUT THE PANORAMA OF OAKLAND FLOODING THE APARTMENT'S FLOOR-TO-CEILING WINDOWS.

"I'D LIKE TO BE BACK IN THE STREETS; LIKE IT WAS BEFORE, BOBBY (SEALE) AND I, AND LETTING BOBBY BE THE SPOKESMAN. BUT AT LEAST HERE IF THE POLICE DID STORM IN, THEY'D HAVE A LOT OF EXPLAINING TO DO TO THE OTHER TENANTS.

"IT'S LIKE PRISON, REALLY," NEWTON SAID, SEATED AT THE LONG CONFERENCE-SIZED DINING TABLE IN THE APARTMENT. "I FEEL LIKE I'M A PRISONER. I CAN'T WALK DOWN THE STREETS LIKE I USED TO; WHEN I GO, THERE'S A FORCE THAT GOES WITH ME."

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

THE ARTICLE IS ACCOMPANIED BY TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF NEWTON. ONE OF THE PHOTOS SHOWS NEWTON SITTING ON A COUCH INSIDE THE APARTMENT, AND THE OTHER PHOTO SHOWS NEWTON STANDING ON THE VERANDA POINTING TO THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE AND JAIL WITH HIS SWAGGER STICK. IN THE ARTICLE NEWTON IS QUOTED AS SAYING HE CAN SEE THE COURTHOUSE AND JAIL FROM EVERY ROOM OF HIS APARTMENT AND "I CAN LOOK DOWN ON IT WHENEVER I WANT."

ON FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN LAST, SOURCE REPORTED THAT JOHN SEALE, PRODUCTION MANAGER OF "THE BLACK PANTHER" NEWSPAPER AND BROTHER OF BPP CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE, AT THE POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WAS OVERHEARD TO EXPRESS HIS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SUPREME COMMANDER (NEWTON) RESIDING IN PLUSH SURROUNDINGS AND MAINTAINING A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING. SEALE COMPARED NEWTON'S LIFE STYLE TO THAT OF THE RANK AND FILE MEMBERS WHO HAVE TO SLEEP ON MATTRESSES ON THE FLOOR AND LIVE OFF LITTLE OR NO INCOME AND SEALE INDICATED HE INTENDED TO BRING THIS UP AT THE NEXT STAFF MEETING. SOURCE FURTHER SAID THAT SEALE MENTIONED THAT HE HAD HEARD NEWTON WAS INTERESTED IN BUYING A PORSCHE SPORTS CAR. IT IS ALSO GENERALLY KNOWN THAT NEWTON WEARS A SEAL SKIN COAT WHICH COST THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTYEIGHT DOLLARS.

END PAGE THREE

b7D

PAGE FOUR

AT THE POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASS IT WAS ESTIMATED THAT NEWTON'S LIFE STYLE COSTS IN EXCESS OF ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS A MONTH.

[REDACTED] RANK AND FILE BPP MEMBERS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JOHN SEALE.

b7D

ON FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN, LAST, A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED THAT IN REGARD TO THE ARTICLE THAT RECENTLY APPEARED IN THE "SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER," A DAILY SAN FRANCISCO NEWSPAPER, ABOUT NEWTON LIVING IN A "PLUSH" APARTMENT, NEWTON SAID THE PARTY INSISTED THAT HE LIVE IN THE APARTMENT BUILDING FOR SECURITY REASONS AND THAT IF IT WERE UP TO HIM, HE WOULD NOT BE LIVING THERE. NEWTON ALSO COMMENTED THAT SOME COLLEGE PEOPLE HAVE TAKEN OFFENSE AT HIS LIVING SO HIGH, BUT HE DID NOT GIVE ANY SPECIFICS.

SECOND SOURCE FURTHER STATED THAT NEWTON HAS REMARKED THAT THE APARTMENT BUILDING MANAGER, [REDACTED] HAD BEEN FIRED AND HE THOUGHT IT WAS BECAUSE SHE HAD RENTED HIM AN APARTMENT.

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

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COMPLETE NEWSPAPER ARTICLE BEING FURNISHED BUREAU BY AIRMAIL.

END

ACK FR 2 MSGS

EBR FBI WASH DC

FOR 1 3..

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/26/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED] (P)

SUBJECT: "CHANGED"

RM - BPP
OO: Los Angeles

b6
b7C

Title is marked changed to show the true full name of the captioned individual and his known aliases. Title was previously carried as [REDACTED]

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum to the Bureau dated 10/29/70 (Bufile 157-18500 and Los Angeles file 157-5552), entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON, RM - BPP, and Los Angeles letter to Detroit dated 12/30/70.

On 10/27/70, HUEY P. NEWTON and [REDACTED] were met at the Los Angeles International Airport by an unidentified Negro male who was driving a 1969 Lincoln Continental, bearing California license 145 BBY.

The records of the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), Los Angeles, reflected the Lincoln to be registered to Budget Rent-A-Car, 8737 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles.

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Budget Rent-A-Car records reflected the vehicle had been leased on [REDACTED] California.

NEWTON was observed traveling from the airport to [REDACTED] residence where he remained until 8:20 p.m. on 10/27/70.

- ③ - Bureau (RM) et.
① - 157-18500
1 - Detroit (157-7475) (RM)
1 - San Francisco (RM) (Info)
3 - Los Angeles
(1 - 157-5552)

CRD/vjn

62 MAR 19 1971



NOT RECORDED
49 MAR 4 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C10ms
3/6/96 SP2 CLC/DC 384241

ORIGINAL FILED IN

21064 -

157 -

LA 157-5864

Los Angeles indices were negative for the name

[REDACTED]

The following sources were checked on the dates shown with negative results in an effort to further identify

[REDACTED]

Los Angeles Police Department
12/4/70

Los Angeles Sheriff's Office
12/4/70

Computer Credit Corporation
12/4/70
12/10/70

Utilities check
12/7/70

Traffic Violations Bureau
12/3/70

On 12/10/70, a recheck of the records of the

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] provided arrest record No.

[REDACTED] in the name of the captioned individual. The arrest record contained the following information:

Sex
Race
Age
Date of Birth
Place of Birth
Height
Weight
Hair
Eyes
Scars and Marks

Characteristics

Occupation

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

LA 157-5864

Employer
Social Security No.

Previous Address

Residence

FBI No.
CII No.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

It is noted from the Criminal Identification and Investigation arrest record that the subject's true name is listed as [Redacted] and that his aliases are shown as [Redacted]

It was further noted that the FBI arrest record showed that, on [Redacted]

[Redacted]

On 12/10/70, a recheck of the [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] No additional descriptive information was provided and [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] U. S. Probation Officer [Redacted]

[Redacted] advised that the subject

[Redacted]

LA 157-5864

[REDACTED]

On 1/28/71, the Detroit Office of the FBI advised as follows:

On 1/7/71, a review of records at the Detroit City Bureau of Vital Statistics, City-County Building, Detroit, Michigan, revealed no record on the subject.

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On 1/7/71, [REDACTED] Clerk, Wayne County Bureau of Vital Statistics, advised their records did not reflect the subject's birth. She further advised that, if the subject was born out of wedlock or was adopted, his records would be on file at Lansing, Michigan.

On 1/18/71, an inquiry through Michigan State Law Enforcement Information Network (LEIN) revealed no record of the subject in its files on vehicle or license information.

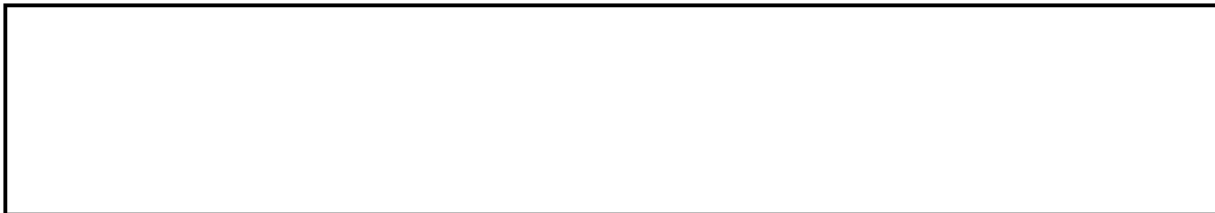
On 2/5/71, the Sacramento Office of the FBI provided a copy of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

The following investigation was conducted at Sacramento, California:

On 1/22/71, [REDACTED] Drive's License Section, DMV, advised that a check of their records revealed that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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LA 157-5864



b6
b7C

On 1/26/71, [redacted] Division of Registration, DMV, advised that a check of their records failed to reveal any vehicles registered to the subject under his true name or any of his known aliases.

A check of boat registrations at the DMV failed to reveal any boats registered to the subject under his true name or any of his known aliases.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will report results of further inquiry at Lansing, Michigan, and will endeavor to further establish the exact nature and degree of association of the subject with the BPP.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Victor Riesel

Mitchell, Newton and The Ides of March

Julius Caesar certainly did discuss the Ides of March with his soothsayer. But it did the emperor little good. However, John Mitchell's Justice Dept., fresh out of soothsayers, is more cautious. It has its eye on March 12 when the Black Panthers' Minister of Defense, Supreme Commander, Huey Newton, comes up for retrial on charges of murdering an Oakland cop.

There is no alert. But there is vigilance. Supreme Commander Newton has developed a mysticism which worries his followers, riddles his party, and chills formerly powerful lieutenants, male and female, whom he is purging en masse.

There's a weirdness about his aerie, which until recently has been a post \$650 a month lake-view apartment replete with expensive furniture, a fabulously expensive TV set, a white mink rug and decor to match. This, Huey Newton has called his "temple" and he had advised his visitors to remove their shoes before entering.

This mysticism has led the Minister of Defense to believe he soon will be able to live on "air and moisture in the atmosphere." He believes he can will himself to sleep only two nights a week and devote himself to his party with no regard for women or the traditional amenities, though for the moment he has not kicked the habits.

Young Newton is considerably disturbed by the defection of "Connie", the mysterious international operative who directed the party's activity in Scandinavia, France and Algeria where she was close to the self-exiled Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. When Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver disrupted that relationship, Connie Matthews, a Jamaican national, flew to the U.S., became Huey Newton's personal coordinator, executive secretary and aide-de-camp. However, she met Michael Tabor, a New York Panther leader, and married him — but not before she departed with most of Huey Newton's personal papers. This upset him. Since then he has been expelling key members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) including the Tabor and his former Deputy Minister of Defense Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt and most of the New York high command, now on trial there.

Furthermore, Supreme Commander Newton has cut Minister of Information Cleaver off from all sources of internal party information and has warned that anyone who cooperates with the exiled leader will be considered an enemy of the party. The article is a poorly worded attack.



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

4 DAILY MIRROR

b6
b7C

Huey P. Newton
Date: 3/5/71
Edition:
Author:
Editor: EVERETT WALKER
Title:

Character:

NOT RECORDED

Classification:

46 MAR 18 1971 Office: NYO

☐ Being Investigated*2 Xerox - 806**5 - file
105-165481*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA75-6203*
DATE *6/26/87* BY *SP5C110MS*

86
57 MAR 19 1971

What now concerns Justice Dept. authorities is that this mystic ~~may lead~~ to a new militarism. The party still has an effective inner operation, quite heavily financed. The Justice Dept.'s Internal Security Division has just begun to organize for surveillance and counteraction on this revolutionary front, and others too. Asst. U.S. Attorney General Robert Mardian, this section's chief, has set up a special litigation unit under Guy Goodwin, to go head-hunting. The unit will not use a dragnet on the Panthers or any other revolutionary organization. But it will attempt to make certain that no self-styled urban guerrillas violate the law, be they black or white, Panther or Weatherman.

What intrigues the Justice Dept. officials is the money available outside "the temple." It flows into headquarters in globs, by the scores of thousands of dollars.

Certainly there are those who believe themselves to be civil libertarians — such as Leonard Bernstein, composer and conductor, who once pledged the Panthers the income from a single concert (in four figures). This came after some \$10,000 was raised at the now-famed party in his Park Ave. duplex. Also some \$20,000 flowed in from another wealthy New Yorker, and a movie producer also did his bit.

But what most fascinated the probers is some \$17,000 which, when last heard from, was on its way in from Peking, China. First word of this bundle came from a Frank Coe who, until recently at least, lived at Cao Thia Chi Chang, Peking, China.

So happens Mr. Coe is mighty knowledgeable about money. He once worked for the U.S. Treasury Dept. And he was accused under oath by a witness of being a member of something called the "Silvermaster (espionage) ring." When Mr. Coe was questioned under oath about membership in the Communist Party he took the Fifth Amendment. Now he turns up in Maoist China. His message to the SPP, which came most of the way by radiogram, said:

"Wish send you and Huey Newton about \$17,000 from estate of late Anna Louise Strong. Cable me collect address for receiving check and copy of her will of which I am executor.

This came on May 7, 1970 — almost exactly 15 years after Mr. Coe looked so hurt on the federal witness stand over inferences he knew anything about the Communist world, the apparatus or espionage. Now he's one of Mainland China's American specialists.

Do pause for a moment to recall all the abuse heaped on those who did believe that Mr. Coe's heart belonged to Mao or Stalin and had the courage to speak out against the apologists for Sino-Soviet terrorism.

Well, it's a new terrorism now which concerns the U.S. government — which is also concerned over urban guerrilla threats to dispute certain key industrial production, infiltrate the emerging working class, bomb communications and pipelines while this nation is bogged down in Indo-China.

But the U.S. should fare better than Caesar. It has a computer, not a soothsayer with which to confront the Ides of March.

BEST COPY
AVAILABLE

FBI

Date: 3/5/71

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

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (157-2633) (C)

RE: RUFY P. NEWTON
RM - BFP
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED ^{CA75-4283}
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP3C/LMS

Re Chicago tel to the Bureau dated 2/17/71 and
Cleveland tel to the Bureau dated 2/19/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM
captioned and dated as above. Also enclosed are 2 copies of
FD-376. LHM being furnished also to below-listed offices.

Copies of the LHM are also being disseminated to the
Secret Service, Cleveland.

The confidential source referred to in the LHM is
[redacted] The enclosed LHM is classified confidential
to protect the above-listed source.

ADMINISTRATIVE: This matter is being closed in the
Cleveland Division as all logical investigation has been completed.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2 - Chicago (RM) (Enc. 2)
2 - Detroit (RM) (Enc. 2)
2 - San Francisco (RM) (Enc. 2)

- 7 - Cleveland
[redacted]
1 - 157-2616
1 - 157-2633
1 - 157-3056
1 - 157-3406
1 - 157-3775
1 - 157-2678

RW:jev
(15)

Records

cc 105-165706 Sub 11

(BPP-CV)

57 MAR 31 1971

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Copy to SS/IS/IN
by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

date 3/9/71

by WHA/fed

2 CCD

M

Per

COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 105-165706-11

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8 M4P



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cleveland, Ohio

March 5, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY P. NEWTON

The National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) is the organizing arm of the Black Panther Party (BPP). See appendix.

On February 19, 1971, CV T-1, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that three officers and one other member of the Toledo, Ohio, NCCF of the BPP will travel to Chicago in February 24, 1971, via automobile in connection with the appearance of HUEY P. NEWTON, national leader of the BPP.

CV T-1 advised that those traveling to Chicago included

[redacted] NCCF, Toledo

Chapter; [redacted] NCCF, Toledo Chapter; [redacted]

[redacted] NCCF, Toledo Chapter;

[redacted] NCCF, Toledo Chapter.

MEMBER OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A fifth individual, believed by source to be [redacted]

[redacted] a member of the BPP, Chicago, Illinois, will return to Chicago with the above members of the Toledo Chapter.

CV T-1 further advised that the above mentioned individuals with the exception [redacted] plan to return to Toledo from Chicago via automobile on March 1, 1971.

On March 1, 1971, this same source advised that for reasons unknown, the above group from the Toledo, Ohio, NCCF did not travel to Chicago, Illinois, for NEWTON's appearance as had been previously planned.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED ON 6/26/87 BY SP5C11 AMS

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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

105-165429-367

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 25 1971

NR 006 NH CODE
URGENT

9:05 PM 2/25/71 RG

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429),
SAC, BOSTON
SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
SAC, NEW YORK.

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031) (P)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP. TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST),
CHARLES R. GARRY. RM-BPP.

FIRST SOURCE RELIABLE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT CATHERINE

RORABACK, ATTORNEY FOR ERICKA HUGGINS, BPP, NEW HAVEN, WAS IN
CONTACT WITH [REDACTED] BPP IN NEW HAVEN. RORABACK ADVISED
SHE WOULD BE TRAVELING TO BOSTON, MASS., FOR BENEFIT APPEARANCE
AND REQUESTED BPP LITERATURE [REDACTED] RORABACK WILL SPEAK
CONCERNING "WOMEN AS POLITICAL PRISONERS" AND STATED THAT THEY
ARE EXPECTING A LARGE CROWD IN BOSTON. RORABACK WAS ADVISED BY

[REDACTED] THAT THEY HAVE SEVERAL COPIES OF A PUBLICATION CALLED
"BROADSIDE", FOR DISTRIBUTION IN BOSTON.

RORABACK STATED THAT HER SPEECH WOULD BE SPONSORED BY THE

END PAGE ONE

55 MAR 29 1971

15 MAR 12 1971

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b7C

b6
b7C

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-9271

PAGE TWO

NH (157-1031)

COMMITTEE TO FREE ANGELA DAVIS, THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE AND THE WOMENS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE.

THIS SOURCE ALSO ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] WAS TRAVELING TO NYC THIS DATE FOR AN IMPORTANT MEETING IN NEW YORK TONIGHT, CONCERNING MASSIVE RALLY SCHEDULED FOR MARCH THIRTEEN. SOURCE OBTAINED NO ADDITIONAL DETAILS RE THIS.

CONN.

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A SECOND SOURCE RELIABLE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT ATTORNEY CHARLES GARRY HAS NOT BEEN OBSERVED IN NEW HAVEN SUPERIOR COURT THIS DATE BUT WAS REPRESENTED BY HIS ASSISTANT, ATTORNEY DAVID ROSEN. THIS SOURCE STATED THAT COURT PROCEEDINGS ARE BEING HELD OVER UNTIL MONDAY, MARCH ONE NEXT. SOURCE ALSO ADVISED THAT CHARLES GARRY REPORTEDLY HAD "BUSINESS OUT OF TOWN" THIS WEEKEND. CONN.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE NEW HAVEN TELEPHONE CALLS TO BOSTON AND NEW YORK THIS DATE AND SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE DATED FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST.

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2
b6
b7C

FOR INFO BOSTON, PRETEXT CALLS MADE IN NEW HAVEN THIS

AGE TWO

PAGE THREE

NH(157-1031)

DATE TO RESIDENCE AND OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GARRY FAILED TO REFLECT HIS APPEARANCE IN NEW HAVEN THIS DATE.

BOSTON WILL BE ALERT FOR ARRIVAL OF GARRY IN THAT CITY AND ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF GARRY AND RORABACK WILL BE TOGETHER FOR ABOVE MENTIONED SPEECHES.

NEW YORK WILL BE ALERT FOR "IMPORTANT MEETING" WITH

(IT IS NOTED THAT THE BPP IN NEW HAVEN IS PLANNING A BPP RALLY IN DEFENSE OF BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS ON MARCH THIRTEEN NEXT.)

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b7C

NEW HAVEN WILL CONTINUE EFFORTS TO VERIFY PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF GARRY.

NEW HAVEN WILL ALSO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO DETERMINE EXACT TIME AND PLACE OF RORABACK'S SPEECH. LOCAL AGENCIES AWARE.
NO LHM TO FOLLOW.

END

EBM FBI WA CLR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 12 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR 010 SF PLAIN

513 PM NITEL 3/12/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165⁴²⁹~~203~~)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE).

NEWTON APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT,
DEPARTMENT FIVE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, MORNING OF MARCH TWELVE
INSTANT, FOR HEARING ON DATE FOR SETTING RE-TRIAL. HEARING
CONTINUED UNTIL APRIL TWELVE NEXT.

END

AND HOLD

CA #75-6203
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-87 BY SP5 *ajah*

EX-109

REC-4

105-165429-369
9 MAR 17 1971

398
MAR 22 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5 *clm/s*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/26/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED] (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
RM - BPP

b6
b7C

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum to the Bureau dated 10/29/70 (Bufile 157-18500 and Los Angeles file 157-5552), entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON, RM-BPP.

The captioned individual is the registered owner of a vehicle which was seen parked at [REDACTED]. An unknown individual was seen to leave [REDACTED] vehicle and enter [REDACTED] that address which is occupied by [REDACTED] and is the location where HUEY NEWTON and [REDACTED] were staying on 10/27/70.

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Los Angeles indices were negative regarding the captioned individual.

The vehicle which was mentioned above was a 1964 Cadillac bearing California license [REDACTED] which, according to the Department of Motor Vehicles, State of California, was registered to [REDACTED] California.

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b7C

The following agencies were checked on the dates shown with negative results in an effort to further identify [REDACTED]

Los Angeles Police Department
12/4/70

Los Angeles Sheriff's Office
12/4/70

- ③ - Bureau (RM) 105-165429
① - 157-18500
3 - San Francisco (RM)
3 - Los Angeles
(1 - 157-5552)

CRD/vjh

(9)

61 MAR 11 1971

MAR 25 1971

NOT RECORDED
49 MAR 5 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C/10ms

21072 - 1

ORIGINAL FILED IN

LA 157-5866

Computer Credit Corporation
12/4/70

Traffic Violations Bureau
12/4/70

Utilities checks
12/8/70

Voter Registration
12/3/70

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

12/3/70

On 2/10/71, the Sacramento Office of the FBI provided the following information:

On 1/6/71, a check of registration records at the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) through the California Law Enforcement Teletype System revealed California license [REDACTED] registered [REDACTED] to a 1964 Cadillac, VIN [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] California.

On 1/22/71, [REDACTED] Division of Registration, DMV, advised that a further check of their records failed to reveal any other vehicles registered in the name of [REDACTED]

On 1/29/71, [REDACTED] Driver's License Section, DMV, advised a check of their records failed to reveal any California driver's license having been issued in the name of [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

AT [REDACTED] CALIFORNIA: Will conduct appropriate background and agency checks to further identify [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] California.

BEST COPY
AVAILABLE
EN 1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 2/16/71

3/19/71

FROM: SAUSAN, CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM-BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
(OO: SF)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM regarding a taped monitoring of an appearance by [redacted] on radio station WVON, Chicago, on [redacted] 1971. Two copies of the LHM are enclosed for San Francisco.

The source utilized in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] a highly confidential and reliable source. b2

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ as information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of a source of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

The monitoring and taping of the interview of NEWTON was by SE [redacted] The original is retained in 157-3765-1B1. b6 b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED ^{DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5CJ/OMS}

EX-117

ENCLOSURE REC-22

- ② - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (157-1203) (RM)
1 - Chicago
CES/lac
(5)

MAR 22 1971

AGENCY: ACST, MFG, SST, SEC, SERV.
DEPT: ICS, CTS, ECO, IDIU, ES

HOW FORW: R/S
DATE FORW: 3/31/71
BY: JJA/jps

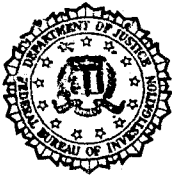
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 157-3765

MAR 19 1971

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On February 19, 1971, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), was to appear that night on "Hot Line", a radio discussion program sponsored by radio station WVON, Chicago. Wesley South is the moderator of "Hot Line".

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is described on the appendix page attached hereto.

The following is a transcript of "Hot Line", February 19, 1971.

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automatic downgrading
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ENCLOSURE

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VOICE:

...Hot Line, are not necessarily those of the management of WVON or the participating sponsors. (Music) Hot Line. A program of public comment. A program where you voice your opinions and ask the questions of our Hot Line guests. And now, Wesley South and Hot Line. (Music)

WESLEY SOUTH:

My name is Wesley South and this is the Hot Line, a program of public comment, a program where you may voice your opinion or ask the questions of our guests and you do that by dialing our (incoherent). And we have been announcing it all day, and the last four or five days, that Huey Newton would be our guest. We understand that he is in town and ah, I can understand that he is very much in demand and possibly he is on his way here, we hope so. We called the Headquarters, the Black Panther Headquarters here just, oh, maybe seven minutes ago, and they say, well he's supposed to be there, and..they did not know why he was not here. So, we are, should I say stuck at this point without a guest. We cancelled our other guest who was going to be here in order to provide a, a spot for Huey Newton. He will be at the Coliseum, incidentally on Sunday. And so if you don't hear him here tonight, you can hear him at the Coliseum Sunday. So, since we don't have anything planned, since many of you

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out there do have quite a bit that you would like to ah, discuss, then there's only one thing for us to do, and that's to resort to what we call our grab-bag. Unfortunately, and I say unfortunately again, we don't have anyone to answer our telephones, so consequently you just have to let the telephone ring, until I answer it. Now, we will have what we call the grab-bag, and that's where you're allowed to call in until, well, and make any comment that you feel would be of interest to our community, and from what I understand there are many of you out there who have something to say. Now we ask you that I hope that I don't have to say it again, I've been saying this for eight years, but I have to say it each time so I guess I'd better become accustom to it, and that is you've got to turn off your radio, when you and I are connected.

I mean turn it off, not down, because we're on a six-second delay. That means what you are hearing right at the instant that you hear it, was actually spoken six seconds ago.

And that means that ah, we cannot ah, allow anyone to be ah, to come in without that. The FCC regulations say that when we have this type of show, we must have a ah, delay in order to prevent any obscenities from going out over the air. Now there are occasionally when there are a few youngsters and surprisingly quite a few elderly as well, middle age people, at least adults, who try to get something obscene through. And usually, not always, but usually, when you hear ah, some dead air on one of these programs, whether it's mine, Ben Sanders (ph) on WDEE, or

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any of the other stations, it's indicative that someone has said something, had said something that is ah, well, objectionable, and quite likely it's obscene. So, we ask you to dial us, keep your comments as brief as possible. You hear someone make the comment that you h..were about to make, please hang up because as right now, all of our phones are busy.

(Portion of program not cut as it was not pertinent.)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE:
(Calling into radio station)

SOUTH:
UM:

SOUTH:
UM:

SOUTH:

UM:
SOUTH:
UM:
SOUTH:

UM:
SOUTH:

....so I said well how long would it take to check out about the gun. An' he said until tomorrow. An I said...

Uh-huh.

...why so long? He said cause we have our reasons, that's the way we do things.

Uh-hmm.

So finally, anyway, about around twelve thirty, one of em told me say, ah, well you can get out on bond. And I asked him how much my bond was...

Wait now, (incoherent)

You reared, the..I'm talkin about the little girl now that they'd accused you of raping.

Right.

Ah, s..you raised her from a baby. Right.

And you have thr..two other children of your own, you and this, and ah, your wife, which you say is your common-law wife.

Right.

Uh, all right. Now, I'll tell you what. We have our guest in the

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UM:
SOUTH:

studio, I'd like, th..your wife I (incoherent), she's in the hospital, I didn't say what hospital, she has a telephone at her bed, and I spoke with her, and ah, she's on the line also. She's listenin'. You're both there.. Right.

UM:
SOUTH:

And I will, ah, talk with you about this, though, ah you..I told you to get a lawyer, you have a lawyer, and ah, we'll talk about this one day next week, okay? Okay, fine. Yeah, okay. Oh, a, just a moment, ah, (incoherent) just a moment, hold on. Just a minute. Ah...just a minute, hold on. Ah, now if you'll put this on here, an' you can hear same thing I'm hearing. Ah, you have we have Huey Newton sitting in the ah...now, if you talk right into that, (incoherent).. Now what..What did you say just a, a moment ago?

NEWTON:

Ah, I would like ah for the ah sisters, ah..

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Sisters and brothers. Ah, sisters and brothers, to ah, report these ah, ah tragedy ah this murder, ah, ah to the ah Black Panther Party, ah at nine two four, ah six nine seven, ah five. Ah, the address is fortytwo thirtythree Indiana Street, ah, in Chicago, is our, our local branch here, our state branch. Report it to ah, ah Bob Rush, ah who is the companion of Fred Hampton who was murdered ah fourteen months and fifteen days ago. So he can sympa.. not only sympathize with us, but identify with you, and that we'll

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do everything possible to mobilize the community against the abusive and the brutal authority who are responsible for it.

Okay?

Okay.

SOUTH:
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE:
(Calling into radio station)

SOUTH:

UF:

SOUTH:

UM:

SOUTH:

And we'll talk with you next week.

All right, thank you.

Sure. Good night.

Well, (stumbles over words) we're hanging up now. Thanks for calling.

Okay, thank you very much.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, our guest has arrived, ah, we're gonna take an extra three or four minutes tonight, and ah, let's stop here for a message, that's our final message, then we'll be back in just... we have one more, is that right? Good.

(Commercial)

SOUTH:

And our telephone number, five nine one, five four hundred.

Well, we have our guest here tonight.

And that's ah, Huey Newton.

(Incoherent)

NEWTON:

Now, what are you doing in Chicago?

Ah, I came to Chicago, to ah, first of all, ah thank the people for my release ah from prison because I would not be out of prison and ah to say the least that ah, not only out of prison, but ah, I would not have lived the gas chamber, ah in California, ah if it had not been for the power of the people, ah demonstrating their interest in my case, and the ah kind of attention given to me, and I would like to um, ah to thank them, and I

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know that the words are of little value, to ah, when one tries to express such a, a, ah emotion (incoherent) are a value of life. I would like to say ah without words, ah, because words aren't sufficient, I would like to say, ah, thank you. And, of course, the Party itself will demonstrate our thanks, ah to you by programs. A life was given to me, and ah we intend to preserve the rights of the people, and eventually ah, ah do things that will accomplish our necessary transformation so that life will be guaranteed, and then we'll, we'll not have ah, the need for a, ah survival program such as our ten-point ah program, which is no more than their ah, a survival kit.

SOUTH:

(incoherent)

NEWTON:

I wa..

SOUTH:

I, I know it was in California, which prison was it?

NEWTON:

I was imprisoned at ah (incoherent).

SOUTH:

Uh-hmm.

NEWTON:

Ah, ah, which is called the ah California, ah Penal Colony for Men, and ah, I stayed there for approximately two years. Ah, I was in the County Jail prior to my trial for one year, and ah, so it was a total of ah, ah really ah, just about three years, short of about two months.

SOUTH:

What was the charge that they had you on?

NEWTON:

Ah, I was tried ah for first degree murder, and the ah, ah jury, ah who were a very unenlightened, and who were ah engineered by the state, ah,

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prosecutor, and all of his ah bombastic ah ah strategy ah that's based upon the (incoherent) ah, they ah (incoherent) the (incoherent) obsurdities of what he was saying ah it was a compromise verdict, ah (incoherent), ah they didn't release me as I should have been, ah, but they sent me to prison for fifteen years.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

That was a policeman, wasn't it? Ah, yes, I was accused of ah killing ah, one of the (incoherent) who occupy our community as a foreign troop occupies a territory, and a the community, ah, clearly issued a mandate to the state, saying that we will not tolerate the kind of indecencies that you are attempting to ah inflict upon ah this individual. And ah I would like to emphasize that what this individual, because it could have been anyone, it just was a coincidence that ah, at that time I was head of the Black Panther Party, ah, that ah lovely people and that have ah instituted programs ah demonstrating their concern for the people generally.

SOUTH:

Don't you believe that it's, that ah because you were Huey P. Newton, and because you were one of the top officials in the Black Panther Party, this could have been one of the reasons that you were arrested, and ah that they were so severe with you, and if it had been anyone else, yes, but I mean, what, didn't they make a special effort to (incoherent) of your activities?

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NEWTON:

Ah, I would agree with that, ah, because the established order has always feared the Black Panther Party because they have the interests of the people at heart. Uh, but, it, and the ah, same ah ah vain ah the people ah, would not ah tolerate ah the state murdering me, ah because of the love that they have for the Party. And ah of course, that the Party is a very small thing, a very small (incoherent) compared to the kind of ah, ah sacrifices that have been made for our history, and ah, I would like to ah, ah, ask the people to grow in their concern so that there'll be concern by each ah individual that's done an injustice by the state.

SOUTH:

You'll be at the Coliseum on Sunday, (incoherent) er, what time is that? Two PM?

NEWTON:

Two PM.

SOUTH:

And you'll be ah, is there any particular program that, or would you just be the only speaker there?

NEWTON:

Ah, as far as I know, that ah, I am the only speaker, ah..

SOUTH:

Yes, you're the main speaker.

NEWTON:

Ah, the main speaker, of course, is Bob Rush. He was the ah ah Chairman ah of the ah Chicago ah f..I'm sorry, it's ah, I, sometimes I mix up the ah the rank and file order ah Bob Rush is the Deputy Minister of Defense of the ah Chicago Chapter, will speak. And there might be other speakers.

SOUTH:

Uh-hmm.

NEWTON:

Ah, b..in fact, there aren't any guest speakers.

SOUTH:

I see. Ah, do you...eh..how old are you?

NEWTON:

Ah, I'm twentynine just two days

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SOUTH: ago, February seventeenth is my birthday. This is my last year of being a teenager. I'll be a, I, an adult next year. (chuckles) You won't, you won't be a boy to ah..

NEWTON: No.

SOUTH: (incoherent)

NEWTON: No, I'll be thirty, so ah..

SOUTH: (incoherent)

NEWTON: I will bridge the ga..generation gap, ya know. If I can hold on ah to my youth, as well as ah the ah foresight of the adult perhaps I'll be in a position to c..really contribute something.

SOUTH: You were one of the original organizers of the ah Black Panther Party, weren't you?

NEWTON: Ah, yes, I was the founder of the ah Black Panther Party...

SOUTH: (incoherent)

NEWTON: Ah, and Bobby Seale is the co-founder of the Black Panther Party. How about Eldridge Cleaver?

SOUTH: Eldridge Cleaver joined the Black Panther Party after he was released from prison, but this was about six months after the Party started.

NEWTON: I see. So you are the founder. Bobby Seale is the co-founder.

SOUTH: Yes.

SOUTH: I wonder if you would tell us how you happened to ah form it, why you formed it, and how did you have been able to keep the very small group of people close to you and dedicated to

(incoherent) It was nineteen sixtysix, wasn't it? Almost five years.

NEWTON: Yes, October nineteen sixtysix.

SOUTH: Ah. First off, I would like to

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clarify that, ah, it is not a question of keeping a small group of people who ah, ah, ah close to you, and ah it is the fact that the Black Panther Party and its love of the people ah generally, the oppressed people. Ah, as far the organization, it's a vanguard group, and by that I mean sphere-head (ph) necessarily in a small cadre.

But (incoherent) of course, (incoherent) which is much (incoherent) and I lacked ah, ah supplies of force in this sphere. Ah, in the (incoherent) of the Black Panther Party, we had a love of the people as part of the people and that's the force behind the vanguard, or the small cadre. Ah, we have fortyfour chapters and branches and ah in ah approximately thirty states. Ah, we have seven ah branches, and ah, and ah, what we called our Intercommunal (ph) Section in ah seven countries. Ah, so we ah have a great influence, and we judge our success on the basis of ah how much influence we have upon the people and the influence that we attempt to get, is an area of enlightening or ah bringing about racial conscious. So the people ah will ah exercise their power and therefore gain their just deserves which is control everything in the universe.

SOUTH:

How did you eh..we..How did you organize and why (incoherent) come about? I mean, I'd like to get (incoherent). I think ya didn't just come out and say one day we're gonna, ah maybe ya did (incoherent) organize the Party, the Black Panther Party. Eh, w..would ya take it through..

NEWTON:

No, I..I would like to say that,

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but I'm not so arrogant that I think that the history of the black resistance to oppression, ah is responsible for the Black Panther Party. That ah ah the Party ah was formed in October of sixtysix and ah nineteen fiftynine, nineteen fiftyeight, that I was a member of the NAACP, and ah later CORE and ah in nineteen sixty ah a member of ah, not a member of, but I associated with ah, the Muslims. And ah with the RAM, Revolutionary Action Movement. Ah, I was associated with (incoherent) labor, and Socialist Workers Party. And ah was frustrated with all of them.

Uh-hmm.

Because ah..

This was just a natural outgrowth of the ah..

I think that ah th..the Party itself ah ah ah synthesized ah the total ah contribution that's been made historically. Ah, so therefore I have great respect for al..ah..for all of those who contributed. Even though I might have great criticism of many, but I will not deny his contribution, ah, his contribution might have been a negative thing, but even that ah was a positive ah contribution to the Party because at least we knew what not to do.

You said something a moment ago about you had fortyfour different ah units in the ah (inaudible)

(incoherent) ...or cadre groups.

Yeah, Ah, we read in the paper here not too long ago that ah you were closing some and going underground. Is this correct or incorrect? Ah, no, ah, and even if we were

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

NEWTON:

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going underground, that I wouldn't admit it here. Ah, I will say that our forward, progressive chapters are still functioning. We're anticipating more opening up because we think that's necessary before anyone goes underground, if you ever go underground, ah, you must first ah make an impact above ground so that people will at least recognize and lend their receptive ear to the kind of ah educational things.

SOUTH: You didn't, you didn't make the statement, (incoherent) statement that you're going underground.

NEWTON: No, no, no. But I..I think it's not enough just to say there was a, that statement because ah, it's not that I'm denouncing any underground action, it's just that ah, I do..

SOUTH: Certain things have to be done before you do go underground.

NEWTON: Ah, yes, we also have to have a lifeline and a vein ah, that ah will ah connect ah the above-ground with the underground. Ah,

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: If you do not have that, then the underground is not only underground but it's buried, and you're..you're above-ground without a strategy that's secret is ah somewhat ah impotent.

SOUTH: Ah, one other thing. I noticed that that ah many of the (incoherent) in that group, many of us were older. We look at many of the people who are in your organization, and we often wonder, at least I often wonder, and I've heard some of the other..my contemporaries say the same, why do you ah, advertise what you're going to do, like really puts you on the spot. I've heard you say the

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the, I heard, ah, some of the other members of your organization say that the power of the, what is it, revolution coming out of a gun, what, what's the..

NEWTON: Ah, i..it's probably the quote of, of the chairman..

SOUTH: MAO Tse-tung, yes.

NEWTON: Ah, that says political power grows through the barrel of a gun.

SOUTH: Yes. All right..

NEWTON: And you know the people, I would like to add something. I always have to clarify that statement.

SOUTH: Yes.

NEWTON: Ah, what I have to say, cause may because Americans generally and b..black people in particular ah did not ah ah study and understand thoroughly, especially the English language.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: And I can understand ah being dis..

SOUTH: Well, how about..

NEWTON: Being disillusioned with it. But understand that..

SOUTH: That wasn't what my question w..

NEWTON: No, no, no. Your, your question was and ah was based that statement..

SOUTH: Yeah.

NEWTON: But I doubt if you understand that statement, and maybe you do, but I say..

SOUTH: Uh-huh.

NEWTON: ..generally, people don't.

SOUTH: Yeah. I understand.

NEWTON: In other words, now may I explain it.

SOUTH: I don't need it.

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NEWTON:

All right. Political power grows through the barrel of a gun with emphasis upon grows, it is not there by accident. Ah, the Black Panther Party adds political power grows through the barrel of a gun, but it cultivates and th..c the ownership and the control of the land and the institutions thereon. So then, ah, the other statement by the chairman is not in contradiction, (incoherent) we're advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, that ah war is abolished through war, in order to get rid of a gun, ah, it sometimes becomes necessary to pick up the gun. So our main emphasis is to become disarmed, to disarm man so that he will not mutually slaughter each other. But, ah, we will not be ah, ah mysticists, and ah deal in idealism, where we will say that ah, in spite of, of people taking our head with the sword, that we will never defend ourselves. We said we will defend ourselves, but we will also weep, ah, for our trans..ah..gressor,, because he is only an ignorant, ah, unenlightened Homo sapien. So, we ah, ah want to ah ah change or bring about the transformation of (incoherent) because our great feeling of love ah, for people. Ah, we have (incoherent) love we know that only people of dignity can love each other. (incoherent) dignity could not love another who's on a high level than the person who's maintained his manhood. So in order for us to truly love each other, we say that we will maintain our dignity. This..if you attempt to take it away in the name of love, we will (incoherent)

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that we have to hurt you to do so, but we will hurt you that you will weep because the death of any man diminishes us. But, at the same time, that we know that we must preserve sanity because we believe we're sane, and ah we must not let the madman run amuck and cause the bloodshed that he's been doing for the last four hundred years.

Now..

I'm sorry for being so long-winded.

Yeah. What I was..my question was ah..Well, let me ah go and ask another question first. It has been ah attributed to the Black Panther Party that they, if they have to, if they must, they would resort to guerrilla warfare. This is one of the reasons why they..am I right there? I..in order to protect the people.

Ah..

..And to protect themselves.

Yeah, I, I thing that's the wrong word, but ah..

I thought, I thought I was using the right word that I had heard.

Well, sometimes we use the wrong word.

Oh, I see.

Ah, but ah, we will use the strategy that's effective, sufficient, and necessary. And ah, if that strategy happens to be guerrilla warfare, which I think guerrilla warfare would not work in this country because that ah very clear military strategy. Ah, ah this country will (incoherent) because of our whole different composition of conditions, it will require a whole new creative set of strategy and tactics. But,

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
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NEWTON:
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NEWTON:

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

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SOUTH: ah, what I would like to say is
this. Is that ah, as far as
we're concerned that our..
(interrupting) Wait, I (garbled)
let me ask you..
NEWTON: Ah..telegraphing, ya hafta have
a station break?
SOUTH: No, I want to ask this so you
can answer all that's here.
NEWTON: No, no, no, but, no. First I would
like to add to this then.
SOUTH: Okay.
NEWTON: That..but as as far as our ah
strategy and broadcasting our
strategy...
SOUTH: Uh-huh.
NEWTON: In nineteen sixtysix, we walked
around the street armed..
SOUTH: Uh-hmm.
NEWTON: And ah, it made a point because
we know one thing, that black
people because we're powerless
ah cannot call a press conference.
The press hafta call us. And
(stumbles over words) in order
for the press to call us, (clears
throat) we have to do something
that they consider significant,
whether it's positive or negative.
SOUTH: Uh-hmm.
NEWTON: In our case, of course, we could
only offer a negative thing because
we were suffering a negative
reaction from them.
SOUTH: Uh-hmm.
NEWTON: So the main emphasis here, is
usually the tool for the mass media
of communication. This was the
case in nineteen sixtysix of
October.
SOUTH: Yeah.
NEWTON: So, at first, you do what? You
regain the res..you gain the

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receptive ear. Secondly, ah the press will make it very derogatory, but the victim has been suffering from the derogatory ah dealings of the press all of the time. So he sees through it. So in effect, ah, two negatives make the positive, and two positives make the negative. So ah we ne..negate the negation because the press will make a double negative when they report it, and the community will view it as a positive because I say those people are outraged, just as we are. And ah you speak of a generational thing, that ah, well (incoherent) Ho Chi Min (ph) of Vietnam, the late Ho Chi Min, Uncle Ho?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm. Said that it's perfectly ah, incorrect to broadcast military tactics for military reasons. But it's perfectly correct to broadcast military action, or military strategy for political reasons. Ah, so ah, you could judge what we're doing in that context. Now, ah, after that time, after that ah armed kind of demonstration, there was a real demonstration because it was a little more than that. It was that twilight zone, in between some real action, but not yet there. Ah, after we've exhausted that we've gone onto higher level because we don't need that any more because the community is (incoherent) we are the only party with a program. That isn't including all of them.

SOUTH:

I have to stop here and say this is WVON, Cicero. Go right ahead.

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NEWTON:

All right. Ah, so, what I'm trying to say, and I won't ah be too long-winded that I'll say in front of the Coliseum, and my throat gets sore where I can't talk, and I think it would be a catastrophe for me not to be able to address ah, the people I love very (incoherent) in person. Ah, at least to say thank you anyway. Ah, what I'm saying is that what we did in nineteen sixtysix of October, w..was no more than what you did, ah say ten, twenty years ago, and that is when you stood up to your boss now you, a plural, and said that I would not be treated like a dirty dog and sleep in a hollowed-out log, ya see?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
That ah I would rather drink muddy water, ya see? And ah you showed your outrage, and you let your comrades knew, know it, because..

SOUTH:

(Interrupting) Will you, what we try to do...(both speak simultaneously)

NEWTON:

Because..wait for a minute, huh? Wait.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

..take another step.
Wait just one minute, huh? You let your comrades know it for political reasons.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
You knew you couldn't take on the sheriff and all his dogs But you also knew that your comrade was coward. Ya see?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.
Because they were, had internalized that negative identity. But, ah after you show a certain amount

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of dignity, that ah ah there were (incoherent) of ah dignity and manhood as you allowed them, and then through your communica...through communication and your fraternal kind of relationship and love. So this is essentially what the Black Panther Party intends to do. Now we do not walk around with guns, but at the same time we maintain the same policy..that if we cannot maintain our manhood we'll level the earth trying.. But this time we will not be sitting ducks, we will deal with you in a military way, and I won't discuss that here because it's incorrect according to Ho Chi Min (ph).

SOUTH:

Now, ah you spoke of Ho Chi Min, you spoke of ah Chairman Mao. Ah.. I could start speak of O..ah.. (incoherent) or, or, yeah, Odinga Odinga (ph) ah, who's ah fighting in Kenya ah..

NEWTON:

Yeah.

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

...for the liberation of the ah people of Kenya, fighting the over-reactionary (incoherent) Ya know revolution ah, is a sort of ah, ah, strange thing that ah i..the basis of it is a struggle between the old and the new. (incoherent) was a revolutionist ah in nineteen sixtyone, but he became old and ah he tried to consolidate and hold to his position. So therefore, he became reactionary. And the new Odingo Diga (ph) who is a relatively a young man, I don't think he's a teenager any more, he's

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

about thirtyfive or thirtyseven
now, ah, but at any rate, now he's
struggling to take the freedom
to a higher manifestation, and the
Black Panther Party (incoherent)
this is the answer and we will not
change, that we will classify ourselves
as reactionaries, if we're honest.
Uh-hmm.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

So we always go through, ah, ah
continu..ah..a continuation of trans-
formation. In nineteen fiftysix
we said we're nationalists. A short
time after that, we said we were
revolutionary nationalists. A short
time after that we said we're
internationalists. A short time
after that we say that, we're not
nationalists at all. We're
inter-communiteralists because
it's necessary to view the world
as your community because as we
anticipate a universal technology
we must have a universal identity
so that we will not divide each
other into tribes, nations, species
and pseudo-species, but we must
embrace each other as Homo sapiens
and looking for the same thing
and that is life, and happiness
and well-being and dignity.

SOUTH:

Now, the question was this,
let me get to the question.
And, don't answer until I finish
it, (incoherent)

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Don't tempt me then. (Both chuckle)
Okay. Ah, is there a, I mean,
d..that the Ho Che..Ho Chi Min,
Chairman Mao, and O..

NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Odinga Odinga (ph).
Odinga Odinga.

And I could have mentioned
(incoherent), I, I could have
mentioned Patricia Mulba (ph)
I made secretary in New York,
who ah smuggled her way over from

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

France. I just wrote a book about him, ah, that I adore him. I could have mentioned Malcolm X. Before them all I could have even ah ah mentioned ah one of the great movements that you..know much about I'm sure, which is Markus Garvey (ph), and ah, before that ah we picked the man that Markus Garvey hated, and perhaps he wasn't mature enough because he could have used some of the ah contributions that the man offered, but criticized at the same time those, Booker T. Washington, and ah and ah ah...

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

DuBois?
DuBois. Ah. E. B. DuBois, he liked to be called DuBois. Ah, that ah he could have used this, and he did use some, but what we try to do is this. We try to ah make an (incoherent) and integrate the complex whole to get the best out of everything so that we will not only view the best of the two worlds, but we will have it. And that will be the new thing. And after this we dedicate ourselves to constantly change because we know that man wants the one thing, and that's free. And his ultimate freedom will rest upon his ability to become Godly, and ah we think that he has the potentiality to reveal the secret to ah the Buddha at the head of the garden. (incoherent) secret of the beginning and end... Now there's one last question. ..which we know nothing about now. Now maybe I can get to the question now.
Go ahead now.
(incoherent)

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

D..don't tempt me please.

Don't tempt ya, okay. Ah, is there a..

Is it all right (incoherent) around?

Yeah.

He says it's all right.

Okay.

Okay.

Is there a..

I mean it'll be all right with Fred Hampton.

Yeah.

That's why I'm happy.

Is there a spiritual..ah, any type of link between the Black Panther Party and Ho Chi, the late Ho Chi Min (ph) and his followers and Chairman Mao.

I kno..now I would assume that there is eh, a ah, what do we call it, Communist, ah, ah base for the Black Panther

Party. Am I right, or a Socialistic base? Which is it? Or is there..

Well, I, I, would hi..I could only answer that in full context. The same link that is between ah, Chairman Mao and Ho Chi Min (ph) ah, we would have to say that's the same link as between DuBois, Booker T. Washington, and also Markus Garvey (ph), Malcolm, because as I told you before we've..

Yes.

..integrated all the good things of the thinkers of the world. Now we're not dogmatists, and we don't sit, we're not flunkies for anyone. We say that we're for freedom and if a man says a thing just because he's of a certain, ah, ethnic or racial group, or country, we don't disqualify him because the white racists say disqualify it, we'll disqualify it on the basis of it not being functional for us. So, ah. we say this, that we're interested

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

in mankind, and ah, we're dedicated to not being prejudice or discriminate against anyone ah because he's from, from a certain region or his texture of his skin is a certain way, or his eyes are slanted a certain way. And this is i..in spite of everything else, even though we would have every reason to hate everything American. But we don't do that. We say even America has contributed something, even though the double negative, which makes a positive. Uh-hmm.

And maybe that's e..the future of the Third World which is the colored world, and we like to call it the black world, because we know one thing, we know that the dominant gene is black and we said we must not be racial chauvinists, but at the same time that the future itself will eliminate the problem of light skin texture and dark skin texture if the mass media is the (incoherent) ah, ah, development ah, _____ throws man together that the, the cells of dark men will probably dominate over the cells of light, and ah, this is no ah great thing to celebrate about, it's just that I think that problem will be solved who have not only effected (incoherent) in a biological way, will also have it in a spiritually, ah, a in a spiritual way, the cultural way, political way, and a way that will deliver man ah, to what we call the promised land, and that's the collective society that man would love each other,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOUTH: share with each other..
Do you really think that could come about in this, in the entire world, or in the United States?

NEWTON: Not in your lifetime, and perhaps not in mine, but without a dream we cannot have a dream come true.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: So, therefore, I pursued the dream...

SOUTH: (Both men speaking simultaneously, Newton continues speaking. South's remarks incoherent.)

NEWTON: ..with a passion, because I will not except the nightmare of this reality if here..that is a pitiful excuse of a life. I will not call it the happy life. I will not commit to it and I will not give up my manhood, and that's what the (incoherent) want of me. They wanted it in prison, and now they want it out of prison, but I will give up nothing, they'll have to take it but in the process I might take something.

SOUTH: All right, let me ask you this question, and make it, eh, you've got two minutes to answer it. So, think of your words real carefully. Ah, when do you think, because you've answered part of it, you said not in my lifetime, and maybe not in yours, when do you think we will have a good, ah...

NEWTON: Well, you've done many good things in your life, your generation..

SOUTH: Yeah, yeah, I'm saying wha...

NEWTON: And I appreciate that.

SOUTH: ..what I'm saying no, no I didn't mean it would be, it may never be Utopia, but when do you think it will be..

NEWTON: I don't believe in Utopia.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Well.
Because that would be a final
conclusion. I believe in a continual
ah, process...

SOUTH:

I hit the wrong nerve, when I said
Utopia. Let me, let me get the rest
of, eh, what, when and where eh,
do you think this will occur in the
United States?

NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Ah, it would...
You only have ninety seconds.
It would have to occur in the
world because the world is one
community and that's why we
call ourselves intercommunists (ph)
because...

SOUTH:

No, why would it happen in the
world then?

NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Pardon me?
When will it happen in the world?
Ah, could you have told when you,
your generation..

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

I don't know.
Wait just one minute.
I don't know.
Wait, I, I'm not asking you, my
(stumbles over words) ninety minutes.
You could not have told when you ah
would have when your mother would
delivered Malcolm or when ah the
people would have delivered the Black
Panther Party. So I cannot tell when
the Black Panther Party ah, with
all of the contributions be given
to it, would deliver a new idea and
a new strategy to gain freedom.
So I say power to the people,
best to the fascists, and love to
all of the people.

SOUTH:

Are you gonna cry when the fascists
die?

NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Pardon? Yes.
..cry..
Yes. Because the fascists are, that's
only an adjective to modify the noun

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOUTH: of Homo Sapiens, human beings.
So, he is not born of stone, he
is born of woman, so therefore
I cry for his mother, I cry for
his sister, and his family...
It is only his deeds and his
beliefs that you..

NEWTON: Th..that's, that's correct.
But I would not ah submit to
his deeds, and be distant to
them.

SOUTH: Ladies and gentlemen, our guest
tonight, Huey P. Newton, age
29, (inbackground) just a moment,
(into microphone) ah, the ah
Minister of Defense, Black Panther
Party..

NEWTON: And ah, and ah Supreme Servant..
SOUTH: And Supreme Servant.
NEWTON: Of the people..
SOUTH: Of the people. And he will be
at the Coliseum on Sunday.

NEWTON: Yes.
SOUTH: At ah two o'clock.
NEWTON: To thank the people.
SOUTH: To thank the people.
NEWTON: Cause I would be dead if it were
not for the people.

SOUTH: You would be ah not here if it
weren't for the people, you'd be
dead.

NEWTON: Thank you.
SOUTH: Until Monday night at one, eh well
no, at eleven o'clock.

NEWTON: Yeah.
RECORDING: HotLine, with Wesley South is a
public affairs presentation of
Globetrotter Communications, Incor-
porated. Join Wesley South,
Monday through Friday at eleven,
for topics of our time....

(Recording discontinued.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1214329-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 10

Page 12 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;
Page 31 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;
Page 46 ~ Duplicate - of previous document 105-165429-390 (APR 2 1971);
Page 47 ~ Duplicate - of PAGE TWO;
Page 66 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;
Page 67 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;
Page 85 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;
Page 86 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;
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~~SECRET~~
BIA COURIER

B-2428

08 MAR 1971

0
SUBJECT: NEWTON, Huey (RM)

1. A sensitive source has reported that [] the American Studies Department of the University of Hawaii, plans to contact [] by telephone to inquire whether Huey NEWTON [] is able to go to Honolulu in mid-March to speak on campus. [] claims to have \$2,500 with which to fund NEWTON's trip.

2. Source is of the opinion that the mid-March occasion for the proposed appearance of NEWTON may be a "peace happening" hinging on the Laos issue. Source speculated that the source of [] money for the NEWTON trip may be the Symposium Committee Fund of the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii (ASUH).

Please transmit reply via CIRCUS channel

ST-115
REC-89

1cc 806
Xerox copies to SF
info HAD.
3/11/71
JCA/jr

100-449-371

62 APR 9

F B I

Date: 3/17/71

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka.
 RM - BPP;
 TREASON
 (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
 (OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6-25-82 BY SP5 EJP/pt

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of an LHM containing speech given by Subject on 3/5/71, and two (2) copies of FD-376.

One (1) copy of this LHM is being furnished to U.S. Secret Service, San Francisco, California.

ENCLOSURE - 13

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. - 13)
- 3 - San Francisco
 (2 - 157-1203)
 (1 - 157-6307)

JLC/rmd
 (5)

REC-78

7 MAR 24 1971

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 17, 1971

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☒ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

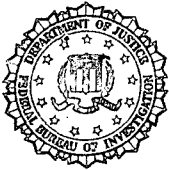
Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 17, 1971

Re: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-28-87 BY SP5CZ
42

Huey Percy Newton is the Minister of
Defense and Supreme Commander of the
Black Panther Party (BPP).

A characterization of the BPP is contained
in the appendix.

Page 2 of the March 13, 1971, issue of "The
Black Panther", official weekly publication of the BPP, con-
tained the following article:

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

ENCLOSURE

105-14947-372

STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON,
MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND
SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE
ON THE OCCASION OF REVOLUTIONARY
INTERCOMMUNAL DAY OF
SOLIDARITY- MARCH 5, 1971

Power to the People, Brothers and Sisters,

First of all I would like to thank all of you for my very presence here, because if it weren't for the Power of the People, I wouldn't be here tonight. I'm not here because of the Black Panther Party; I'm not here because of any group, I'm not here because of a group of kamakazis. I'm here because of the Power of the People.

We must remember that Revolution is a process. It's not a conclusion; because once we conclude, then we become counter-revolutionary. And that means even with the gun in our hands, because fascism also has a gun. And I would like to say tonight that the Black Panther Party stands against all forms of fascism, including sexual fascism.

That we are against all kinds of chauvinism, including racial chauvinism, we're against sexual chauvinism, national chauvinism. We're intercommunalists. Before I went to prison, most of you know, you are aware, that I never made any speeches, you see, because I'm not a very eloquent man. I'm better known by the actions. And the Party was built upon the actions. And the action itself is a process. And we're not ever fixated. We haven't accepted any dogma. And we will not.

And I would like to say this, that from now on the Party itself will be better known by its contributions to the People, for the simple reason that some people around us seem to want to be known through the Media. But the Party can only judge itself through establishing certain survival programs, pending Revolution. Because remember, you make the Revolution. We can't free

political prisoners, only the people can free political prisoners. And a people who are not free cannot free their prisoners, cannot free the prisoners that fascism makes. So I would like to say that we must work very hard in order to lift the consciousness of the people. We must free our Chairman Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, the Soledad Brothers, the seven and the three, and all other political prisoners. Ready. We have to free all of them.

But we must remember that we must exhaust every possible tactic. And we must let it be known that never broadcast military tactics for military reasons. It's perfectly correct to broadcast military tactics for political reasons. That's what Uncle Ho said, and I agree with him. So we would like for the people to know that there are many things that we will not discuss in public. But what you can do is watch the fruits of our work. And we would like to say that our Party became an intercommunal Party upon its actions. And I think that's very good. So I'm asking you in order to free all political prisoners, free the people, free the woman and also the man, that we have to get together in unity by substituting verbal expressions for action. The final test of the pie is the action. We'll stand on the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party from 1966 when it was formed will stand on its record, will stand on the action. We won't claim to be ultra-leftists; we won't claim to be infantile leftists. What we'll do is act in accordance with the particular set of conditions and the particular problem that we have at a time. So please judge

us upon our actions and we will develop like that. We will not develop with lip service coming from anyone. And sometimes I'm very thankful that I don't talk too well, because that's only one way of communication. We say that a picture is worth a thousand words, but action is supreme.

But what kind of action you take will depend upon the particular set of conditions. And I say all of this, because you know the Party and the world today is under turmoil. And this is very good. We always have welcomed all forms of contradictions. Because without the contradiction there is no transformation. So from the contradiction that has developed now in the world and in the Party, we hope to have a qualitative leap. If this leap eliminates some of us, then, of course, we'll weep for that. But we must not stop the Revolution. I will not stop the Revolution. You should not stop it. And, for all that it's worth, we know that words will never stop it. Words will not start the Revolution either. Only action. 'Sixty-six kicked off the armed manifestation of Revolution in this country, because it focused upon the need for the People not only to defend themselves, but also to develop a consciousness necessary to perform and to act to be able to fight in a protracted war. And that is why it is necessary for us to develop the correct ideology, which is a system of thinking. And we must not rely upon and conclude with the philosophy, which isn't necessarily a conclusion.

So we're ideologically revolutionists. We're in a constant state of change. And we fight with all people who want

to change, because we know change will offer our hope. So after all of this, we must pay more attention to what is happening. The news media has attempted to discredit the Party by saying that it's over, because they don't see anyone. I think our programs are better than the Party. The communities are involved in forty-four cities. We must support these; we must expand them. Because I read an article, recently, a few months ago, where Che had some problems in Bolivia, because the peasants were so unconscious until he could not rally them even with the "focos". They did not understand why the military, the regular military was dropping. So what did he do. He attempted to form certain programs that he called survival programs. He attempted to form a free health program in order to get the peasants inside, to help them, and also to provide things for his focos. He also took to form a free breakfast program, a free shoe factory,

and a sporting good store (for obvious reasons). So programs are good. Because an act that might be revolutionary might be counter-revolutionary, if the correct preparations are not made.

So to be a serious revolutionist, we must know that we are involved in a process, and not a set of principles or conclusions that are of face-value revolutionary. I do not know one thing that is revolutionary in itself. And all things might be revolutionary in context. In other words, capitalism was revolutionary when it kicked out feudalism. And now we have a situation where the capitalists have become the imperialists, and the people of the world, of the communities of the world will have to kick them out. So in order to free Angela, Bobby, Ruchell Magee and all other political prisoners, we must kick the fascists out. And we cannot do it with lip service.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 23 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
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Miss Gandy	_____

NR 001 SF PLAIN

1233AM URGENT 3-23-71 RAS

TO: DIRECTOR
BOSTON
NEW HAVEN

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON RACIAL MATTER - BPP

NEWTON AND [REDACTED] ARRIVING BOSTON, MORNING OF

THREE TWENTY - THREE INSTANT VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT
TWO ONE SIX, DESTINATION IS NEW HAVEN.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

BOSTON HANDLE AND ADVISE NEW HAVEN.

END

WJM FBI WA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP56/gh

1cc 806

REC-29

105-1054-373

MAR 24 1971

55 APR 1 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/26/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED] (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

RM - BPP
OO: Los Angeles

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5CJ/ST
Original Handled

b6
b7C

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum to the Bureau dated 10/29/70 (Bufile 157-18500 and Los Angeles file 157-5552), entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON, RM-BPP, and Los Angeles letter to Sacramento dated 12/28/70.

The captioned individual is the registered owner of a vehicle which was seen parked at [REDACTED] on 10/27/70. An unknown individual was seen to leave [REDACTED] vehicle and enter [REDACTED] that address which is occupied by [REDACTED] and is the location where HUEY NEWTON and [REDACTED] were staying on 10/27/70.

b6
b7C

Los Angeles indices were negative regarding captioned individual.

Investigation at Los Angeles has developed the following information regarding the subject:

The vehicle mentioned above was a 1969 Volkswagen bearing California license [REDACTED] and was registered to the captioned individual at [REDACTED] California.

b6
b7C

A check of the files of the Computer Credit Corporation, 936 South Hope Street, Los Angeles, California, on 12/3/70, provided information concerning one [REDACTED]

- 3 - Bureau (RM) 157-18500 (1-157-18500) (1-157-5552) To LR-SF
1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
3 - Los Angeles
(1-157-5552)

CRD/vjh

(9)

61 MAR 17 1971

157-165429 -

NOT RECORDED

78 MAR 5 1971

21024

ORIGINAL FILED IN

LA 157-5865

[redacted]
[redacted] exact date of birth
was not given. It is not known if the [redacted]
is identical to the subject of interest in this case.

b6
b7C

On 12/8/70, a utilities check determined that
gas service at [redacted] California, has
been in the name of [redacted]

The following agencies were contacted on the dates
shown with negative results in an effort to further identify
the captioned person:

Los Angeles Police Department
12/4/70
12/16/70

Los Angeles Sheriff's Office
12/4/70
12/10/70

[redacted]
12/3/70

b2
b7D

Traffic Violations Bureau
12/3/70

Voter Registration
12/3/70

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will continue efforts
to determine the nature and degree of association of [redacted]
with the Los Angeles BPP.

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 3/15/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: San FranciscoALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP3A
GTAb6
b7CRe Newark airtel and LHM dated 2/12/71, captioned
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RM."Referenced Newark airtel reported that the Newark
Office is retaining a copy of the transcription of NEWTON's
speech made at Princeton University on 2/9/71.Newark is requested to furnish San Francisco a copy
of the typed transcript of NEWTON's speech, the identity of
the individual who recorded the speech, and the identities of
sources who were present and heard the speech.

11-7 to NK 3/15/71
for action. Newark + com
2/12/71 Capt. BPP + SE #7
3/15/71 Capt. BPP + SE #7
Submit a copy of this type of
transcript + a copy of the
transcript of the speech.

REC 113

105-165429-374

MAR 17 1971

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Newark (RM)
2 - San Francisco
JLC/sad

b6
b7C

(6)
APR 5 1971
Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 25 1971

TELETYPE

NR 009 NH PLAIN

2:06 PM NITEL 3/24/71 LF

TO: DIRECTOR BOSTON
FROM: NEW HAVEN (157-1031)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-8-87 BY SP5-6/10/87

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

HUEY P. NEWTON, RACIAL MATTERS - BPP

b6
b7c

NEWTON, [REDACTED] TWO NEGRO MALES AND A NEGRO FEMALE
SURVEILLED BY BOSTON AGENTS TO CONNECTICUT STATE LINE WHERE
SURVEILLANCE TAKEN OVER BY NEW HAVEN DIVISION, THIS DATE AT
TWELVE FIFTY P.M. SUBJECT TRAVELING IN BLUE VOLKSWAGON BUS
WITH WHITE TOP, CALIFORNIA LICENSE [REDACTED].
DROVE DIRECTLY TO CONNECTICUT STATE COURT IN NEW HAVEN, ARRIVING
AT TWO TEN P.M.. NEWTON HAD BRIEF DISCUSSION WITH ATTORNEY
CHARLES GARRY OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM BUILDING. NEWTON DID NOT
LEAVE VEHICLE. VEHICLE THEN PROCEEDED TO YALE LAW SCHOOL WHERE
GARRY OCCUPIES A SUITE.

AFTER THE BRIEF CONFERENCE WITH NEWTON, GARRY RETURNED TO
THE COURTROOM AND REQUESTED THE TRIAL JUDGE GRANT DEFEN-
DANTS BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS TIME TO CONFER WITH NEWTON.
JUDGE OFFERED THEM FIFTEEN MINUTES WHICH GARRY SAID WAS NOT SUFF-
ICIENT. THE JUDGE RULED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO TIME ALLOTTED IN
THAT CASE.

END PAGE ONE

6 MAR 29 1971

EX-112

11 APR 1971
P/107

105-1054-7-375

NH (157-1031)

PAGE TWO

NEWTON AND [REDACTED] REMAIN AT GARRY'S SUITE, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PARTY, WHO APPEAR TO BE TEENAGERS, WENT SHOPPING IN DOWNTOWN NEW HAVEN.

b6
b7C

COVERAGE OF NEWTON AND [REDACTED] BEING MAINTAINED THROUGHOUT THE NIGHT.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 27 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR 013 SF CODE

230 AM NITEL 3/26/71 JAK (SENT 3-27-71)

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

BOSTON

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (2P)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON. (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

RELIABLE SOURCE HAS REPORTED THAT [REDACTED] REPRESENTATIVE OF DAVID FROST TELEVISION PROGRAM, NEW YORK CITY, N.Y., TELEPHONE NO. TWO ONE TWO DASH SEVEN THREE SIX DASH SIX THREE ZERO ZERO, CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, CALIF, INQUIRING ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF HAVING NEWTON APPEAR ON THAT PROGRAM APRIL SIX NEXT AT NEW YORK CITY, WHEN PROGRAM WOULD BE TAPED FOR SHOWING AT A LATER DATE IN APRIL.

SOURCE REPORTED THAT ON MARCH TWENTYFIVE LAST, BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS INDICATED NEWTON WILL NOT GO TO NEW YORK TO DO THE FROST PROGRAM BUT WOULD CONSIDER APPEARING ON THE SHOW IF THE TAPING COULD BE DONE SOMEWHERE OTHER THAN NEW YORK CITY.

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR VEHICLES RECORDS SHOW CALIF. LICENSE NUMBER [REDACTED] IS REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE F 458

54 APR 7 1971

#55,516

REC 107

MAR 30 1971

DATE 11-4-81

SP6. lya jab

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CALIF., FOR A NINETEEN SEVENTY VOLKSWAGEN.

OBSERVATION OF THAT ADDRESS ON MARCH TWENTYSIX
INSTANT DETERMINE APARTMENT IS VACANT.

b6
b7C

SOURCE FURTHER REPORTED MARCH TWENTYSIX INSTANT THAT NEWTON
IS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT FROM
BOSTON AT NINE ZERO THREE P.M., THIS DATE, ON TRANS WORLD
AIRLINES FLIGHT THIRTYTHREE.

[REDACTED] NOT KNOWN TO THE SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE NEW HAVEN TELETYPE MARCH TWENTYFIVE LAST AND SAN FRANCISCO
TELCALL TO BOSTON MARCH TWENTYSIX INSTANT.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

NEW YORK ENDEAVOR TO DETERMINE IF NEWTON SCHEDULED TO APPEAR
ON DAVID FROST PROGRAM IN NEAR FUTURE.

END...

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan ☒ _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR019 CG CODE

600PM URGENT 3-29-71 BCK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA. RM - BPP; KEY BLACK EXTREMIST.
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO).

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY SHE LEARNED [REDACTED]
AFRO-AMERICAN STUDENT CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW),
MADISON, HAD ADVISED [REDACTED]
ILLINOIS CHAPTER BPP, CHICAGO, AS OF AFTERNOON MARCH TWENTY NINE,
INSTANT, HE HAD NO PLACE AVAILABLE FOR APPEARANCE OF HUEY P.
NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER, BPP, APRIL THREE, NEXT. [REDACTED]
REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN NIGHTCLUB TYPE BUILDING SEATING
ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED NEAR UW CAMPUS FOR NEWTON APPEARANCE;
HOWEVER, NOTHING DEFINITE ARRANGED. [REDACTED]
RE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING [REDACTED] WILL DETERMINE WHETHER
NEWTON WILLING TO APPEAR IN MADISON.

END PAGE ONE

54 APR 1 1971

F 458

7 MAR 30 1971
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-1-81 BY SP2 TAB/ao

CA# 70 C1584
SP5 W/GH 6-25-87 PCH 756202

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b7C

b6
b7C

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE MILWAUKEE TEL MARCH TWENTYNINE, INSTANT.

SOURCE IS

[REDACTED]

CHICAGO

b2

FOLLOWS AND WILL ADVISE OF INFORMATION AS DEVELOPED.

MILWAUKEE AND SAN FRANCISCO ADVISE PERTINENT INFORMATION
DEVELOPED.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 27 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-25-81 BY SP5CJ/AL

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD ✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. S. rs	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR014 NH PLAIN

1:37PM NITEL 3/26/71 LF

TO: DIRECTOR, SAC, BOSTON; SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031)

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM-BPP

SUBJECT REMAINED AT HOME OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CONN., UNTIL ABOUT NOON TIME, THREE TWENTYSIX SEVENTYONE. HE DID NOT ATTEND TODAY'S COURT SESSION. AT ABOUT NOON HE WAS PICKED UP BY THE VOLKSWAGON BUS BEARING CALIFORNIA PLATES

[REDACTED] IN WHICH HE HAS BEEN TRAVELING AND TAKEN TO A LOCAL RESTAURANT FOR LUNCH. HE THEN RETURNED TO THE VAN WITH THREE NEGRO MALES AND A NEGRO FEMALE AND PROCEEDED TO INTERSTATE NINETYFIVE AND HEADED NORTH, TOWARD BOSTON.

TRAVELING WITH NEWTON WERE JOHN SEALE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND ANOTHER UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO MALE.

NEWTON AND PARTY WERE SURVEILLED BY AGENTS OF THE NEW HAVEN DIVISION TO MASSACHUSETTS STATE WHERE SURVEILLANCE WAS TAKEN OVER BY AGENTS OF THE BOSTON OFFICE AT FOUR ZERO FIVE PM. 16 MAR 31 1971

RE NH TELETYPE TO BUREAU THREE TWENTYSIX SEVENTYONE.

END

APR 8 1971

51019

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

REC-74

378

3/31/71

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 -
1 -

[Redacted Box]

b6
b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 31 1971

TELETYPE

TO SAC, MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

HUEY P. NEWTON, RACIAL MATTERS - BPP; KEY BLACK EXTREMIST (KBE)

REMITEL MARCH TWENTYNINE LAST.

IN EVENT VISIT OF SUBJECT TO MADISON, WISCONSIN, MATERIAL-
IZES, YOU ARE REMINDED OF RESPONSIBILITY TO ATTEMPT TO MONITOR
SPEECH OF SUBJECT OR OTHER BPP LEADERS. REFER TO BUREAU AIRTEL
TO ALL OFFICES NOVEMBER FIVE LAST, CAPTIONED "USE OF CONCEALED
RECORDING DEVICES IN COVERING PUBLIC APPEARANCES BY BLACK AND
NEW LEFT EXTREMISTS." SUBMIT PERTINENT INFORMATION DEVELOPED
IN FORM SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.

RME:cal
(4)

REC-47

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-25-87 BY SP5 GJH/PL

MAR 31 1971

NOTE:

Referenced communication indicates subject, Supreme
Commander of the violence-prone BPP and a KBE, may attend a
block party sponsored by Afro-American Center, University of
Wisconsin, on 4/3/71. Reportedly, Afro-American Center, may
set up public address system in order that subject can speak.
Previous plans for subject to travel to Madison have been
canceled by subject.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

61 APR 6 1971

TELETYPE UNIT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 27 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. BrennanCD_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Dalbey_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Walters_____
Mr. Soyars_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

NR 023 SF PLAINTEXT

217 AM NITEL 3/26/71 JAK (SENT 3-27-71)

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

BOSTON

NEW HAVEN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5 GJ

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (1P)

b6
b7C

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM-BPP. (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

[REDACTED] SAN MATEO COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE, SAN
FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, ADVISED THAT NEWTON AND THREE
UNKNOWN NEGRO MALES ARRIVED SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
ON TWA F

GHT THIRTYTHREE FROM BOSTON AT NINE THIRTY P.M. THIS
DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EX-114

REC-7

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE MARCH TWENTYSIX, INSTANT.

END...

HOLD

16 MAR 31 1971

1cc 806

EX-114
5/2 APR 8 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 3/30/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-5552) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON
RM-BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Re San Francisco teletype to Director 1/28/71, and New Haven airtel to Director 2/22/71, entitled "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM-BPP", (Copies to San Francisco files 157-1204; 157-1203).

Referenced teletype set out information regarding [redacted] who was traveling with NEWTON to his discussion with ERIK ERIKSON at Yale University in early February 1971.

b6
b7C

New Haven airtel set out information regarding a [redacted] and her attendance at the discussion between NEWTON and ERIKSON at Yale University. It was later determined that [redacted] was in fact [redacted]

It was also developed that [redacted] had given the address of [redacted] California. Utilities records disclose that service at this residence is listed to [redacted]. He has been a financial contributor to the BPP and is a person of [redacted]

b6
b7C

Los Angeles has subsequently opened a case on [redacted] [redacted] sources familiar with BPP activities in Los Angeles had reported no information regarding her. [redacted] recently reported that [redacted] had gotten into an argument with [redacted] and antagonized her greatly calling her a racist. This apparently cooled the rapport between [redacted]. More recently, [redacted] were invited to visit HUEY NEWTON in Oakland in what may be an attempt to repair the damage done [redacted]

Further information developed will be reported under appropriate subject caption.

- 2- Bureau (RM)
- 2- San Francisco (RM) (157-1203)
- 2- New Haven (RM)
- (1-157-1031)
- (1-100-19186)
- 4- Los Angeles
- (1-157-5154)
- (1-157-6462)

REC-23

EX-113

APR

b6
b7C

RHR
(10)

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

F B I

Date: 3/22/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka.
RM - BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP-5 EJP

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau dated 2/28/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of an LHM concerning Subject and two (2) copies of an FD-376.

One (1) copy of the enclosed LHM is being furnished to U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco.

The program broadcast over Radio Station KDIA on 2/28/71, was recorded by Agents of the San Francisco Office, and the tape recording of the program is being retained in the San Francisco Office.

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 13) (RM)
3 - San Francisco
(2 - 157-1203)
(1 - 157-5715)

JLC/jlc
(5)

AGENCY: ~~ACSI, NIA, OSI, SEC, SERV.~~
DEPT: ~~ISD, CDD, RAO, IDIU, ED~~

HOW FORM: R/S
DATE FORM: 3/21/71
BY: JLC/jlc

REC-47

8 MAR 27 1971

b6
b7C

SECT

APR 8 1971

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

March 22, 1971

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☒ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s)

2

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 22, 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY 38501
CPT

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Percy Newton is the Minister of
Defense and Supreme Commander of the
Black Panther Party (BPP).

A characterization of the BPP is contained
in the appendix.

A pre-taped conversation between Newton and Louis
Freeman, Moderator of program called "Black Montage", was
broadcast over Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco, California, on
February 28, 1971, from 4:30 P.M. until 6:00 P.M. The program
had been taped on February 23, 1971, at the studios of Radio
Station KDIA.

Newton began the program by thanking all the people
listening to the program for his release from prison. He then
spoke briefly about his early life, stating he was born in
Louisiana in 1942 and his family had moved to Oakland, California,
when he was one and a half years old. He further commented about
members of his immediate family and reminisced about his growing
up in the black neighborhoods in the Oakland area.

During the program when Newton was discussing the
various programs of the BPP he stated, "we offered troops to the
people suffering in Viet Nam - the National Liberation Front and
Provisional Revolutionary Government. It was not only to show
our revolutionary solidarity, but it was also an attempt to
stimulate the thoughts of our black brothers who are allowing
themselves to be drafted and put there to fight for more victims
of capitalism".

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

105 165 159-382

Re: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Newton stated the median age of the members active in the BPP is 19 to 25 years. He said he is currently writing a book called "Revolutionary Suicide" which he hopes will be completed in a few months.

Newton also discussed the 10-point program of the BPP, which he called a survival program. He said it is not a revolutionary program, but a survival program pending revolution.

Newton was asked about his living in the high-rise apartment building in Oakland, California, and who was paying for the rent of the apartment. Newton stated that the Central Committee of the BPP decides where he is to live and that the Central Committee wanted him to live in the most secure place in Oakland. For that reason the Central Committee made the decision that he reside in the apartment building and the Party pays the rent. He stated he would rather not live in the apartment building, but because of the security it provides for him, the Central Committee has demanded he live there.

At the close of the program, Newton announced that the Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity would be held on March 5, 1971, at Oakland, and the speakers for that event would be Kathleen Cleaver and himself. He urged all those listening to the program to attend that event.



b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR001 MI PLAIN

1147PM 3/29/71 URGENT MAB

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-3765)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP8CJ
PT

FROM: MILWAUKEE (157-1113) (P) 2P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA RM DASH BPP, KEY BLACK EXTREMIST, OO:
SAN FRANCISCO.

THREE TWENTYEIGHT LAST ISSUE WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL CON-
TAINED ARTICLE WHICH REPORTED ARRANGEMENTS BEING MADE FOR HUEY
P. NEWTON TO APPEAR MADISON, WISCONSIN, APRIL THREE NEXT BY
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW) AFRO DASH AMERICAN CENTER.

[REDACTED] MADISON PD, ADVISED INSTANT DATE
[REDACTED] UW AFRO DASH AMERICAN CENTER, SUBMITTED REQUEST
FOR BLOCK PARTY ON BROOKS STREET APRIL THREE NEXT AND INDICATED
NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO ATTEND BLOCK PARTY. [REDACTED] ADVISED MADISON
CITY COUNCIL MUST APPROVE ALL REQUESTS FOR BLOCK PARTIES AND WILL
DECIDE WHETHER APPROVED AT NEXT COUNCIL MEETING THREE THIRTY NEXT.

[REDACTED] ADVISED AFRO CENTER LOCATED CORNER OF UNIVERSITY AVENUE
AND BROOKS STREET AND SURMISED AFRO CENTER MAY BE ATTEMPTING TO
END PAGE ONE

1 CC PG 6

EX-103

REC-65

APR 6 1971

30 APR 10 1971

PAGE TWO

SET UP PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM IN ORDER FOR NEWTON TO ADDRESS
CROWD FROM INSIDE AFRO CENTER.

[REDACTED] UW DEPARTMENT OF PROTECTION AND
SECURITY, ADVISED INSTANT DATE NO FURTHER REQUESTS HAVE BEEN
RECEIVED FROM AFRO DASH AMERICAN CENTER IN REGARD NEWTON SPEAKING
ON UW CAMPUS.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CHICAGO AND SAN FRANCISCO CONTACT SOURCES RE REPORTED
VISIT OF NEWTON AND SUTEL.

MI IS FOLLOWING.

END

RSP FBI WASH DC

NR002 MI PLAIN

430PM URGENT 4-3-71 PMM

TO: DIRECTOR

CHICAGO

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: MILWAUKEE (157-1113) 1P

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 3 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. Brennan_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Dalbey_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Walters_____
Mr. Soyars_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SPSC

HUEY P. NEWTON, (RACIAL EXTREMIST) RM DASH BPP.

FBI AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AND PARTY ARRIVE MADISON
WISCONSIN AIRPORT TWELVE FIFTYTHREE P.M. INSTANT DATE AND
MET BY UNIDENTIFIED BLACK MALE. SUBJECT AND PARTY TRAVELED
TO [REDACTED] WHERE
THEY REMAINED UNTIL APPROXIMATELY TWO FORTY P.M. IT IS
BELIEVED SUBJECT AND PARTY VISITED HOME OF [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (UW) AFRO DASH AMERICAN
CENTER. UPON LEAVING ABOVE ADDRESS, SUBJECT AND PARTY
DRIVEN TO JAY'S BAR, HIGHWAY ONE FIVE ONE, ARRIVING AP-
PROXIMATELY THREE ZERO FIVE P.M.

ADMINISTRATIVE: MI IS FOLLOWING.

END

EJF FBI WASH DC

CLR

REC-68

6 APR 7 1971

APR 4 1971

NR016 CG CODE

744PM NITEL 3/26/71 BCK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165 429)
MILWAUKEE (157-1113)
SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

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

CR
AK

b6
b7C

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED MARCH TWENTY FIVE LAST HE HAD DETERMINED PLANS BEING MADE BY [REDACTED] THE AFRO AMERICAN CENTER (AAC) UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WISCONSIN FOR SPEAKING APPEARANCE OF HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER OF BPP IN MADISON, APRIL THREE NEXT. NEWTON'S APPEARANCE SCHEDULED AT EITHER A "CATHOLIC CENTER" NOT SPECIFICALLY IDENTIFIED OR THE AAC WITH LOUD SPEAKERS TO BE SET UP ON THE STREETS. APPEARANCE SCHEDULED FOR TWO P.M. PROVISIONS MADE TO REFUND ALL MONEY COLLECTED FOR THE APPEARANCE IN EVENT NEWTON UNABLE TO FULFILL ENGAGEMENT. SOURCE ADVISED [REDACTED] HAD BEEN ASSURED NEWTON'S APPEARANCE WAS CONFIRMED, HOWEVER, IT WAS SOURCE'S OPINION THAT NEWTON TO DATE HAD NOT MADE A FIRM COMMITMENT REGARDING THE MADISON APPEARANCE.

b6
b7C

END PAGE ONE

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361

INFORMATION
IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-2-81 BY SP2WOB
6-25-82 SP5 G/47

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHICAGO TEL MARCH TWENTY LAST, CAPTIONED BPP - CHICAGO DIVISION - TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP. SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

[REDACTED]
MILWAUKEE AT MADISON. ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE SPECIFIC SITE AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR SCHEDULED APPEARANCE.

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISE MILWAUKEE AND CHICAGO OF ANY KNOWN PLANS CONCERNING NEWTON'S MADISON APPEARANCE.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING AND WILL APPROPRIATELY ADVISE OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AS IT DEVELOPS.

E N D

HOLDD DEB WA DC FBI

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR014 CG CODE

652PM NITEL 3-31-71 EOM/BCK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

MILWAUKEE (157-3113)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) 2P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA. RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST). OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
b7C

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY AFRO-
AMERICAN CENTER, MADISON, WISCONSIN, ADVISED IN CONNECTION
WITH APPEARANCE OF HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER, BLACK
PANTHER PARTY (BPP), IN MADISON APRIL THREE, NEXT, THAT
FOLLOWING ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE:

DOORS TO THE SITE OF SPEECH WILL BE OPEN AT TWELVE
P.M. AND THAT SPEECH OF NEWTON IS SCHEDULED FOR TWO P.M.
SALTER ALSO INDICATED ARRANGEMENTS WERE BEING MADE TO
CHARTER BUSES TO TRANSPORT THOSE ATTENDING FROM DOWNTOWN
MADISON TO SITE OF SPEECH ON INTERSTATE NINETY-FOUR OUTSIDE
OF MADISON.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE, MARCH THIRTY-ONE, INSTANT. APR 6 1971

END PAGE ONE

54 APR 14 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

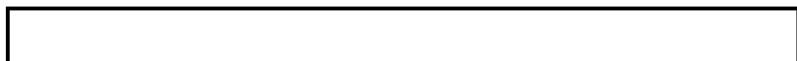
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-18-01 BY DB 200/08

CAF 70 C1384 6-23-89 3150/08

PAGE TWO

SOURCE IS



ABOVE

b2

IS BEING FURNISHED FOR INFO BUREAU AND RECIPIENT OFFICES.

MILWAUKEE ATTEMPT TO VERIFY. CHICAGO FOLLOWING.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 1 1971

TELETYPE

NR015 CG CODE

758 PM 4-1-71 BCK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) -NITEL-
SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) -URGENT-
MILWAUKEE (157-1113) -NITEL-
FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) 1P

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

b6
b7C

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/25/87 BY SP5CJ

SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED APRIL ONE INSTANT NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER, NATIONAL BPP, SCHEDULED TO DEPART SAN FRANCISCO TWELVE TWENTY FIVE AM, APRIL SECOND NEXT, ABOARD UNITED AIRLINE FLIGHT ONE THREE SIX. NEWTON TO ARRIVE CHICAGO SIX TEN AM SAME DATE. SOURCE ALSO ADVISES NEWTON TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED TO DEPART CHICAGO VIA AMERICAN AIRLINE FLIGHT TWO TWO SEVEN, ONE PM, APRIL FOUR, NEXT, ARRIVING SAN FRANCISCO THREE SEVENTEEN PM SAME DATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REMYTEL MARCH THIRTY ONE LAST TO RECIPIENTS. SOURCE IS ☐

b2

CHICAGO FOLLOWING. CHICAGO

WILL KEEP BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED.

E N D

REC-74

6 APR 7 1971

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

55 APR 12 1971

EX-112

105-165429-387

NR 009 SF C O D E

9 47 PM NITEL 2/18/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-3765)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

NEW YORK

SPRINGFIELD

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 18 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5 CJP

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6
b7C

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

THE FRONT PAGE OF THE FEBRUARY TWENTY, SEVENTYONE, EDITION OF "THE BLACK PANTHER" NEWSPAPER, WHICH WAS PRINTED ON FEBRUARY SEVENTEEN LAST, BORE LARGE PHOTOGRAPH OF NEWTON WITH HEADING "HAPPY BIRTHDAY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE."

b6
b7C

PAGE TWO OF THIS EDITION OF THE BPP NEWSPAPER CONTAINS A FULL PAGE ARTICLE CAPTIONED "PIGS THREATEN WELL-BEING OF THE SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE" WHICH POINTED OUT THAT NEWTON WAS RESIDING IN THE APARTMENT BUILDING IN OAKLAND FOR SECURITY REASONS. THE ARTICLE FURTHER STATED THAT NEWTON'S ADDRESS HAD BEEN PUBLICIZED ACROSS THE COUNTRY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ALLOWING "EVERY FOOL, BOUNTY-HUNTER AND PIG IN THE WORLD TO KNOW WHERE HE SLEEPS." THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES WITH THE PARAGRAPH: "BUT, 'FOR THE SALVATION, LIBERATION AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO EITHER KILL OR DIE.' AND TO PRESERVE FOR EVEN A MOMENT THE LIFE OF THE KIND

END OF PAGE ONE

REC-81

EX-112

9 APR 6 1971

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

OF GENIUS WHICH HAS GUIDED OUR PARTY THROUGH THESE PAST YEARS,
WE CERTAINLY WILL NOT HESITATE TO PROVIDE WHATEVER IS NECESSARY."

PAGE SEVENTEEN OF THIS ISSUE OF "THE BLACK PANTHER" CONTAINED
AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT NEWTON WILL SPEAK FOR THE FIRST TIME IN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AT THE COLISEUM, ONE FIVE ONE THREE SOUTH WABASH,
ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY TWENTYONE NEXT, AT TWO P.M. DONATION OF ONE
DOLLAR WILL BE COLLECTED AT THE DOOR. A TELEPHONE NUMBER OF THREE ONE
TWO DASH NINE TWO FOUR DASH SIX FIVE SEVEN FIVE WAS LISTED TO BE
CALLED FOR FURTHER INFORMATION.

SOURCE ADVISED ON FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN INSTANT THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SAID THAT NEWTON WILL BE LEAVING SAN FRANCISCO
ON THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY NINETEEN NEXT EN ROUTE TO NEW YORK CITY
FOR A CONFERENCE WITH [REDACTED] SAID NEWTON
WILL FLY TO CHICAGO FROM NEW YORK CITY ON THE NIGHT OF FEBRUARY
NINETEEN OR THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY TWENTY NEXT.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE TO BUREAU, FEBRUARY EIGHTEEN INSTANT.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK ALERT SOURCES REGARDING NEWTON'S TRAVEL
TO THOSE CITIES.

END OF PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON BEING FOLLOWED CLOSELY BY SAN FRANCISCO.
THE BUREAU AND APPROPRIATE OFFICES WILL BE KEPT ADVISED CONCERNING
NEWTON'S TRAVEL.

REND

HOLD

W. J. GANNON
MAY 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 8 1971

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Bishop_____
Mr. BrennanCD_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Casper_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. Dalbey_____
Mr. Felt_____
Mr. Gale_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Walters_____
Mr. Soyars_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

STUR004 MI PLAIN

710 NITEL 4/5/71 TJL

TO: DIRECTOR
SAN FRANCISCO
CHICAGO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5C/47

FROM: MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA RM-BPP, TREASON (EXTREMIST)

ON AGENTS OBSERVED SUBJECT AND PARTY LEAVE JAY'S BAR,
ROUTE ONE FIFTY ONE, FOUR FORTY PM, AND TRAVEL TO MADISON AIRPORT
WHERE BOARDED NORTH CENTRAL FLIGHT TWO SEVENTY TWO DEPARTING
MADISON FIVE THIRTY PM TO CHICAGO VIA MILWAUKEE, ARRIVING CHICAGO
SIX FORTYFIVE PM.

ADMINISTRATIVE; RE MILWAUKEE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR INSTANT
DATE.

CHICAGO ADVISED TELEPHONICALLY ABOVE INFORMATION.

MILWAUKEE WILL SUBMIT LHM'S.
END.

LRC FBI WASH DC
TKS CLR

EX-114

REC-74

105-1000-389

6 APR 7 1971

100 806
(237)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 2 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR002 CG PLAIN

1245PM URGENT 4-2-71 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) (P) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-25-87 BY SP5C/41

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SAS OF THE FBI OBSERVED THE FOLLOWING APRIL TWO INSTANT:

HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER; [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALL OF NATIONAL BLACK

PANTHER PARTY (BPP) HEADQUARTERS, \ ARRIVED CHICAGO BY AIR

SIX THIRTY FOUR A.M. TODAY FROM SAN FRANCISCO. ABOVE MET BY

[REDACTED] AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES, ILLINOIS CHAPTER,

BPP, CHICAGO.

NEWTON AND PARTY STAYING WATER TOWER INN, EIGHT HUNDRED
NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO, ROOMS ONE SIX ONE ZERO AND
ONE SIX ONE TWO. HOLD RESERVATIONS FOR TWO NIGHTS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-114 REC-74

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL APRIL TWO INSTANT CAPTIONED "TRAVEL OF

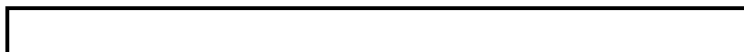
END PAGE ONE

6 APR 7 1971

57 APR 13 1971
FBI

PAGE TWO

LEADERSHIP, RM-BPP." SAS



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b7c

OBSERVING AGENTS. CHICAGO FOLLOWS CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP BUREAU
AND INTERESTED OFFICES APPROPRIATELY ADVISED.

END

JTJ FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 1 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR003 MI CODE

900PM NITEL 4/1/71 LRK

TO DIRECTOR 105-165429

CHICAGO 157-3765

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203

FROM MILWAUKEE 157-1113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-89 BY SP0C-
484

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).
OO SAN FRANCISCO.

A RELIABLE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT DATE
AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER AGREED TO PAY BPP TWENTY FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS
PLUS THREE HUNDRED SEVENTYFIVE DOLLARS EXPENSES FOR NEWTON'S
APPEARANCE. IN ADDITION, THEY ARE PAYING TWO HUNDRED FIFTY
DOLLARS RENTAL FOR J'S BAR.

INSTANT DATE ISSUE OF "WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL," MADISON,
WIS. DAILY NEWSPAPER, REPORTED BENNY FICK, MANAGER, J'S BAR,
FORMERLY D.J.'S BAR, SAID WEDNESDAY HE REACHED TENTATIVE
AGREEMENT WITH UNIVERSITY OF WIS. AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER TO RENT
HIS BAR FOR SPEECH BY HUEY P. NEWTON, APRIL THREE NEXT. FICK
STATED SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE HANDLED BY BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(BPP). TWO THOUSAND PERSONS ARE EXPECTED AND LOUD SPEAKERS WILL BE
INSTALLED IN PARKING LOT TO HANDLE ANY OVERFLOW.

END PG ONE

51 APR 12 1971

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b7C

1cc 806

APR 83 105-165429-398

PG TWO

SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED ON THE AREA OF J'S BAR INSTANT DATE AND DETERMINED SURVEILLANCE NOT FEASIBLE AS J'S BAR IS CONVERTED BARN WITH ASSORTED BUILDINGS LOCATED FIFTY YARDS OFF HIGHWAY ONE FIFTYONE, A FOUR LANE HIGHWAY. NO OTHER BUILDINGS IN GENERAL AREA WHICH MAY BE USED FOR SURVEILLANCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE: RE MILWAUKEE TEL TO BUREAU, MARCH THIRTYONE LAST.

INASMUCH AS ^{PP}B~~OO~~ IS CONDUCTING SEARCH OF THOSE ATTENDING NEWTON'S SPEECH, MILWAUKEE DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE USE OF CONCEALED RECORDING DEVICES AND WILL COVER SPEECH THROUGH LIVE SOURCES.

MILWAUKEE IS NOT CONTACTING [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LAW

b6
b7C

ENFORCEMENT BY DANE COUNTY SO, MADISON, IN RETEL.

END

ACK FOR UR NR'S 003 AND 004

GMV WASH DC FBI AND HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 26 1971

TELETYPE

NR016 NH PLAIN

4:12PM NITEL 3/25/71 LF SENT 3/26/71

TO: DIRECTOR SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031)

LOS ANGELES

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

HUEY P. NEWTON, RACIAL MATTERS-BPP

DATE 6-25-87 BY SP3

NEWTON APPEARED AT CONNECTICUT STATE COURT AT TEN A.M.

THIS DATE TO OBSERVE SUPPRESSION HEARING IN SEALE-HUGGINS CASE.

AFTER HAVING LUNCH, HE WAS DRIVEN TO HOME OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHO RESIDES AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEW HAVEN. NEWTON REMAINED THERE UNTIL FOUR THIRTY P.M.

WHEN HE WAS PICKED UP BY THREE NEGRO MALES IN THE VOLKSWAGON BUS

HE HAS BEEN TRAVELING IN, BEARING CALIFORNIA LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE BUS PROCEEDED TO THE VICINITY OF THE COURT HOUSE

WHERE ATTORNEYS CHARLES GARRY AND [REDACTED] WERE PICKED UP.

AFTER A BRIEF STOP AT BPP HEADQUARTERS, THE VOLKSWAGON BUS TRAVELED

TO ROUTE NINETY FIVE, AND PROCEEDED TO MONTVILLE PRISON WHERE

BOBBY SEALE IS INCARCERATED. THEY ARRIVED AT SIX PM. A PRISON

OFFICIAL ADVISED THAT GARRY, [REDACTED] AND NEWTON WERE GRANTED A

THREE HOUR CONFERENCE WITH SEALE. THOSE SIGNING IN AT THE PRISON

END PAGE ONE

55 APR 12 1971

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b6
b7C

105-115427-393

NH(157-1031)

PAGE TWO

WERE NEWTON, [REDACTED] GARRY, JOHN SEALE, [REDACTED]
AND [REDACTED] THEY REMAINED AT THE PRISON UNTIL NINE P.M. AND
RETURNED TO NEW HAVEN.

THEY DROVE DIRECTLY TO [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] NEW HAVEN WHERE NEWTON APPEARS TO BE STAYING THE NIGHT.
CHARLES GARRY WAS DRIVEN TO HIS SUITE AT YALE LAW SCHOOL AT
APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN FIFTY P.M. AND [REDACTED] WAS DRIVEN
TO BPP HEADQUARTERS IN NEW HAVEN AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME.

COVERAGE ON NEWTON CONTINUING.

ALL THE ABOVE TRAVEL WAS OBSERVED BU BUAGENTS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

LEAD: SAN FRANCISCO. IF KNOWN, WILL SUPPLY BACKGROUND OF

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
RE NEW HAVEN TELETYPE TO BUREAU THREE TWENTYFOUR SEVENTY
ONE.

END

REC 5:

4REM FBI WASH DC CLR

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

b6
b7C

NR013 MI PLAIN
704PM NITEL 3/3171 LRK
TO DIRECTOR 105-165429
CICAGO 157-3765
SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203
FROM MILWAUKEE 157-1113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-88 BY SP5C

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP (TREASON - KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST) OO SAN FRANCISCO

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED INSTANT DATE, UNIVERSITY OF
WISCONSIN (UW) AFRO AMERICAN CENTER HAS MADE TENTATIVE
ARRANGEMENTS FOR HUEY NEWTON TO SPEAK AT DEE JAY'S BEER
TAVERN ON ROUTE ONE FIVE ONE, APRIL THREE, SEVENTY ONE.
PLANS INCLUDE BUSSING ARRANGEMENTS FROM UW AFRO AMERICAN
CENTER FOR THOSE ATTENDING SPEECH.

[REDACTED] DANE CO SO, ADVISED INSTANT
DATE DEE JAY'S TAVERN IS LOCATED HIGHWAY ONE FIVE ONE IN
TOWN OF BURKE JUST OUTSIDE MADISON CITY LIMITS. HE ADVISED
TAVERN HAS CAPACITY FOR THREE HUNDRED TO FIVE HUNDRED PERSON
AND [REDACTED] IN THE PAST HAS BEEN
UNCOOPERATIVE WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT.

b6
b7C

LOCATION OF DEE JAY'S IS CLOSE PROXIMITY TO LOCATION

APR 7 1971

END PGONE

54 APR 14 1971

PG TWO

REPORTED IN RE CHICAGO TEL.

MILWAUKEE WILL CONDUCT SURVEY VICINITY DEE JAY'S TAVERN
TO DETERMINE FEASIBILITY SURVEILLANCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE: RE CHICAGO TEL TO BUREAU INSTANT DATE.

END

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 31 1971

TELETYPE

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

NR006 CG CODED

126PM URGENT 3-31-71 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-1-81 BY 03270/afg
CAH 70 C1587

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK

EXTREMIST). OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

b6
b7C

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED MARCH THIRTY LAST SHE LEARNED

[REDACTED] AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

(UW), MADISON, HAD ADVISED [REDACTED] OF THE ILL. CHAPTER,

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHICAGO, HE HAD OBTAINED A SITE

FOR APPEARANCE IN MADISON APRIL THREE NEXT FOR HUEY P.

NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER, BPP. [REDACTED] INDICATED

THE SITE RESEMBLED A NIGHT CLUB, WAS TEN MINUTES FROM

THE MADISON AIRPORT, AND WAS LOCATED ON HIGHWAY NINETY

FOUR. IT WAS INDICATED THE SITE WAS PRIVATELY OWNED,

SEATED THREE THOUSAND, AND WAS OPERATED BY A WHITE "SEMI-

RADICAL" INDIVIDUAL. THE SITE REPORTEDLY IS ONE-HALF MILE

FROM HEADQUARTERS OF WISCONSIN STATE PATROL.

END PAGE ONE

6 APR 7 1971

00 to 130, 101, 55, 4-1-71
NAME, page 10 p. 5
has been stamped Confidential

105-145-7 395
12A806

PAGE TWO

SOURCE ADDED THAT SUBSEQUENTLY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REPORTEDLY REQUESTED INFO FROM ILLINOIS CHAPTER AS TO WHERE NEWTON AND [REDACTED] BPP, WOULD BE STAYING IN CHICAGO. SHE REQUESTED A COMPLETE SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR NEWTON AND [REDACTED] AND, SPECIFICALLY, STATING THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS WOULD BE ARRIVING CHICAGO NIGHT OF APRIL ONE NEXT. HARRIS WAS ADVISED SPECIFIC DETAILS HAD NOT BEEN WORKED OUT RE ABOVE VISIT BUT THAT NEWTON AND [REDACTED] WOULD BE PROVIDED SECURE AND SAFE PLACE TO STAY IN CHICAGO.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHICAGO AND MILWAUKEE TELS MARCH TWO NINE LAST. SOURCE IS [REDACTED] MILWAUKEE AT MADISON DETERMINE SPECIFIC SITE OF NEWTON'S SCHEDULED APPEARANCE AND APPROPRIATELY HANDLE. SAN FRANCISCO DETERMINE SPECIFIC TRAVEL PLANS NEWTON AND [REDACTED] TO CHICAGO. CHICAGO FOLLOWS AND WILL ADVISE PERTINENT DETAILS AS DEVELOPED. MILWAUKEE REFERRED TO BUAIRTEL NOVEMBER FIVE LAST CAPTIONED, "USES OF CONCEALED RECORDING DEVICES IN COVERING BLACK EXTREMISTS."

b2
b6
b7C

END

HOLD FOR ONE MORE

b6
b7C

(C) ROOM 724 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 3 1971

TELETYPE

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

NR 009 CG PLAIN

10:05 PM 04-03-71 URGENT DJB

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: DID)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP, AKA; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SAS OF THE FBI OBSERVED HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER;

[REDACTED]
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) ARRIVE O'HARE AIRPORT, SIX FORTY
FIVE PM, INSTANT, NORTH CENTRAL AIRLINES (NCA), FLIGHT TWO
SEVEN TWO FROM MADISON, WISCONSIN. ABOVE PERSONS ACCOMPANIED

BY [REDACTED] MEMBERS, ILLINOIS
CHAPTER, BPP, CHICAGO.

NEWTON AND GROUP MET AT AIRPORT BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ILLINOIS CHAPTER, BPP AT WHICH TIME ENTIRE
GROUP PROCEEDED TO AIRPORT RESTAURANT FOR COCKTAILS.

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-1-81 BY SP-2

6-25-89 SP5 TAP/EW

53 APR 15 1971

PAGE TWO

SAS OBSERVED NEWTON, [REDACTED] DEPART O'HARE
AIRPORT FOR SAN FRANCISCO, UNITED AIRLINES, FLIGHT ONE THREE
FIVE DEPARTING O'HARE EIGHT FIFTYFIVE PM ARRIVING SAN FRAN-
CISCO ELEVEN TWENTY PACIFIC TIME. FLIGHT RESERVATIONS IN
NAME OF NEWTON, [REDACTED]
ADMINISTRATIVE.....

b6
b7C

RECGTEL INSTANT DATE. AGENTS OBSERVING NEWTON AND OTHERS
WERE [REDACTED]

SAN FRANCISCO HANDLE PER BUREAU RULES RE KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST.
END
EJF FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 3 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CD ✓
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____
DIVISION

NR 001 CG PLAIN

146PM URGENT 4-3-71 JMD

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN.: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE)
MILWAUKEE (157-1113)
SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

DATE 5-1-81 BY SP-2

6-25-87 SP5C/KAP

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP, AKA; TREASON (KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST). OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SAS OF THE FBI OBSERVED HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER;

[REDACTED]
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), DEPART CHICAGO, NORTH CENTRAL AIR-
LINES (NCA) FLIGHT ONE ONE ONE, ARRIVING MADISON, WISCONSIN,
TWELVE FIFTY EIGHT P.M., INSTANT. ABOVE PERSONS ACCOMPANIED
BY [REDACTED] MEMBERS, ILLINOIS
CHAPTER, BPP, CG. ABOVE INDIVIDUALS HOLD RETURN RESERVATIONS
FROM MADISON ON NCA FLIGHT FIVE SEVEN TWO LEAVING MADISON
FIVE THIRTY P.M., ARRIVING CG SIX FORTY FIVE P.M., INSTANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-114

REC-76

105-165429-397

RECGTEL APRIL TWO, LAST. OBSERVING WERE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MILWAUKEE AT MADISON, APPROPRIATELY

HANDLE AND ADVISE IF ABOVE INDIVIDUALS RETURN AS SCHEDULED.

END

58 APR 15 1971 806

6 APR 9 1971

MKA FBI WASH DC

361

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 2 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan CS
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper DA
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR021 CC CODE

743PM NITEL 4-2-71 BCK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA. RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).
OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME
COMMANDER; [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), REMAINED GREATER PART OF DAY
AT THEIR ACCOMMODATIONS AT WATER TOWER INN, CHICAGO. NEWTON PAR-
TICIPATED IN TAPED TELEVISION INTERVIEW WEC STUDIOS, CHICAGO,
SCHEDULED TO BE SHOWN SUBSEQUENT UNKNOWN DATE ON "KUP'S SHOW," A
TELEVISION TALK PROGRAM MODERATED BY IRV KUPCINET, CHICAGO TELEVISION
AND NEWSPAPER PERSONALITY. NEWTON RETURNED TO WATER TOWER INN FOR
VARIOUS APPOINTMENTS DURING EVENING OF APRIL TWO, INSTANT. NEWTON
SCHEDULED TO APPEAR ON RADIO STATION WVOX TALK SHOW "HOT LINE," MOD-
ERATED BY WES SOUTH, LOCAL RADIO PERSONALITY, FROM TEN TO TWELVE PM
TONIGHT.

END PAGE ONE

REC-68

398

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-1-81 BY SP-2 JAP/ew

53 APR 16 1971

1cc 806

361

JP5W/6PT 6-25-87

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE, INSTANT.

SOURCE IS

ACTIV-

b2

ITIES NEWTON ALSO COVERED BY ~~FISUR~~ BUAGENTS. ARRANGEMENTS MADE
TO TAPE ABOVE SHOWS. CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WILL KEEP THE
BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES ADVISED.

E H D

AJP FBI WASH DC

ACK ER. 019 & 020 & 021.

TKS CUL

F B I

Date: 4/5/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

(OO: San Francisco)

Re Chicago teletypes, 4/3/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM concerning a visit by HUEY P. NEWTON to Chicago on 4/2&3/71. Three copies of the said LHM are enclosed for Milwaukee and six copies are enclosed for San Francisco.

The source utilized in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] a highly sensitive and confidential source. The LHM is being classified CONFIDENTIAL as information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

The observing Agents referred to in the enclosed LHM are as follows:

4/2/71

SAs [redacted] and

4/3/71

SAs [redacted]

AGENCY: ~~ASST. DIR. OFF.~~ SEC. SERV.,DEPT: ~~ISD, CIB, RAO, IDIU, SS~~HOW FORW: RTSDATE FORW: APR 13 1971BY: JLA/jao

ENCLOSURE

② - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)

(copies continued on page 2)

REC-81

EX-112

12 APR

Approved: W B / B70 APR 16 1971
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

50 O - 346-090 (11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-1-81 BY SP-2
6-23-82 SP-5 TAP/ew





b2

b6
b7C

399

CG 157-3765

(copies continued from page one)

- 3 - Milwaukee (157-1113) (Encls. 3) (RM)
1 - 157-600 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
- 6 - San Francisco (157-1203) (Encls. 6) (RM)
1 - 157-1904 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHICAGO DIVISION)
1 - 
1 - 
1 - 157-1969 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY - TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP)
- 11 - Chicago b6
b7c
1 - 157-1291-Sub J
1 - 157-1291 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
1 - 
1 - 
1 - 157-4765 (TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP)

CES:nss
(23)

NEWTON's appearance on "Hot Line" over radio station WVON was taped and will be appropriately handled when processed.

NEWTON's appearance on "Kup's Show" will be taped when it is shown and appropriately handled.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-3765

Chicago, Illinois
April 5, 1971

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *[Signature]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DATE 5-4-81 On April 2, 1971, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Huey Percy Newton, [redacted] arrive at O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, Illinois, on United Air Lines flight 136 from San Francisco, California at 6:38 a.m.

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During March of 1971, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Newton is Supreme Commander, [redacted] the Black Panther Party (BPP) from Oakland, California.

A characterization of the BPP is attached herewith in the appendix section of this communication.

On April 2, 1971, Special Agents of the FBI observed Newton and his party being met at O'Hare International Airport by [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, Chicago. The party proceeded by automobile from O'Hare International Airport to the Water Tower Hotel, 800 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2 TAP/ew
ON 5-1-81
SP5C/LPT 6-25-87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1
Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification~~

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

105-10371-399

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

CONFIDENTIAL

On April 2, 1971, [redacted] Water Tower Hotel, advised that Newton, [redacted] [redacted] registered in rooms 1610 and 1612 at that hotel, the reservations having been made by [redacted]

b6
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The source has advised on numerous occasions during the first part of 1971 that [redacted] [redacted] who has exhibited extreme friendship and cooperated on numerous occasions with leaders of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP.

The source advised on April 2, 1971, that Newton participated in the taping of an interview at NBC studios, Chicago, to be televised on a subsequent unknown date on "Kup's Show," a television talk program moderated by Irving Kupcinet, a Chicago television and newspaper personality. This source advised that the above taped interview was the only public appearance of Newton or his party in Chicago. He did participate briefly in a WVON radio talk show known as "Hot Line," moderated by Wes South, Chicago radio personality, at approximately 11:00 p.m. on April 2, 1971. This participation was confined to a radio hookup with Newton in his room at the Water Tower Hotel.

On April 3, 1971. Special Agents of the FBI observed Newton, [redacted] along with several unknown black males and a female depart from the Water Tower Hotel en route to O'Hare Field, Chicago, at 11:20 a.m. Other Special Agents of the FBI observed Newton, [redacted] [redacted] along with [redacted] and [redacted] all members of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, depart O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, via North Central Airlines flight 111 at 12:20 p.m. en route to Madison, Wisconsin.

b6
b7C

The source advised on April 2 and 3, 1971 that Newton was scheduled to make a speech in Madison, Wisconsin at 2:00 p.m. on April 3, 1971.

Special Agents of the FBI observed Newton, [redacted] [redacted] arrive at O'Hare International

CONFIDENTIAL

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airport at 6:45 p.m., April 3, 1971, from Madison, Wisconsin. They were met by [redacted] The entire party remained at O'Hare International Airport dining at the Seven Continents Restaurant. At 8:55 p.m., Newton, [redacted] [redacted] departed on United Air Lines flight 135 en route to San Francisco, California.

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 11 1971

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

NR004 MI PLAIN

948PM NITEL 4/7/71 LRK

TO DIRECTOR 100-165429

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203

CHICAGO 157-3765

FROM MILWAUKEE 157-1113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5CJ/GH

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP (TREASON) (KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST). OO SAN FRANCISCO.

A SOURCE RELIABLE IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY DURING HIS SPEECH AT MADISON WIS., FOUR THREE LAST ANNOUNCED THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO SPLIT IN THE BPP AND THAT ONLY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND THE NEW YORK CHAPTER OF THE BPP HAVE DEFECTED FROM NEWTON'S LEADERSHIP. NEWTON STATED THAT CLEAVER'S ADHERENCE TO VIOLENT REVOLUTION NOT CONSISTENT WITH NEWTON'S BELIEF THAT DEEPER RAPPORT WITH COMMUNITY NECESSARY BEFORE REVOLUTION POSSIBLE.

ADMINISTRATIVE. TRE TEL TO BUREAU, APRIL THREE LAST. INASMUCH AS CONTENT OF SPEECH INDICATE POSSIBLE CHANGE IN BPP PHILOSOPHY, MILWAUKEE IS ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN TAPE OF NEWTON'S SPEECH THROUGH SOURCE AT UNIVERSITY OF WIS. AFRO-AMERICAN CENTER, WHO RECORDED NEWTON'S SPEECH. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

WJM FBI WA

105-165429-400

1cc 806

ENCLOSURE

6 APR 13 1971

361
"cc to [unclear]
Adm. data deleted"
APR 11 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 14 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 018 SF CODE

6 24 PM NITEL 4/14/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

BOSTON

NEW YORK

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 3P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP: TREASON (KBE).

RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTED THAT ON APRIL TWELVE LAST,
HUEY NEWTON ASKED [REDACTED] WHAT HE THOUGHT
ABOUT THE PURCHASE OF A LARGE COMPLEX BUILDING WHICH HOUSES
THREE RESTAURANTS ON A PARCEL OF LAND ABOUT ONE ACRE IN SIZE
THAT IS WORTH ABOUT FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. THE LOCATION
WAS NOT MENTIONED BUT [REDACTED] COMMENTED "IT WOULD BE HIGH UP
ON A MOUNTAIN" AND INDICATED IT IS PROBABLY IN THE OAKLAND,
CALIFORNIA, AREA. THEY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF BUILDING
A FORTYFIVE THOUSAND DOLLAR HOUSE ON THE LOT AND THEN SELLING
END PAGE ONE

REC- 79

401
11 APR 20 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/82 BY SP5 njg/rp
Comp. # 81,168
6-25-82 SP5 a/c/x

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

IT FOR SIXTY OR SEVENTY THOSAND DOLLARS. [] IT IS HIS OPINION THAT HUEY SHOULD BUY THE LOT SINCE HE ONLY NEEDS TO PAY TEN PERCENT DOWN AND THAT THE COST WOULD ALSO BE A TAX WRITE OFF, TO WHICH HUEY REMARKED "I DON'T PAY NO TAXES".

b6
b7C

HUEY ALSO STATED THAT HE HAS TO FIND A RICH WOMAN TO MARRY AND [] TOLD HIM TO MARRY [] AS SHE HAS A LOT OF MONEY. [] ASKED ABOUT STRONGHOLD (STRONGHOLD CONSOLIDATED PRODUCTIONS, INC.) (SCPI), TO WHICH HUEY REPLIED THAT STRONGHOLD IS A ONE MAN CORPORATION AND THAT [] [] STRONGHOLD. HUEY CONTINUED THAT [] [] THE CORPORATION BUT THE HE (HUEY) IS THE LONE STOCKHOLDER AND THAT [] UNDERSTAND?" HUEY CONTINUED THAT STRONGHOLD IS A TAX FREE CORPORATION WHICH IS LEGAL AND THE MONEY GOES TO FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAMS.

b6
b7C

HUEY TOLD [] HE WOULD TRY TO GET TWENTYFIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS FROM WELL^S FARGO BANK ON APRIL THIRTEEN SEVENTYONE,
9
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

AND WOULD THEN CONTACT [REDACTED] TO FURTHER DISCUSS THE BUYING
OF THE PROPERTY.

b6
b7c

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

SAN FRANCISCO WILL CLOSELY FOLLOW ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON
AND WILL IMMEDIATELY ADVISE THE BUREAU IF IT IS DETERMINED
THAT NEWTON OR STRONGHOLD PURCHASES AN PROPERTY.

END...

ACK YOUR MESSG NUMBERS 007 010 003 018

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4/12/71

Attached indicates Black Panther Party (BPP) Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton desires contact with Ronald V. Dellums, Negro (Democrat) Berkeley, California, who was elected U. S. Representative 11/3/70.

Dellums has been active in various Black Conference Activities in California since 1965 and has supported BPP.

No indication he has ever been BPP member.

No dissemination being made at this time in view of sensitive source involved.

RNB:drl

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5 ajt

FBI

Date: 4/7/71

b6
b7CTransmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L A I R M A I L
(Priority)

Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

b6
b7C

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE)
OO - San FranciscoALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP7

On 4/6/71, HUEY NEWTON, Supreme Commander of the BPP, instructed his secretary to contact the office of Congressman RONALD VERNIE DELLUMS and requested an appointment for NEWTON to meet with DELLUMS on the Congressman's next trip to California in mid-April.

DELLUMS, a black former Berkeley City Councilman, now represents the 7th Congressional District from California (Alameda County).

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (RM)

1 - [redacted]

2 - San Francisco

1 - [redacted]

LSB/jr
(5)

REC-41

105-165429-402

APR 8 1971

EX-105

APR 8 1971
BcApproved: [signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-19649



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 1, 1971

FBI LIAISON:

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

RE: NEWTON, HUEY PERCY

DATE OF BIRTH: February 17, 1942
PLACE OF BIRTH: Oak Grove, Louisiana USA
RESIDENCE: 881 - 47th Street
Oakland, California 94608
BUREAU FILE NUMBER: 105-165429 ✓
WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE: Unknown
PASSPORT NUMBER: B 336635
DATE OF ISSUE: March 2, 1971
PLACE OF ISSUE: San Francisco, Calif
SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER: 566-56-4375

b6
b7C

PROPOSED TRAVEL PLANS

DATE OF DEPARTURE:
PURPOSE OF TRIP: Business
LENGTH OF STAY: about 4 weeks
MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION: Air 105-165429-
COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED: Europe and Africa

NOT RECORDED

9 APR 22 1971

PASSPORT OFFICE

b6
b7C

PT/L-25
5-70

100 806
APR 26 1971
F-235

5-FILE 105-165429

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD _____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 009 SF CODE

9:03PM NITEL 4/16/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP-5 JG

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED APRIL FIFTEEN LAST, THAT NEWTON

[REDACTED] WOULD PROBABLY GO TO
SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIFORNIA, ON APRIL SIXTEEN INSTANT. NEWTON
STATED TRIP WAS STRICTLY FOR VACATION AND THEY WOULD STAY FOR
TWO DAYS. NEWTON STATED THEY WOULD SEE THE COUNTRYSIDE
IN THAT AREA AND WOULD POSSIBLY STAY AT THE MADONNA (PHONETIC)
INN LOCATED APPROXIMATELY ONE-HALF MILE FROM THE PRISON.
NEWTON INDICATED THEY WOULD TRAVEL IN [REDACTED] PERSONAL
AUTOMOBILE BUT GAVE NO DESCRIPTION OF SAME.

ON APRIL SIXTEEN INSTANT, SOURCE REPORTED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND JOHN SEALE, NEWTON'S BODYGUARD,
WOULD POSSIBLY ACCOMPANY NEWTON

END PAGE ONE

61 APR 23 1971

REC-7 105-165429-403

8 APR 20 1971

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b7C

b6
b7C

PAGE TWO

SF 1571203

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED ON APRIL SIXTEEN INSTANT, THAT
NEWTON LEFT HIS APARTMENT AT ELEVEN A.M., THIS DATE, AND
INDICATED HE WOULD BE GONE FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS. NO INFORMATION
WAS GIVEN AS TO WHERE HE WAS GOING, BUT INDICATED HE WOULD BE
TRAVELLING WITH [REDACTED]
JOHN SEALE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTELCAL TO LOS ANGELES APRIL SIXTEEN INSTANT.

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES ALERT SOURCES IN SAN LUIS OBISPO AREA
OF NEWTON AND [REDACTED] POSSIBLE TRAVEL TO THAT AREA.
END...

TBC FBI WDC

b2
b6
b7C

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

4-12-71

Date

Attached relates that the hearing for setting the retrial date of Huey P. Newton on a charge of manslaughter, has been continued until 5-10-71 because Huey Newton's attorney, Charles Garry, is presently tied up with the trial of Bobby Seale in New Haven, Connecticut. The Judge stated the hearing will be continued from week to week until the Seale case is completed, if it has not been completed by 5-10-71.

Copy of attached sent Inter-Division Information Unit and Internal Security Division of the Department.

ABK:lrs

C/S

GC7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5 GJ/PA

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Dalbey	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

NR 020 SF PLAIN

6:32PM 4-12-71 NITEL MXG

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

also known as
HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM-BPP; TREASON. (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).
Racial Matter-Black Panther Party

ON MORNING OF APRIL TWELVE INSTANT, NEWTON APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, DEPARTMENT FIVE, OAKLAND, CALIF., BEFORE JUDGE HAROL B. HOVE, FOR SETTING DATE FOR RE-TRIAL FOR MANSLAUGHTER. JUDGE HOVE CONTINUED THE HEARING TO MAY TEN NEXT AND STATED IF NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES GARRY, IS STILL TIED UP WITH BOBBY SEAL'S TRIAL IN NEW HAVEN, CONN., AT THAT TIME HEARING WILL BE CONTINUED FROM WEEK TO WEEK UNTIL THE SEALE CASE IS COMPLETED. JUDGE HOVE FURTHER COMMENTED NOTHING ELSE IS GOING TO INTERFERE WITH NEWTON'S CASE COMING TO TRIAL AS SOON AS THE SEALE TRIAL IS OVER.

APPROXIMATELY THIRTY BPP MEMBERS FROM OAKLAND AREA WERE IN THE COURT ROOM AT TIME OF NEWTON'S APPEARANCE, BUT NO INCIDENTS OCCURRED.

END

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-82 BY SP5CJ/gpt

b6
b7C

REC- 66

105-165429-404

"cc to IDIU, ISD
Adm. data & notes"

APR 13 1971

7.54
JUL 11 1971

FBI

Date: 4/16/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIR TEL
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-25-88 BY SP5/STP
DN/STP

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (157-2633) (P)

RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Aka.
RM - BPP
TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 3/31/71
captioned as above, and Chicago Airtel to Bureau, 4/6/71
captioned "Black Panther Party, Chicago Division;
RM - BPP."

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an
LHM captioned and dated as above. Also enclosed are two
copies of FD-376.

Copies of LHM are being disseminated to the Secret
Service, Cleveland, Ohio, and to each of the receiving offices.

Confidential source referred to in enclosed LHM
is [redacted]

Enclosed LHM is being classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to
protect the above-listed source.

It is also noted that [redacted] probably will be
one of the Cleveland body guards assigned to watch HUEY
NEWTON on April 24, 1971 during his appearance at Cuyahoga
Community College.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Chicago (157-3765) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Miami (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-1209) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Cleveland

JJC/bmd
(10)

AGENCY: ~~ACEL, NIS, OSI, SEC, SERV.,~~
DEPT: ~~ISD, CDD, PRO, IDIU, OR~~

HOW FORW: RLSDATE FORW: 4/23/71BY: JJC

Sent

M

Per

51 MAY 3 1971

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7Cb2
b6
b7C
b7Db6
b7C

CV 157-2633

It is noted that though two introductory speakers will appear with NEWTON, there is no indication at this time that [REDACTED] the Chicago Black Panther Party will be one of those individuals.

b6
b7c

Cleveland will follow and report appropriate activities.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

April 16, 1971

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5 w
ON 6-25-87 JP

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☐ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☒ may be available through Oakland, California Police Department

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (2)
U. S. Secret Service, **Cleveland**

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cleveland, Ohio

April 16, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SASW
ON 6-8-87 PL

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Also
Known As.

On April 15, 1971, a confidential source who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that arrangements have been made for HUEY P. NEWTON to speak at Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio on April 24, 1971 at 8:00 PM. The speech is being sponsored by the Black Liberation (BLF), a local black extremist student organization at Cuyahoga Community College, and all arrangements will be handled through the Black Affairs Department of the college. Accommodations for 3,000 persons have been requested.

According to this source, the BLF will cover the cost of the speaker and the college will provide a location. Advance tickets are presently on sale for \$1.50 and admission at the door will cost \$2.50 per individual.

This source further advised that security will be handled primarily by the Black Panthers, and they have agreed not to frisk anyone at the entrance, but will be allowed to use a metal detector to search all that come into the auditorium.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is contained in the Appendix Section.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-165421-405
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON,
Also Known As.

Campus security will provide guards at the entrance, exits and outside of the building.

This same source added that the program will also provide for two introductory speakers and a men and womens' dance team.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 22 1971

157
TELETYPE

NR 007 CV PLAIN

5:10 PMPM URGENT 4/21/71 CLP

TO BUREAU

ATTN: DID

SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *6-25-87* BY *SP5*

b6
b7C

FROM CLEVELAND (157-2633") 3P

0
HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA; RM -BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK
EXTREMIST).

ON THIS DATE, [REDACTED] THE CLEVELAND
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) CHAPTER, CLEVELAND, OHIO, FURNISHED
LITERATURE TO SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI INDICATING THAT
HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, FOR THE BPP, WILL
SPEAK AT RADIO STATION WHK AUDITORIUM, FIVE THOUSAND EUCLID, ON SUNDAY
APRIL TWENTYFIVE NINETEEN SEVENTY ONE AT FOUR PM.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] CLEVELAND, OHIO
POLICE DEPARTMENT, HEADQUARTERS INTELLIGENCE UNIT, ADVISED
THAT CHARLES FAISON, LEADER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF THE
BPP, ARRANGED FOR THE RENTAL OF THE WHK AUDITORIUM FROM
TWO THIRTY TO EIGHT PM FOR APRIL TWENTYFIVE NEXT. THE
PURPOSE FOR THIS RENTAL WAS NOT MADE KNOWN TO WHK AUTHORITIES.

END PAGE ON

1cc 204
"cc to IDIU, ISD, SS
Adm. data deleted"
Classified Confidential

REC-29

APR 28 1971

APR 27 1971

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-17506

Rec 62
157-17506
1971

PAGE TWO

THEY WERE LEFT WITH THE NAME OF [REDACTED] TELEPHONE
NUMBER [REDACTED] AS A PERSON
TO CONTACT FOR ANY FURTHER INFORMATION. [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF THE BPP ACCORDING
TO THE RENTAL AGREEMENT.

A SOURCE, WHO FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE
PAST, ADVISED THAT APPARENTLY, DUE TO THE FACT THAT
CUYAHOGA COMMUNITY COLLEGE WOULD NOT ALLOW THE BPP SECURITY
GUARD TO CONDUCT PERSONAL SEARCHES OF PEOPLE ATTENDING
NEWTON'S PROPOSED SPEECH ON APRIL TWENTY ONE LAST AND THE
REQUIREMENTS BY THE COLLEGE THAT THE BLACK LIBERATION FRONT
AN ON CAMPUS BLACK EXTREMIST ORGANIZATION, SHOW THAT THEY
ARE FINANCIALLY ABLE TO PAY NEWTON'S EXPENSES PRIOR TO THE
ISSUANCE OF THE PERMIT FOR THEM TO USE THE AUDITORIUM,
CAUSED THE LOCAL BPP CHAPTER TO CHANGE THE SPEECH DATE AND
SITE TO THE WHK AUDITORIUM.

ADMINISTRATION - SOURCE IS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

CLEVELAND IS ARRANGING FOR TAPING OF NEWTON'S SPEECH
AND WILL HAVE INFORMANT COVERAGE.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SAN FRANCISCO REQUESTED TO ADVISE CLEVELAND OF ANY
INFORMATION CONCERNING NEWTON'S TRAVEL PLANS OR CHANGE
THEREOF.

P

END

DRL FBI WASH DC

CLR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 23 1971

DCW
TELETYPE

NR 019 LA CODE

7:22 PM NITEL 4-23-71 TDH

TO DIRECTOR (105-163429)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 6217 6 59:40

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-5552) IP

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

b6
b7C

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, RM - BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED ON APRIL TWENTY TWO, LAST,
SUBJECT TO BE IN REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA, APRIL TWENTY SEVEN,
NEXT. SOURCE UNABLE TO FURNISH FURTHER DETAILS.

ADM IN IST RATIVE.....

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5CJ/ST

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO ADVISE IF FURTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE.

b6
b7C

LA WILL FOLLOW.

END

REC-110

105-105-407
7 APR 27 1971

70
MAY 10 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 009 SF CODE

MAR 30 1971

7:24PM NITEL 3/30/71 JAK

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-3765)

CLEVELAND

MIAMI

MILWAUKEE (157-1113)

NEW YORK

WASH FIELD

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (3P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP-5

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON. (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

RELIABLE SOURCE FURNISHED FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON MARCH
TWENTYNINE LAST CONCERNING POSSIBLE PERSONAL APPEARANCES BY
NEWTON DURING APRIL, NINETEEN SEVENTYONE:

NEWTON WILL GO TO CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, ON APRIL TWO OR APRIL THREE
NEXT FOR AN APPEARANCE, BUT NO OTHER DETAILS KNOWN.

[REDACTED] NCCF, CLEVELAND, OHIO, CONTACTED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AT BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, AND

ASKED IF APRIL TWENTYTHREE IS CLEARED YET FOR NEWTON TO SPEAK IN
CLEVELAND. [REDACTED] HE HAS THE CONTRACTS SIGNED AND READY TO

11 APR 30 1971

MAIL

[REDACTED] LATER, ON MARCH TWENTYNINE LAST, [REDACTED] CONTACTED

[REDACTED] AND TOLD HIM NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO BE IN WASHINGTON,

D.C., ON APRIL TWENTYTHREE NEXT. THEY AGREED NEWTON

WILL SPEAK AT CUYAHOGA COMMUNITY COLLEGE, CLEVELAND, ON APRIL

END PAGE ONE

cc to IDIU, ISD, SS 1cc 804D
Adm. data deleted
Classified Confidential 4cc Xeroxed

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

TWENTYFOUR NEXT AT EIGHT P.M. [] THE CONTRACT IS SIGNED
SECURITY OKAY, THIRTYFIVE HUNDRED ADVANCE TICKETS WILL BE SOLD,
AND SPONSOR FOR APPEARANCE IS BLACK LIBERATION FRONT. //

b6
b7C

[] WAS CONTACTED BY [] UNIVERSITY OF
MIAMI, MIAMI^M, FLORIDA, ON MARCH TWENTYNINE LAST, REGARDING NEWTON
SPEAKING AT UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI ON APRIL TWENTYEIGHT NEXT.

[] REQUESTED TO WRITE A LETTER [] SETTING FORTH THE
PARTICULARS, AND [] WOULD CALL [] MARCH THIRTY-
ONE OR APRIL ONE NEXT AT TELEPHONE ^{NUM}BER []

[] TO LET HER KNOW IF NEWTON
MIGHT BE ABLE TO SPEAK THERE. []

b6
b7C

[] BE ADVISED IN THE EVENT SHE WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN
[] CALLED BACK.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE MILWAUKEE TELETYPE MARCH TWENTYNINE LAST.

b2

SOURCE IS []

NEWTON'S TRAVEL TO CHICAGO IS PROBABLY IN CONNECTION WITH
HIS SCHEDULED APPEARANCE IN MADISON, WISCONSIN, ON APRIL THREE
NEXT.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

FOR INFORMATION OF RECEIVING OFFICES, ABOVE-MENTIONED SOURCE HAD PREVIOUSLY ADVISED REPRESENTATIVE FROM DAVID FROST TELEVISION PROGRAM IN NEW YORK CITY CONTACTED BPP HEADQUARTERS REGARDING APPEARANCE OF NEWTON ON THAT PROGRAM ON APRIL SIX NEXT. NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED CONCERNING THAT APPEARANCE.

ALL OFFICES ARE REQUESTED TO ALERT APPROPRIATE SOURCES CONCERNING POSSIBLE TRAVEL OF NEWTON TO THOSE CITIES AND ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF NEWTON WILL APPEAR THERE.

ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON BEING FOLLOWED. THE BUREAU AND APPROPRIATE OFFICES WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF HIS TRAVEL.

END...

HOLD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/26/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED] (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5C/tpt
original Handled

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

RM - BPP

OO: Los Angeles

b6
b7C

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 2/26/71.

Referenced letter stated that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

The Los Angeles Office contacted the following
sources on the dates shown with negative results in an
effort to further identify [REDACTED]

Los Angeles Police Department
4/15/71

Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office
4/16/71

b6
b7C

Traffic Violations Bureau
4/15/71

Los Angeles Indices had no reference which could
be determined to be identical with [REDACTED]

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT CAMPBELL, CALIFORNIA: Will report results of
lead as set forth in referenced letter.

③ - Bureau (RM)

① - 157-18500

3 - San Francisco (RM)

3 - Los Angeles

(1 - 157-5552)

NOT RECORDED

172 MAY 3 1971

CRD/mam

(9)

MAY 11 1971

7-206

ORIGINAL FILED IN 21072

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/26/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED]

SUBJECT

RM - BPP
OO: Los Angeles

b6
b7C

(P) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5 [REDACTED]

original handled by [REDACTED]
Hacy [REDACTED]

Re Sacramento letter to Los Angeles, 2/19/71, and
Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 2/26/71.

It was mentioned in referenced Los Angeles letter
that the 1969 Volkswagen which was observed near the residence
of [REDACTED] was registered to the captioned individual
at [REDACTED] California.

The Sacramento Office advised that on 1/29/71,
[REDACTED] Vehicle Registration Section, California
Department of Motor Vehicles, advised that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] California (previous
address of [REDACTED] California), is the
registered owner of a 1969 Chevrolet sedan, Vehicle Identifi-
cation Number [REDACTED]. The
legal owner was shown as the Southern California Central
Credit Union, 2801 West Temple, Los Angeles, California.

b6
b7C

Sacramento further advised that on 2/16/71, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Drivers License Section, California Department
of Motor Vehicles, furnished a copy of drivers license
[REDACTED] bearing a photograph of [REDACTED]

LEADS

b6
b7C

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will verify employment
and residence of [REDACTED] obtain additional back-
ground information and determine subject's association with the BPP.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
- ① - 157-18500
- 1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
- 3 - Los Angeles
- (1 - 157-5552)

105-165407

NOT RECORDED
172 MAY 3 1971

CRD/mam
(7)

MAY 7 1971

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 002 SF CODE

1147AM URGENT 4-29-71 MS

APR 29 1971

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

TELETYPE

NEW YORK

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/28/87 BY SP5 CWT

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THAT ON APRIL TWENTYEIGHT, LAST, ONE

[REDACTED] FROM NEW YORK TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED BPP NATIONAL
HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, CALIF., AND ASKED FOR [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHEN TOLD [REDACTED] NOT AVAILABLE, [REDACTED] ASKED IF NEWTON

HAD LEFT FOR NEW YORK YET BUT THE INDIVIDUAL AT BPP HEADQUARTERS

DID NOT KNOW. [REDACTED] THEN STATED SHE HAS RECEIVED PERMISSION FROM

THE DAVID FROST SHOW TO MAKE A TAPE WITH NEWTON FOR BROADCAST ON

STATION WOR, LOCATION NOT GIVEN, ON CONDITION THAT THE TAPE NOT

BE AIRED UNTIL AFTER THE SCREENING OF THE FROST SHOW. [REDACTED] WANTED

CLEARANCE FROM NEWTON TO DO THE TAPING. [REDACTED] FURNISHED HER

END PAGE ONE

REC-33

105-165429

409

MAY 4 1971

1cc 806

F466
53 MAY 10 1971

PAGE TWO

TELEPHONE NUMBER AS [REDACTED]
AND REQUESTED [REDACTED] BE GIVEN A MESSAGE TO CALL HER IN
CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER PRIOR TO NEWTON'S DEPARTURE FOR NEW YORK.
SOURCE DOES NOT KNOW IF [REDACTED] CALL.

b6
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL APRIL TWENTYEIGHT, LAST, CAPTIONED "BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(BPP) - TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP."

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2
b6
b7C

NEW YORK REQUESTED TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED] DETERMINE IF TAPE MADE
ON NEWTON'S APPEARANCE ON FROST SHOW FOR RADIO STATION WOR AND
ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE WHEN TAPE WILL BE AIRED. WILL ALSO MONITOR
RECORDING WHEN AIRED.

END

~~001-002~~

JTJ ~~BIKX~~ FBI WASH DC ~~HOLD~~ ~~PLG~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 26 1971

TELETYPE

NR 010 CV PLAIN

7:27 PM NITEL 4/26/71 RJB

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CHICAGO (157-4765)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM CLEVELAND (157-2633) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-28-87 BY SP5/ST

b6
b7C

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP; TREASON; KBE.

ESTABLISHED SOURCES CONTACTED CLEVELAND, OHIO, APRIL TWENTY FIVE INSTANT, ADVISED THAT NO SPEECH HELD APRIL TWENTYFIFTH, LAST, AT WHK AUDITORIUM, CLEVELAND, OHIO. HOWEVER, NO DIRECT WORD WAS RECEIVED FOR CANCELLATION AND NO INFORMATION FURNISHED THAT A SUBSTITUTE WOULD BE PROVIDED FOR HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER OF BPP.

EFFORTS TO CONFIRM THE PRESENCE AT CLEVELAND, OHIO OF

[REDACTED] ILLINOIS CHAPTER, BPP, CHICAGO, ALONG WITH [REDACTED] HAVE PROVED NEGATIVE TO DATE.

EFFORTS TO ESTABLISHED PRESENCE OF [REDACTED]

BOTH KNOWN BPP SYMPATHIZERS, ALONG WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALSO PROVED NEGATIVE.

[REDACTED] HEADQUARTERS INTELLIGENCE UNIT, CLEVELAND, OHIO PD, ALSO ADVISED NO ONE TALKED AT THE WHK AUDITORIUM ON

END PAGE ONE

56 MAY 11 1971

"cc to IDIU, ISD
Adm. data deleted"

REC-47

105-165429-410

PAGE TWO

CV 157-2633

APRIL TWENTYFIFTH, LAST, AND HE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO VERIFY THE PRESENCE OF ANY OUT- OF-TOWNERS IN THE CLEVELAND AREA FOR THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF HOLDING A SPEECH OR TALK.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHICAGO TEL TO BUREAU, APRIL TWENTYTHIRD, LAST, CAPTIONED " BPP, TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP"; MILWAUKEE TEL TO CLEVELAND, APRIL TWENTYFOURTH, LAST, SAME CAPTIONED AS ABOVE; SAN FRANCISCO TEL TO BUREAU, APRIL TWENTYFOURTH, LAST CAPTIONED " HUEY PERCY NEWTON, RM - BPP; TREASON; KBE".

SOURCES REFERRED TO ABOVE ARE

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

[REDACTED]

AND

[REDACTED]

MILWAUKEE ADVISED BY MAIL.

END

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

re
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
APR 25 1968
FBI - CLEVELAND

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 003 SF CODE

12:02 PM URGENT 4/24/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

CLEVELAND

NEW YORK

LOS ANGELES

CHICAGO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-82 BY SP5a
LPT

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 2P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON AKA RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE).

b6
b7C

SOURCE ON APRIL TWENTYFOUR, INSTANT ADVISED NEWTON MAY NOT
APPEAR IN CLEVELAND ON APRIL TWENTYFIVE NEXT FOR PREVIOUSLY
SCHEDULED TALK AT RADIO WHK AUDITORIUM AND [REDACTED] FROM
CHICAGO BPP OFFICE MAY APPEAR FOR HIM.

NEWTON MAY APPEAR AT UNIVERSITY OF THE REDLANDS, REDLANDS,
CALIFORNIA ON APRIL TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT.

SOURCE STATED NEWTON WILL TAPE DAVID FROST TELEVISION
PROGRAM ON APRIL TWENTYNINE, NEXT, AT NEW YORK CITY. FROST TO PAY
FOR TRANSPORTATION BUT NEWTON WILL NOT BE PAID FOR THIS
APPEARANCE.

EX-103

REC 18 105-165429-411

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2

END PAGE ONE

1cc 806

F466

55 MAY 14 1971

4/26/71 RNB/jnt
(Conf, Ap I, adn in details)

PAGE TWO

CLEVELAND DETERMINE IF NEWTON'S APPEARANCE HAS BEEN
CANCELLED.

CHICAGO DETERMINE IF [REDACTED] WILL APPEAR FOR NEWTON
IN CLEVELAND ON APRIL TWENTYFIVE, NEXT.

b6
b7C

LOS ANGELES CONTACT SOURCES AT UNIVERSITY OF THE REDLANDS
TO DETERMINE IF NEWTON IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR THERE ON APRIL
TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT.

NEW YORK ATTEMPT TO VERIFY NEWTON'S APPEARANCE ON THE
DAVID FROST SHOW.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL ADVISE THE BUREAU AND APPROPRIATE
OFFICES OF ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RECEIVED CONCERNING HIS
APPEARANCES AND TRAVEL.

END

RSP ACSK MSGS 3 & 4

FBI WASH DC

CC -

[REDACTED]
b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 4/20/71

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (157-5055) (RUC)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM-BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
(OO:SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-25-87 BY SP5CE

Re Newark airtel and LHM 2/12/71, captioned
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RM."
San Francisco airtel 3/15/71, and Bureau 0-7,
both captioned as above.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 2 reels of tape
and one transcript of NEWTON'S speech at Princeton University
on 2/9/71. The original tape in this matter was made
available by [redacted] and is located in NK 157-5055-1A2.

For information of San Francisco the sources who
reported on this speech are set forth in re Newark airtel.

A transcript of the speech is enclosed for San
Francisco.

b2
b7D
b6
b7C

REC-39

105-165429-412

APR 22 1971

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (enc. 3) (RM)
2-San Francisco (enc. 1) (RM)
1-Newark
GEJ/ly
(5)

61 MAY 13 1971



5010-108

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443700)

FROM : *CWB*
B SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

DATE: 4/29/71

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

(OO: San Francisco)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-82 BY SP5 GZ/H

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) regarding a taped monitoring of an appearance by the subject on radio station WVON, Chicago, on April 2, 1971. Two copies of the LHM are enclosed for San Francisco.

The first source utilized in the enclosed LHM [redacted] highly confidential and sensitive.

The second source is [redacted] who monitored and taped the program.

b2
b7D

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ as information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

The original tape is retained in CG 157-3765-1B1.

EX-104

REC- 29

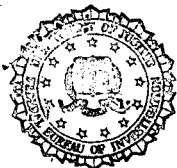
- copied to ISD, 5/6/71, JLA/JP*
- 6-deleted*
- 100-443700*
- ENCLOSURE
- ② - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (157-1203) (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago

CES:nss
(5)



MAY 20 1971

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 157-3765

APR 29 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5 G

ON 6-25-87 CPB

On April 2, 1971, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), was to appear that night on "Hot Line," a radio talk show, aired over station WYON, Chicago. Wesley South is the moderator of "Hot Line."

The BPP is described in the appendix section of this communication.

On April 5, 1971, a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided a transcript of "Hot Line," April 2, 1971. It is set forth as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I
Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification

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

105-165409-413

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ANNOUNCER:

... program Hot Line are not necessarily those of the management of WVON or the participating sponsor. Hot Line. A program of public comment. A program where you voice your opinions and ask the questions of our Hot Line guests. And now, Wesley South and Hot Line.

WESLEY SOUTH:

Hi! Welcome back to a second edition or another edition of Hot Line. As we have been announcing for the last five days our guest tonight was supposed to have been Huey Newton, the commanding, one of the top... And we didn't get a chance to have you speak with him or ask him any questions, so again he's out, he hasn't gotten here. I'm assuming that he's in Chicago and Bobby Rush is with him. They're on their way and we would appreciate if they would get right over here. Unfortunately, we don't have anyone else here. We had a very good show lined up but when we were told that he would be here and they requested the time, we granted it to them and now we're left out here on, without a guest. So, you know what we do in a case like that. We, and we'll just have, isn't the first time that this happened. You know this is uh, maybe once or twice a month that someone will be late getting here. So what we'll do, we will have what we call our Grab Bag until our guest arrives and I might add that in the event that they come, only two will be allowed to come so, we, the rest of them can, if they want to stand around the building, that'll be fine. We had quite a congregation here the last time. Our telephone number is 591-5400, and tonight I'd like to suggest that we talk about two or three different things. One is the proposed black political party, a third political party that Mr., the Reverend Jesse Jackson has suggested that we, that

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HUEY NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

he intends to head. You're, boy.
Tell us what happened when you were
here the last time, don't you're
not on the air. (pause)
What, what happened. That's what
I want to know about. You're, this
is Huey Newton, okay, you're on the
air now. How ya doin'?

Oh, just fine.

Why aren't ya here?

Oh, well, due to some circumstances
beyond our control, I couldn't come
over. So I thought that I would
call you and perhaps converse for
a little while. I can't stay the
hour. But uh, I thought...

SOUTH:

Well, I tell you what. I asked you
so many questions the last time,
I will put you on hold and let you
talk with some of the people, okay?

NEWTON:

Uh, I'm sorry, I can only talk for
about fifteen minutes.

SOUTH:

That'll be fine. Okay, we're gonna
stop here for a moment.

NEWTON:

I'm sorry I wasn't able to come down.

SOUTH:

Okay, I wish you'd of let us know
beforehand.

NEWTON:

Yeah, well, I was tryin' ta make it
until the last minute.

SOUTH:

Yeah, our telephone number 591-5400.

(commercial advertisement)

SOUTH:

And our telephone number 591-5400.
We have Huey Newton on the line. He'll
be able to talk with you. He says he'll
be, only be available for fifteen minutes.
And those are the only calls that we
will entertain. If you have a comment,
give us a call at 591-5400. And while
we're waiting for the telephone to ring,
I will ask you what are you doing in
Chicago Huey, and how long will you be here.
I'll be herefor approximately a half a
day tomorrow.

NEWTON:

I see.

SOUTH:

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEWTON:

I have an engagement at the University of Wisconsin.

SOUTH:
NEWTON

Uh-huh.

And I leave immediately after to see about Bobby in Connecticut and also to attend my own court appearance in California.

SOUTH:

I see. What about this, what we've been reading in the paper about the split between you and Eldridge Cleaver.

NEWTON:

Uh, well, first of all that it's more paper than anything else, that I don't, the party doesn't recognize the split because the party's not split. Eldridge Cleaver defected, the party and the community and so did NCCF heads in New Jersey and the Harlem Branch.

We have approximately thirty eight chapters and branches and all are in tact. The party has not been split because we have a functioning political machine, and the people will see that the survival program is not diminishing but escalating.

SOUTH:

Did you fire Eldridge Cleaver as was said in the paper...

NEWTON:

I don't have the power to fire anyone...

SOUTH:

But did you put him out of the organization, you have the...

NEWTON:

No, the subcommittee is the only group with the power to expell.

SOUTH:

I see. Okay, now, I see that our telephones are all available. Let's go right and see if any.

NEWTON:

I would like to add that subcommittee...

SOUTH:

Go right ahead.

NEWTON:

... did decide that Eldridge Cleaver defected from the party. I had a private conversation with Eldridge after I arranged the Don Marsh (ph) Show.

SOUTH:

Yes.

NEWTON:

In California.

SOUTH:

Uh-huh.

NEWTON:

And I had Eldridge Cleaver hooked up to that program, in order to show the community that we were united. When I was in the penitentiary and after I was released, there was rumors going around that there was division. I knew nothing about a division even though I

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talked to Eldridge Cleaver about once a week in Algiers. I didn't know anything about a contradiction until that Don Marsh Show where he chose that time to broadside the party and attempt to undermine the political campaign to free all political prisoners. We feel that's the real damage first causing disunity in the community and also undermining the campaign to free our chairman Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, Angela, (indiscernible), Michelle Mc Gee (ph) and all the other political prisoners, and I would like to say that the Black Panther Party is behind and we encourage the community to look into the conditions at Cook County Jail because we support all the brothers there and we're working for their liberation.

SOUTH:

Okay, let's see what some of our listeners have to ask you. You're on the air. Do you have a question for Eldridge, for uh Huey Newton?

UNKNOWN MALE:

Yes.

SOUTH:

Go right ahead. Go right ahead.

UM:

Hello. Huey.

NEWTON:

Yeah.

UM:

This is, I'm a community worker for the Illinois Chapter Black Panther Party.

NEWTON:

Um-hum.

UM:

And I just listen to what you was talking about.

NEWTON:

Uh-huh.

UM:

And we support, I support you personally myself. And I'm on the political prisoner committee, and gonna try to do my best you know to see that them brothers get taken care of cause we was at Statesville last week, we're going to Pontiac (ph) tomorrow, Sunday.

NEWTON:

That's beautiful.

UM:

And we're gonna try (indiscernible).

NEWTON:

Brother, I would like to say this that that's very beautiful that you called in, it's always good to talk to comrades and people from the community.

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UM:
NEWTON:

I wanna say keep up the good work and remember that words don't solve anything, that action is supreme. And that while we might not engage in the argument that Eldridge Cleaver wants to engage in.

Right on, Huey.

It will distract from our survival program. Now it's strange and it's not so strange after all that Eldridge Cleaver waited till he got to Algiers to talk so with so much courage and so much madness.

SOUTH:

Now you think someone put a gun on him and made him speak that way or do you think he was just camouflaging his true feelings until he got there?

NEWTON:

No, I think that it's just a matter of practicality that if he were really serious about doing anything, that he could very well broadcast it here because it might indict himself, you see. Indict himself with who?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Pardon me.

With the party or with the nation or with the black people, or.

NEWTON:

No, what I'm saying is that it was my understanding, and it's not a clear understanding of Eldridge Cleaver's problem.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-huh.

But it seems to me that he charged that the party, our survival program was a right wing program.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

I see.

And that the left wing that he pretends to represent is not concerned with health clinics and serving the people, they're concerned with making revolution...

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Did he say that?

And revolution to him is actions or absolute, in other words the particular set of personal action would be revolutionary. He doesn't realize revolution is a process and not a set of conditions or principles or anything could be revolutionary at a particular time to mobilize the people. Okay.

SOUTH:

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NEWTON:

And as far as what he said, I don't wanna interpret the,, what I gather from your radio programs and the papers that I interpret to have conversation with Eldridge before the Don Marsh Show and apparently we didn't, we couldn't get clear understanding.

SOUTH:

You been here for seven minutes and we'd like to get another call in here if we can, okay?

NEWTON:

Alright, go ahead.

SOUTH:

Telephone number 591-5400, you're on the air, may we have your question for Huey Newton.

UM:

I'd like to talk to Huey P. Newton about...

SOUTH:

Go right ahead.

UM:

I'd like to talk to Huey P....

SOUTH:

Go right ahead.

NEWTON:

Hello. How'ya doin' comrade brother?

UM:

I'd like to talk to Huey P. Newton.

SOUTH:

He's there, would you go right ahead and turn off your radio please?

UM:

Okay, wait a minute.

SOUTH:

Hello.

UM:

Hello, I'd like to talk to Huey P.- P. Newton about the recent statement by Mayor Daley about land being for sale and.

SOUTH:

What being for sale?

UM:

Land.

SOUTH:

Land being for sale.

UM:

Right. And certain time that certain person have to, not certain person, but individual have to pay off for this land.

SOUTH:

What you mean?

UM:

And, uh...

SOUTH:

Why, why did this come up. You said certain...

UM:

This was in today's paper. And I think it was in last week, week before last.

SOUTH:

Well, did you read it Huey?

UM:

Right.

NEWTON:

No, I'm not familiar with it.

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SOUTH:

So, there's very little you can say about that, is there?

NEWTON:

Uh, well I don't understand.

SOUTH:

I don't either, but he says...

UM:

Well, as I understand it, as I come from, the only reason why I (indiscernible) is because of land, not because of people. The land replenish itself and people replenish itself. And as I have understand it is that Mayor Daley had said and I quote land will be for sale but you have a long time for, you know, to pay off for everything and everything.

SOUTH:

Okay, thank you for your call. Our telephone number 591-5400, you're on the air, may we have your comment please, make it...

UM:

(indiscernible).

SOUTH:

No I didn't.

UNKNOWN FEMALE:

Hello.

SOUTH:

Yes, you're on the air, may we have your question?

UF:

Uh listen, I'd like to know, I am the mother of five children.

SOUTH:

Yes.

UF:

And we have a home (indiscernible) but the father (indiscernible) he disowned, you know, and I would like, you say talk about the problem, any kind of problem that you may have, and I would like to (indiscernible) why did the men go up and disown, the black man go up and disown his children so that the so that the mother have to get on to the city and depend... Get on welfare is what you're saying. Right.

SOUTH:

UF:

SOUTH:

Uh-huh. Well, you want to comment on that Huey?

NEWTON:

Uh, well all I can say is that it seems that a man who would do such a thing has lost a certain amount of confidence and dignity and is probably because of a very oppressive situation that...

SOUTH:

Um-hum.

NEWTON:

... blacks have lived in for such a long time but the party would like to change

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all that so that everyone in our community, in the black community, will have all of the necessities and be able to enjoy the kind of life that such an affluent society and the world is so technologically developed can give.

SOUTH:

Okay, thank you for comment. Our telephone number 591-5400. We have Huey Newton on the phone. He can only stay here just a few more minutes. We stop here now for a message. Our telephone number 591-5400.

(commercial advertisement)

SOUTH:

And our telephone number, 591-5400. You're on the air. May we have your question for Huey Newton?

UM:

Yes, I would like to know since the December 4 raid on the party headquarters, what has happened to the party? Has it effected the party's activities?

NEWTON:

Repression effects all our activities but we are still open and we have the health clinic functioning here in Chicago and clothing program and our survival program is expanding because as repression escalates, it means that we have to do more to survive and create more programs and...

SOUTH:

Has it effected you in any way, the membership, the recruitment, the selling of the papers?

NEWTON:

Yes, that we've, we've gained more membership and our paper sales are increased because the community condemns that kind of action, the repressive action of the established order.

SOUTH:

Uh-huh.

NEWTON:

And when we suffer repression, it breeds resistance. Also it mobilizes the people in the direction towards freedom, because they realize to do nothing would be suicidal.

SOUTH:

Okay, thank you for your comment. Our telephone number 591-5400. You're on the air, may we have your question?

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UM: Yes.
SOUTH: Go right ahead.
UM: Uh, yes. Uh just a minute. I'd like to ask Huey Newton about the Black Panther Party.
SOUTH: Go right ahead.
UM: Beg your pardon?
SOUTH: Yes, go right ahead. Ask the question.
UM: Uh, yes, I'd like to ask about the Black Party, Black Party.
SOUTH: Black Panther Party.
UM: Uh is this uh, is this uh.
SOUTH: You're on the air. Go right ahead sir.
NEWTON: Hello, I'm listening brother.
UM: Oh yes, I'd like to, I'd like to ask you about the Black Party, uh Panther split. Has it effected the party at all?
SOUTH: The split he's saying. He had said later that it was not a split. That Eldridge Cleaver had defected and that I think he says he took two or three chapters with him. Was that right Huey?
NEWTON: Uh, no one branch in Harlem and the NCC heads in New Jersey.
SOUTH: Yeah, two of them.
NEWTON: Two. And one of the reasons for the defection was because Eldridge Cleaver was after the lead for mass movement. There seems to be many leaders...
SOUTH: Yes, you were telling us, but has it effected your activities at all?
NEWTON: Well, everything effects the activities...
SOUTH: Adversely or conversely?
NEWTON: Both. Both the positive and the negative effect.
SOUTH: How did it effect it negatively?

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NEWTON:

Uh negatively it caused amount of questions and perhaps even a credibility gap in the community.

SOUTH:

Uh-huh.

NEWTON:

It confused the community. But that's beside the point.

UM:

(indiscernible)

NEWTON:

Pardon me.

SOUTH:

Let him finish.

UM:

Also, about this recent article they had in the Jet (ph) magazine about Huey Newton about his wife, Eldridge Cleaver's wife being captive in Algiers and he was telling (indiscernible) he just want to be dealt with. Have you read that article?

NEWTON:

I read the article. What was the last part of the question?

UM:

About his wife being captive in, he held his wife captive in Algiers and he, and his- I mean uh Algiers wait a minute, Cleaver's wife gonna, had his community secretary with him said that he'll meet, and, his other party maybe here will be dealt with. Have you all read that?

NEWTON:

Did we read, I- I don't understand.

I read the article where Kathleen Cleaver is held prisoner...

UM:

That's right.

NEWTON:

in Algiers

SOUTH:

And then you were supposed to have said that Eldridge Cleaver will be dealt with, is this right or is it incorrect.

NEWTON:

I don't believe that I said it, but I will say that all those who let the community down will be dealt with by the community at the.

SOUTH:

What about by the party.

NEWTON:

Pardon me.

SOUTH:

What about being dealt with by the party?

NEWTON:

The party is only the people's-, I always said that we don't ever do anything other than interpret the people's will but, interpret the people's will, but they are responsible for all activities,

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especially activities of the political, otherwise it's an elite action, it doesn't deserve the title of a political act.

UM: Alright.

NEWTON: I was saying the negative side of the tendency and the so-called split.

SOUTH: Yes.

NEWTON: Or defection, I never, I didn't get a chance to speak of the positive side.

SOUTH: That's right.

NEWTON: On the positive side I think outweighs the negative because I think that the Black Panther Party defected the community a few years ago shortly after I went to prison because we became somewhat alienated because under the...

SOUTH: Alienated by, to whom, who was alienated from you?

NEWTON: I think that the community, while we still enjoyed our programs would not follow the kind of absolutist rhetoric of Eldridge Cleaver.

SOUTH: Are they following it now, are they following your, are they following your rhetoric?

NEWTON: I don't speak in rhetoric.

SOUTH: Well are, you're speaking at all, you'll be speaking tomorrow, and you'd spoken. Do people follow you?

NEWTON: Pardon me.

SOUTH: Do people follow you at all?

NEWTON: Well, I should hope they don't follow. I hope they're more concerned with the survival programs that we have in about thirty states. We're not interested in rhetoric and we're not interested in fancy phrases. We're interested in building a community program.

SOUTH: But the only way the people will know it is that you'll have to speak it, you'll have to speak out, otherwise they won't, you just can't stand there. It's not a vacuum, you have to talk.

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NEWTON:

I think that when you put your political program and your community into action that it speaks for itself.

UM:

Mr. South.

SOUTH:

Yes.

UM:

I'd like to ask another question also.

SOUTH:

Very briefly.

UM:

I have often heard that the Black Panther Party has gone underground with their activities because of so many of their members being offed by the pigs. Is this also true?

NEWTON:

The Black Panther Party is not going underground. I don't know about Eldridge Cleaver and his clique, but as far as we're concerned, we're working to free political prisoners, to feed the community and to develop the comprehensive collection of institutions.

SOUTH:

I didn't get that last word, that last phrase you said, about institutions.

NEWTON:

We're attempting to develop a comprehensive collection of institutions...

SOUTH:

What does that mean?

NEWTON:

... that will serve the people. In other words, a collection of stable institutions, a number of them, we say comprehensive because they serve...

SOUTH:

I mean...

NEWTON:

Different purposes.

SOUTH:

Can you speak in our terms.

NEWTON:

Pardon me.

SOUTH:

Can you speak in terms that we can understand?

NEWTON:

You understand, I mean that communities made up of things that serve the people such as the health clinics.

SOUTH:

Oh yes.

NEWTON:

Such as food programs, such as schools.

SOUTH:

I follow you.

NEWTON:

Clothing distribution, such as (indiscernible). These things together make up a community. Blacks were stripped of their community when were brought here chained and not only were we stripped of a community, we were stripped of a family, the woman spoke of the family being divided.

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SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Yeah.

I think this is historical because of the division that the slavemaster caused. Now, it's our job to build up the community so the community then can, the people then can express their revolutionary desires through those agencies.

SOUTH:

Okay, thanks for your call sir. Telephone number 591-5400. You're on the air, may we have your comment please? Your question?

UF:

Hello, I would like to ask, I would like to talk to Huey.

SOUTH:

Go right ahead, he's listening.

UF:

I would like to know has there been any effort by the members of the Black Panther Party you known to like influence gang members to join you know, to help the community instead of tearing down.

NEWTON:

Well, you know comrade sister, I really enjoyed talking to you but I hate you know talk programs on the radio because they always cut you off and the announcer cuts me off because of the time limit. It's not anything hostile. I'm sure you understand, but it's just that the time when I called in I said I only had fifteen minutes, but that doesn't mean. I wanna spend half a second talking to each person. Now as I was saying that the party direction now will have new enthusiasm because at one point that we had the we truly had the will and the enthusiasm all over the community. But after some members of the party, Eldridge Cleaver in particular, thought that the community, each person would have to pick up a gun tomorrow in order to join the party people started to get afraid. And we say we'll do anything the people want, but we don't denounce the gun, but

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at the same time we say that we are in service to the people and we will only do that when they want us to and we'll do it together, because we can't make any revolution, only they can, so we're concerned with not only the gangs, we're concerned with the problems in the community such as the narcotics problem, we concerned with health problem, the food problem, the education problem. We're concerned with survival pending revolution. And this will be the new old direction, so I'll see you in the community, thanks for calling. Okay, bye-bye.

UF:
SOUTH:

Okay, telephone number 591-5400. This the Hot Line. Hello.

UF:
SOUTH:
UF:
SOUTH:
UF:

Yes.
Have you a question for Huey Newton?
Yes I do.

Go right ahead.

I'd like to know if he thinks the Black Panther Party is as strong as it was before and if they had any new plans.

NEWTON:

I think that the Black Panther Party will mobilize the people even in a greater, with a greater momentum than before. I think at one point that we had even more of...

SOUTH:

Uh before, could you hold on just a moment while I ask the lady to turn off her radio. It seems that we're getting some feedback and they can't hear you. Okay, ma'am will you turn off your radio please? Alright, now go right ahead. Would you continue?

NEWTON?:

I think that the party at one point was bashful because we had the kind of absolute thinking of some individuals now left the party, which causes certain other contradictions and

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confusions. But we're in service to the community, now we'll support any program. We might even endorse certain administrators providing that they be willing to fight in behalf of the people if the people demand this out of the party. But we're a stable, structural political machine and we'll act like that as the people's advocate to get out information and to canvass the community to also give guidance. So I think there was a high point, a low point and we're on the rise again.

SOUTH:

UF:

NEWTON:

That answer your question ma'am? Yes, and I'd also like to know if he plans to write a book.

Yes, I'm writing a book now and I should have it finished in about two months, and if you give me your name and address, I'll send you a copy.

UF:

SOUTH:

Oh.

Alright, you're off the air now go, give him your name and address and nobody'll hear it. Go right ahead ma'am. Go right ahead. You want me to open the mi-. You want me to open it? Okay, go right, give him the name and address. Yes. Uh-huh. Yes. And the address. Yes. Yeah, okay.

NEWTON:

Now, what is your last name? Alright Thank you.

UF:

SOUTH:

Um-hum.

Okay, telephone number 591-5400, you're on the air, may we have your question please? Hello. Hello.

Yes, would you ask Huey Newton your question please. Yes.

UM:

I would like to ask Mr. Newton, do he, about these gang fights, does he think that we should break down on them, you know.

SOUTH:

Break down on them, you mean.

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UM:

All of them shooting each other and stuff like that.

NEWTON:

Yeah, the community should put an end to all of the negative things that hurt us and the community, and we could only do this through uniting together, but we will not go on any campaign and joining the oppressor and stating our problem the oppressor created in the first place so, but we cannot solve these problems by fighting each other, and this is why that it's tragic to have the kind of problem that we had in the party but I think the problem was blown out or proportion because the press wanted something to see, in order to say that the party is splintered. But the very fact that I'm here in Chicago, the brother from the Illinois Chapter called and I'll very happy if brothers and sisters call from all of our chapters if they're listening even though I won't be on for but a couple of seconds. But call in anyway and let the people know that we're still together and that while our program is much more larger than it was say three years ago that the press pretends that it doesn't exist, but they always say that we didn't have a program to start with. Is it larger than it was last year,, Huey?

SOUTH:

Of course.

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Now you said three years ago but I didn't know whether it was larger than it was a year ago.

NEWTON:

I say it was larger than it was a year ago, but then we didn't even have shoe, a shoe factory but we just opened up a free shoe factory in California, but we - we're capable of putting out about fifty pair of free shoes a week, and we--we just opened up a new health clinic in Berkeley where Dr. Small (ph) is the physician.

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SOUTH:

Are you in a position to say how many health clinics you have across the country?

NEWTON:

Oh.

SOUTH:

Approximately.

NEWTON:

Approximately how many health clinics do we have across the country? Do you know how many? About twenty.

SOUTH:

About twenty.

NEWTON:

About twenty health clinics. And the one here in Chicago has about twelve medical rooms. And we're developing a dental clinic inside of it. And it's very used by the people and the people love and it's not only a medical center, it's an educational center.

SOUTH:

Like to ask you one question before you leave, you know you were saying the press is blowing the split or the defection as you refer to it of Eldridge Cleaver all out of proportion, wasn't, er was he one of the original founders of the Black Panther Party?

NEWTON:

No, I recruited him. Shortly after he got out of prison.

SOUTH:

Was he one of the first in that?

NEWTON:

No, there were many people before him.

SOUTH:

Did he hold some top office in the party.

NEWTON:

Yes, he was appointed to the Minister of Information, which was a part of the Central Committee.

SOUTH:

The reason I say it because he was well known around the country, he was in office, is in office, and he was at that time there didn't seem to be any split and I would imagine with all of the furor that he had raised and that which you appeared to have sanctioned, I'd never heard you talk about him before, that when he did as you say defect and the paper picked it up, as did this station, and other, even some of the black papers and black periodicals, then you said that it was, you say it's not very important. It's rather...

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NEWTON:

What, I never said it was unimportant, I said that it was...

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

All blown out of proportion. The paper takes and blows it apart everything.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Blown out of proportion. Oh, of course it was, because it was blown out of proportion because the first the press says there was a split, now what is the definition of a split? Did he take ten chapters or fifteen chapters? Did he split the Central Committee? Exactly what did happen?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-huh. Now if he left and took one NCC head and a branch, is that a split? And after taking that he didn't take any programs with him, did the paper stop coming out one week? No. Did any office close as far as the medical center or a clothing center, or a bussing program. No, because, the people left didn't have that to start with. The party is one, and as Bobby Seale says that he is the chairman of only one party. So whatever that other thing is, it's a creation of your radio station and other press agencies, whether it's black or white.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Um-hum. And all of the news mongers like sensation, is that correct?

SOUTH:

Uh, as you know, that sells papers where talking about boy scouts will not sell papers.

NEWTON:

Yeah, I say you're interested in selling papers and people listening and not interested in building the community. Now I wouldn't say...

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

All blacks including blacks... I wouldn't agree with you there. I think that most of the people who listen to this station like myself are interested in building the community. I can't let you get away with that.

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NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Well I'm glad to hear you say that...
Well, I'm glad to hear you say it, and
to agree with it.

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Pardon me.
I say I'm glad to hear you say it and
agree with it.

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

I- I'm glad to...
I don't know whether the people,
whether they're interested in whether
you're glad or not glad.

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Pardon me.
I said I don't whether the people
who are listening are glad or not
glad whether you're glad. But at
least they are, there are many people
out here who's doing precisely what
you're saying that you're doing and
they may not be getting the same
publicity that you're getting and
they've been doing it for years.

NEWTON:

I trying that, I'm given much too
much publicity. They should give
more publicity to the Breakfast
Program and the Health Program because
after all, I- I'm just an ex-convict,
not even that, I'm a convict on bail
and I would like to thank them...

SOUTH:

There're lot of us out here who are
convicts.

NEWTON:

... for delivering me from the
gas chamber. Just before I got
there. So the people are the real
heroes.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

And a lot of people didn't make it.
Certainly you're not the hero and...
Lot of people had to go to the
gas chamber.

NEWTON:

... I'm not the hero. So let's
not be arrogant about that.

SOUTH:

Hey, we got about eleven minutes, can
you stick another eleven minutes?

NEWTON:

Uh, I can stick around for one more
question from the people.

SOUTH:

Okay, hold on. Our telephone
number 591-5400, you're on the air,
may we have your comment please, or
your question.

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UM:
SOUTH:
UM:
SOUTH:
UM:

Yes sir, Mr. South.

Yes.

Uh, could I speak to Mr. Newton?

Yeah, he's listening, go right ahead.

Uh, Mr. Newton, I'm a Panther on the north side, and uh, I have a cousin named Bobo Thompson (ph) live (indiscernible) and you might remember about a week ago, the police broke in the house out there (indiscernible) and raided the place you know and bust in shooting like Mark Clark you know.

NEWTON:
UM:

Yeah, right.

And they shot him in the elbow and the bullet ricocheted off his elbow and hit him in the stomach. And they they beat all the mens (ph) y'know, unmercifully, you know.

NEWTON:
UM:

Yeah, right.

And they told all the peoples in the neighborhood don't get in the windows and stuff like that. And they took him out the back door which while he was laying on the ground, they stomp, beat and kicked him in the face and everything, you know.

NEWTON:
UM:

Yeah, right.

And they took him to the County, they handcuffed him and it was about three days before they even let his mother see him, you know. And I was wondering, you know, you know some type experience about this here, what what could we do, you know, cause this is my cousin, you know, and I'm really serious, you know, because this is a hurting thing you know.

NEWTON:

Uh, you know, the only thing that we could really do is just concentrating on organizing our community so that we can oust all foreign intruders. Those people who hang around our community attempt to control them yet have no real true respect or interest in our community or the people who live there, so, of course on individual cases, I say individual cases I mean

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individual atrocities because no case is really individual. We have to stand and draw a line someplace and once we do this, then we can start setting those examples. It'll be necessary to stop the kind of action that we suffer, we been suffering actually about 400 years.

UM: Right, the man said well you need to die, you know, and stuff like that because he's an instigator because he speak his mind and and he just express the way he feel you know, and this is a brother cop that did it you, know.

NEWTON: Yeah, right. Well you know when they put that uniform on, it's all you know whatever color that that oppressor wears, you know, in California and Oakland it's blue you know.

UM: Uh-huh.

NEWTON: Over here I think it's gray, isn't. Is it blue here too? Uh Bob Rush just told me it's blue here too, you see. So uh not matter whether it's blue, green or gray, once they put that uniform on, they're dedicated to taking orders from their boss. Mayor Daley here and the States Attorney who killed Mark Clark and Fred Hampton and all the vicious police dogs, see. So we know exactly who the enemy is, we know that these police (indiscernible) they serve Daley and all of...

SOUTH: Do you feel that there are any dedicated policemen in the gr-, in the ranks?

NEWTON: Uh, why don't you tell us, is there?

SOUTH: I'm asking you.

NEWTON: I'm asking you. You said that you want to serve the people.

SOUTH: I said I'm asking, do you, are you saying when once they put the blue uniform on...

NEWTON: I asked a question, you answer...

SOUTH: And I was asking if you felt that they all, if they...

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NEWTON: I'm not afraid to answer but you are, because you don't want the people to cite you as the people's enemy.

SOUTH: In other words,,you don't- you don't care to answer that question.

NEWTON: No, do you care to answer?

SOUTH: I know of a person by the name of Renault Robinson(ph), I can name you a dozen that don't fall into that category.

NEWTON: Uh, how 'bout Gloves (ph), does he fall into that category.

SOUTH: He certainly does, and I said so here.

NEWTON: Well, uh, of course...

SOUTH: So then you do, you will answer then, huh?

NEWTON: Whatever position you take, in my experiences and maybe they're different from yours, that I have ever come in contact with a police agency that was fair to the people. Now if you have, then you know you just have to take that up with the community.

SOUTH: In other words, you won't say whether all policemen are in that category or not.

NEWTON: I just said that I could just talk about my experiences. I said that I had been in the pen-, I stayed three years in the penitentiary before that that I've had much contact with police agencies of various kinds and that they never treated me fairly and I have witnesses, I have witnessed many atrocious kind of actions. I have too.

SOUTH: So I'm saying that I can only tell you my personal experience.

NEWTON: Issee, but I thought possibly...

SOUTH: You said that...

NEWTON: I though possibly you had in your getting around, you heard some of your brothers say that there were some who were outstanding, who...

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NEWTON:
SOUTH:

I just heard you say it.
Well, I thought maybe some of the other fellows in your organization, I'm not a member of the organization, I thought possibly someone in your organization had said that, I'm surprised that after all these years that you hadn't heard that at all. You the first brother I've ever heard, but I'm always...

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Oh, you know I'm not the first one, no.

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

What?

You say I'm the first one you ever heard that said what?

NEWTON:

First brother to say that the police are good.

SOUTH:

No, you not, now you, I have said, and you're not, you're not gonna put that in my mouth. You know better than that. I said that there are some good ones. And I ask you if you knew of any. And I named one, and I named one that was not. You called one and I agreed when you said that he's not.

NEWTON:

(indiscernible).

SOUTH:

I didn't hear you.

NEWTON:

I said (indiscernible) see if they shoot you before you get to the fence.

SOUTH:

I see. That sounds good.

NEWTON:

Alright?

SOUTH:

I mean that sounds good. I don't believe, I don't believe you know Robinson would do that.

NEWTON:

Well, I, I...

SOUTH:

And I'll tell you another thing, I don't believe that the fellows who are in there with you think the same thing either. And you could ask them right there.

NEWTON:

Well, see I, I don't I don't know Renault Robinson and I just gave you an honest judgment, you see, and the judgment's based upon my personal experience.

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SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Yeah, I, I accept that.
Alright.
Our telephone number 591-
I- I'm gonna have ta go now, but
I'd like to tell the people power to
the people and I hope to come to your
studio...

SOUTH:

Would you like to talk about the
Calley, say what about the er
Lieutenant Calley. Would you like to
comment on that. His conviction.

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Well, listen. Hello.
Yeah, I say would you like to comment on
Lieutenant Calley' conviction?

NEWTON:

Uh I just got some information about
brother Renault who was fired, he was
fired from the police department, right?
No, he was suspended from the police
department.

SOUTH:

Oh, he wasn't fired?

NEWTON:

Yeah.

SOUTH:

Uh, is he back on now?

NEWTON:

He will be next month.

SOUTH:

Is that right?

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Yeah.

NEWTON:

Well I just heard some favorable
things about him, and that I would like
to say that while I haven't met him,
perhaps that he's giving a new face to
the whole thing. And if the community
appreciates him, I certainly do. And
as I said, that I just heard some
favorable things about him. And
we are to support anyone who is
really interested in our community, see.
And I don't mean to, I never am
really absolute about things, but
nor am I hasty to draw a conclusion if
I know nothing about it as far my
exper, my experiences are concerned.
So I'm gonna have to sign off but I
thank you for letting me have the
time on your air.

SOUTH:

I'd like to hear from, uh have you
nothing to say about Lieutenant
Calley's conviction then have you?

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NEWTON:

I think that Calley is a scapegoat. I think that he's used to ease the conscience of the American ruling circle and President Nixon and all of his fascist generals and the fact is this man will make a profit by the whole thing in military contracts and so forth. So while he might have killed many many Vietnamese people, but consider the B-52s that kill many many children and women and destroyed villages and communities. So not only Calley should be on trial but the whole American reactionary system should be on trial. And I'll tell you that the Black Panther Party here is here to try that system. So power to the people then brother and I'll call you on my return. I will, I will also like to tell the community that the free bus will be leaving Sunday at 4233 Indiana Street at 9:30. And it will be going to Madison and it will go to Pontiac and go to Dwight prison this week. This is the bus for relatives, loved ones and of prisoners and we invite the community to come and take advantage because prisoners need people to visit them. It's about the only communication that we have and I say we because I still feel the prisoner as long as a brothers at Cook County Jail, our chairman is in jail in Connecticut and Ericka is there in jail and Angela, so as long as those brothers and sisters in prison and I'm in prison also, and let's go and see them, alright. Okay, thank- thank you for calling. Thank you.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

And that ladies and gentlemen was Huey P. Newton, the commander of the Black Panther Party, who's in Chicago here, he'll be leaving here tomorrow, he'll be at a meeting tomorrow, he says he'll be here for another half day. We're gonna stop here for a message.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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FOI/PA# 1214329-0

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	4/29/71	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/15/71 - 4/20/71
TITLE OF CASE HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY [REDACTED]
CHARACTER OF CASE RM - BPP; TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 1/14/71
at San Francisco.

- P -

ENCLOSURES:

TO BUREAU

Two (2) copies of FD-376.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Following are identities of Special Agents observing
NEWTON's departures and/or arrivals at San Francisco
International Airport on the indicated dates:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED [Signature]						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		
COPIES MADE:						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
8 - Bureau (105-165429) (RM)						105-165429-414 REC 9		
1 - U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3, 5a, b, c) (RM)						MAY 10 1971		
2 - San Francisco (157-1203)								
1cc cover page - 806								
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations		
Agency	Copies to ST, CIA, SS, ACST					[REDACTED] RACIAL INT. SEC.		
Request Recd.	150 1/25, 1012							
Date Fwd.	5/11/71							
How Fwd.	JPA/jp							
By						CONFIDENTIAL		

57 MAY 14 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

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1/29/71

2/10/71

2/12/71

2/15/71

2/19/71

2/26/71

4/2/71



b6
b7C

Special Agents who observed NEWTON during 1/30/71,
at New Haven, Connecticut, are [redacted]
[redacted]

The Special Agents observing NEWTON's arrival in
Chicago on 2/19/71, are [redacted]
The Agents observing the Chicago Coliseum on 2/21/71, and
NEWTON's activities on the same date are [redacted]
[redacted]

b6
b7C

The Special Agents who observed the activity at
the residence of [redacted] on the night of 2/26/71, are
[redacted]

Special Agents who observed NEWTON's travel from
Boston on 3/24/71, are [redacted]
[redacted]

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

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Special Agents who observed NEWTON's travel from Chicago to Madison, Wisconsin, and return, on 4/3/71, are

NEWTON's speech at Boston College on 11/18/70, was recorded on tape by SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

The speech NEWTON gave at Oakland Technical High School, Oakland, on 12/14/70, which was broadcast on Radio Station KPFA-FM, Berkeley, on 12/23/70, was tape recorded by SA [REDACTED] at the time of broadcast.

The monitoring and taping of the interview of NEWTON on "Hot Line" on Radio Station WVON, Chicago, Illinois, on 2/19/71, was by SE [REDACTED] Original tape retained in the Chicago Office.

SA [REDACTED] monitored and taped NEWTON's appearances on JIM DUNBAR's Television Program "A.M." on 2/26/71, and on KDIA Radio Program "Black Montage" on 2/28/71, at San Francisco.

b6
b7C

SA [REDACTED] monitored and taped statements by BOBBY SEALE and NEWTON broadcast on Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco, on 3/28/71.

Information concerning NEWTON reportedly carrying a "Short, stiletto type blade" knife and having a high powered rifle with scope in the bedroom of his apartment was furnished to [REDACTED] Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, on the dates the information was received.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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JLC/sad

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Identity of Source

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SF T-2 is

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SF T-3 is

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SF T-4 is

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SF T-5 is

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SF T-7 is

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SF T-9 is

[REDACTED] (S)

SF T-10 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-11 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-12 is

[REDACTED]

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157-1203 - 1813
157-1203 - 2317

157-1203 - 2080
157-1203 - 2160

157-1203 - 2080
157-1203 - 1961

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157-1203 - 2080
157-1203 - 2160

157-1203 - 2240

157-1203 - 2354
157-1203 - 2088

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157-1203-2354
157-1203-2137

157-1203 - 2354

157-1203 - 2409

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

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<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>File Where Located</u>
SF T-13 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2409 157-1203 - 2410
SF T-14 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2244
SF T-15 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2244
SF T-16 is [REDACTED] (By request)	157-1203 - 2244
SF T-17 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2244
SF T-18 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2368 157-6307 - 77
SF T-19 is [REDACTED]	
SF T-20 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2695
SF T-21 is [REDACTED]	157-6307 - 77
SF T-22 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2550 157-6307 - 77
SF T-23 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2677

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

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<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>File Where Located</u>
SF T-24 is [redacted]	157-1203 - 1824
SF T-25 is [redacted]	157-1203 - 1831
SF T-26 is [redacted]	157-1203 - 2260
SF T-27 is [redacted]	157-1203 - 2136
SF T-28 is [redacted]	
SF T-29 is [redacted]	157-1203 - 1952
SF T-30 is [redacted]	
SF T-31 is [redacted]	
SF T-32 is [redacted]	157-1203 - 2541
SF T-33 is [redacted]	157-1203 - 2227

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SF 157-1203
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<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>File Where Located</u>
SF T-34 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2550
SF T-35 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2233 157-1203 - 2089
SF T-36 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2691 157-1581 - 3090
SF T-37 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 2678 157-1203 - 2680
SF T-38 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 1852
SF T-39 is [REDACTED]	157-1203 - 1473

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LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. 1. Will follow and report information concerning Subject's activities.

2. Will follow and report results of Subject's re-trial.

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1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index ☐ Reserve Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the ☒ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are current.
3. ☐ The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card ☐ A ☐ B ☐ are current ☐ have been changed.
4. ☐ Changes on the ☐ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are necessary and ☐ Form FD-122 ☐ FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
5. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
Date photograph was taken 8/5/70
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~"Confidential"~~ ~~XXXXXX~~
(state reason)
to protect the identity of the sources, disclosure of which would affect the national defense adversely.

8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____
☐ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
Attempt was made on 3/5/71, to arrange appointment with NEWTON for interview, but NEWTON declined to talk with the Special Agent contacting him.

9. ☐ This case no longer meets the ☐ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
10. ☒ This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)
Subject is Supreme Commander, Minister of Defense, and co-founder of the BPP.

11. ☒ Subject's SI card is tabbed ☒ Priority I ☐ Priority II ☐ Priority III.
☒ Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons)
of his position as leader of the BPP.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

April 29, 1971

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON 6-26-87

CAH-95203

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☒ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) 1

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Copy to:

1 - Secret Service, San Francisco
(Class 3, 5a; b, c) (RM)

Report of:

Date:

4/29/71

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Office: SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Field Office File #:

157-1203

Bureau File #: 105-165429

Title:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP3a
ON 6-26-87 BY DT
CL# 956203

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; TREASON

Synopsis:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, BPP Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense and "Servant of the People", continues to reside in Apt. 25A, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, California. Date for retrial not yet set. From 1/30/71 through 4/3/71, he spoke at various universities on East Coast of the U.S. During same period, he cancelled several appearances. In connection with appearances, NEWTON made several trips from San Francisco to East Coast. Points of travel set forth. During television appearance in San Francisco on 2/26/71, NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, former BPP Minister of Information, had disagreement over whether or not [redacted] should be expelled from BPP. NEWTON supported [redacted] and he expelled CLEAVER and Intercommunal Section. Events surrounding NEWTON-CLEAVER split set out. Expulsions of other BPP members by NEWTON set forth. NEWTON continues to make final decisions relative to BPP policy and procedures. NEWTON's activities re Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc. (SCPI), BPP international relations, BPP Ideological Institute, and his influence in settling student disruption at Merritt College, Oakland, set forth. During February and March, 1971, NEWTON visited with BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE in New Haven, Conn. NEWTON has expressed BPP support for ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON reportedly has high-powered rifle with scope in bedroom of his apartment, and may carry a "short, stiletto type blade" knife. Writings by NEWTON set out. Transcripts of speeches given by NEWTON in November and December, 1970, set forth.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

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DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. RESIDENCE:

Subject resides in Apartment 25 A, Twelve Hundred Lakeshore Apartments, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, California, under the name of DON PENN. The rent for this apartment is paid by [redacted] Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc. (SCPI), New York City, New York.

SF T-1
April 15, 1971

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[redacted]
Panther Party (BPP) in New York City,
New York, and [redacted] of SCPI.

SCPI is a BPP corporation in New York which is utilized to handle BPP financial transactions.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

On January 27, 1971, [redacted] 1200 Lake Shore Apartments, Oakland, California, advised that one of his prominent tenants has threatened to move and has claimed that at least ten others will do the same unless HUEY P. NEWTON is evicted. Tenant made no allegations that NEWTON has caused disturbances or problems of any kind.

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[redacted] fears tenant uprising and is presently conferring with his attorneys to issue eviction proceedings against NEWTON. He stated the owners would claim they were deceived by [redacted] who leased NEWTON's apartment under the name of SCPI and gave false information concerning contemplated use of the apartment.

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The February 12, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner", a daily San Francisco, California, newspaper, contained an article captioned "Huey Newton's Plush Pad, \$650 A Month, 25th Floor Digs" written by ED MONTGOMERY, Staff Reporter. The article reported that NEWTON is living in high-style in a \$650 a month apartment overlooking Lake Merritt in Oakland, California. He has been residing there under the assumed name of DON PENN since November, 1970. His top floor apartment is lavishly furnished with handsome furniture, some of it imported.

The article reported the one year lease of the apartment carries with it such services as a full time doorman, sauna, gymnasium and putting green. According to the article, the lease for the apartment was negotiated by SCPI of New York with DAVID GABRIEL LUBELL as signator.

The article also reports there is a standing order with an Oakland florist for fresh flowers daily while PENN - NEWTON is "in residence".

The February 18, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, contained a front page article captioned "The View From Newton's 'Prison' " written by TIM FINDLEY, a Chronicle Staff Reporter. The article reports that "the penthouse at 120 (correct address is 1200) Lake Shore Avenue, overlooking Lake Merritt, is what has been described as the 'posh Panther pad' " HUEY NEWTON's hideaway", yet to the young Panther leader who sometimes lives there, it is a prison".

The article continues: "The Party's national policy is handled by a seven member 'Central Committee', of which NEWTON is a member, but with insufficient voting power to overrule the body".

"Had he that power, NEWTON says, he would never have landed in the 25th story, two bedroom penthouse. That was a decision of the 'Central Committee' and it was based on providing not opulent comfort for NEWTON but secure protection.

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The \$700 a month now expended to insure his safety is considered by the Panther leadership to be almost a bargain".

The article further described the procedure one must go through in order to see NEWTON and describes the security measures of the apartment building.

The article further reports " 'I stay here because it is a security building', NEWTON said, looking out the panorama of Oakland, flooding the apartment's floor to ceiling windows. 'I'd like to be back in the streets; like it was before, BOBBY (SEALE) and I, and letting BOBBY be the spokesman. But at lease here if the police did storm in, they'd have a lot of explaining to do to the other tenants.

" 'It's like prison, really', NEWTON said, seated at the long conference sized dining table in the apartment. 'I feel like I'm a prisoner. I can't walk down the streets like I used to; when I go, there's a force that goes with me' ".

The article is accompanied by two photographs of NEWTON. One of the photographs shows NEWTON sitting on the couch inside the apartment and the other photograph shows NEWTON standing on the veranda pointing to the Alameda County Courthouse and Jail with his swagger stick. In the article NEWTON is quoted as saying he can see the courthouse and jail from every room of his apartment and "I can look down on it whenever I want".

BOBBY SEALE is publicly identified as the Chairman and co-founder of the BPP. He is presently standing trial in New Haven, Connecticut, on charges stemming from the torture - murder of alleged police informant ALEX RACKLEY in Connecticut during May, 1969.

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B. EMPLOYMENT:

Subject has no employment and is engaged on a full time basis as head of the BPP.

SF T-2
April 21, 1971

Subject is publicly known as Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the BPP.

The February 20, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther", official weekly newspaper of the BPP, shows NEWTON's title as Minister of Defense of the BPP and Supreme Servant of the People.

The April 17, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper shows NEWTON's title as Minister of Defense of the BPP and Servant of the People.

SF 157-1204
JLC/sad

C. STATUS OF NEWTON'S RE-TRIAL FOR MANSLAUGHTER:

Subject appeared in Alameda County Superior Court, Department 5, Oakland, California, on morning of February 11, 1971, at which time hearing for setting date for retrial on manslaughter charges was continued until March 12, 1971. Judge HAROLD B. HOVE, who presided, told NEWTON the hearings will be held month-to-month until such time it is known when Attorney CHARLES GARRY will complete the BOBBY SEALE trial in New Haven, Connecticut, and that NEWTON's trial will begin immediately upon completion of the SEALE trial.

CHARLES GARRY is publicly identified as a BPP Attorney working out of San Francisco. He defended NEWTON in 1968 when NEWTON was convicted of manslaughter.

On the morning of March 12, 1971, NEWTON again appeared in Alameda County Superior Court, Department 5, Oakland, before Judge HOVE. Hearing on date for setting retrial continued until April 12, 1971.

On April 12, 1971, NEWTON appeared in Alameda County Superior Court, Department 5, Oakland, before Judge HOVE and the hearing was continued to May 10, 1971. Judge HOVE stated that if NEWTON's attorney, CHARLES GARRY, is still tied up with BOBBY SEALE's trial in New Haven, Connecticut, at that time, hearings will be continued from week-to-week until the SEALE case is completed. Judge HOVE commented that nothing else is going to interfere with NEWTON's case coming to trial as soon as the SEALE trial is over.

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D. PASSPORT INFORMATION:

[redacted] Clerk, U. S. Passport Office,
Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, advised
on February 26, 1971, Subject applied for a passport at this
agency. On the Application For Passport Subject furnished
the following information:

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Name: HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Mailed Passport
To:

C/O [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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Telephone:

Date of Birth: February 17, 1942

Place of Birth: Oak Grove, Louisiana

Height: 5'10 1/2"

Hair: Black

Eyes: Brown

Visible Dis-
tinguishing Marks: None

Occupation: Community Organizer

Social Security
Number: 566-56-4375

Permanent
Address: 881 - 47th Street
Oakland, California

Person to Notify
In Case of Accident
Or Death: ARMELIA NEWTON, Mother,
881 - 47th Street,
Oakland, California

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Father:	WALTER NEWTON
Father's Place Of Birth:	Birmingham, Alabama
Father's Date Of Birth:	March 28, 1900
Mother's Maiden Name:	ARMELIA JOHNSON
Mother's Place Of Birth:	Monroe, Louisiana
Mother's Date Of Birth:	September 17, 1904
Marital Status:	Never married.

Application bore notation that Applicant's birth certificate was filed April 27, 1945, based on affidavit of attending physician.

On the application NEWTON indicated that he had previously been issued a U. S. passport in November or December of 1961, at San Francisco, but that the passport has expired and that he had lost or misplaced it.

The following information was set forth in the section of the application captioned "Proposed Travel Plans" :

Purpose of Trip:	Business
Proposed Length of Stay:	4 weeks
Number of Previous Trips Abroad Within Last 12 Months:	None

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Means of Transportation:

Probably depart and return
by air

Countries To Be
Visited:

Europe and Africa

The application is signed "HUEY P. NEWTON".

An affidavit of identifying witness filed with NEWTON's application was signed by JOHN SEALE, who said he had known NEWTON for fifteen years as a friend.

JOHN SEALE is publicly identified as the Production Manager of "The Black Panther" newspaper and the brother of BOBBY SEALE. He has recently been serving as NEWTON's bodyguard and chauffeur.

On March 3, 1971, [] advised that the San Francisco Passport Office had been instructed by the Passport Office in Washington, D. C. to issue NEWTON a passport and then send his application to the Passport Office, Legal Section. She stated NEWTON was issued Passport number B336635 on March 3, 1971, and the passport is good until March 2, 1976.

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II. ACTIVITIES

A. PERSONAL APPEARANCES:

1. Security Arrangements:

[redacted] stated on January 14, 1971, the new policy for universities desiring to have Subject appear on their campuses is that they (representatives of universities) must send an official written communication to BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, inviting Subject to speak and stating the amount they are willing to pay. A contract will then be sent by BPP National Headquarters to the person arranging the appearance, spelling out specifications demanded by the BPP that must be met before approval is granted for Subject to appear. The contract must be signed by a responsible individual and returned to BPP National Headquarters. Checks in payment for Subject's appearances should be made payable to SCPI and must be paid within one hour after he speaks. The BPP further stipulates that round trip travel expenses for Subject and two companions from California to the location of the appearance be paid in addition to the \$2500 speaking fee. Security measures for any appearance is to be handled by the local BPP chapter in the area of the university where Subject will speak.

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SF T-3
January 14, 1971



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On January 18, 1971, [redacted] discussed [redacted] problems the BPP was having with respect to special security arrangements for appearances of NEWTON, as a result of which it might be necessary to cancel NEWTON's forthcoming tour of the Eastern part of the U. S., tentatively scheduled for January 28, 1971, to on or about February 22, 1971.

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The New York 21 refers to those members of the BPP who were indicted by the New York County Grand Jury and arrested by the New York City Police Department on April 12, 1969, for conspiracy to commit murder - arson. On September 8, 1970, 13 of the 21 individuals named on the indictment went to trial in New York City.

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According to [redacted] it is the policy of the BPP, with respect to public appearances of NEWTON, that the BPP desires to search all persons entering the place in which NEWTON is to appear and also desires that all persons attending be seated at least ten minutes before NEWTON appears. NEWTON will not share the platform with anyone else on the occasion of his appearances.

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With respect to NEWTON's proposed Eastern trip, the BPP had been questioned by Princeton University in regard to these security procedures and also desired NEWTON to share the platform with some other speaker, whose identity was unknown. Accordingly, NEWTON had instructed [redacted] to raise his fee at Princeton University to \$5,000.00, and she reported that she had sent a letter to the school this date to this effect, with an ultimatum that if the school refused the special security measures of the BPP, NEWTON's appearance at the school would be cancelled. In view of that, she expects a cancellation.

SF T-4
January 18, 1971

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

2. Completed Appearances:

- a. Lee High School
New Haven, Connecticut
January 30, 1971

At 8:50 PM January 30, 1971, Special Agents of the FBI observed NEWTON arrive at Lee High School in a dark blue Peugeot bearing Connecticut license [REDACTED] NEWTON was accompanied by [REDACTED] and two unidentified Negro males and they entered Lee High School.

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[REDACTED]

NEWTON spoke at Lee High School on January 30, 1971, in conjunction with a BPP sponsored meeting for concerned citizens at that high school. A full house audience of 1100 persons was in attendance.

NEWTON stated that his purpose in coming to New Haven was to free BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS.

ERICKA HUGGINS is a co-defendant with BOBBY SEALE in Superior Court, New Haven, Connecticut.

NEWTON's speech dealt with BPP ideology and the need for freeing all "political prisoners". NEWTON described "political prisoners" as being all persons who were in jails in the United States on charges resulting from their anti-Government activities. In regard to the trial of SEALE and HUGGINS, NEWTON stated, "Is it not your obligation and right to do everything necessary to stop the murder of BOBBY SEALE? If the law says that BOBBY and ERICKA should face the electric chair then the people should accept that but I say the people should not accept that like they did not do in my case. The law is bound to make mistakes and people should be allowed to correct the laws. BPP members are true and non-violent people who must preserve and defend themselves and not let occur the murder of BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS".

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NEWTON continued: "We may not see the fruits of our revolution in our lifetime, but we will go on struggling while the tanks roll up to our door. We have only two alternatives - reactionary suicide and revolutionary suicide. We prefer the latter. Men should not serve laws, but laws should serve men. There is no law which says a man should give up his life without a struggle. The ten point program is not a revolutionary program, but rather a survival program which includes a free breakfast program and a program where kids can get free shoes. We must provide the young with strong bodies and strong minds and teach them the truth about this society".

NEWTON also quoted ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, stating "We will level the earth if we do not get our manhood". He stated that, "A man must make a covenant with death. The reactionary system seeks to solve problems through murder, legal or otherwise. A man who has been executed cannot have his grievance redressed. There is no law we must respect. The state has a covenant with death and solutions are based on violence while they preach non-violence. Life cannot be taken away by gradual processes also; example, denial of medical care, unemployment, etc. The BPP would rather be kicked out with a stick rather than swept out with a broom because the broom is humiliating. We will not bow to the stick or the gun. The BPP wishes for a time when the gun will not be needed. A time of life, harmony, peace and order".

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is publicly identified as the former Minister of Information of the BPP. He is a Federal fugitive and is currently in Algiers, Algeria.

Concerning prisons, NEWTON stated, "No law can justify the kind of prisons we have here. No law can justify the death penalty. Reactionary suicide is a reactionary tactic. Our obligation is to preserve our lives by any means necessary, as well as by standing in front of a tank. The

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BPP spits on the tank to show contempt. Revolutionary suicide attempts to destroy the tank. We attempt to bring an end to the causes of danger and provocation.

"Individually we do not know if we will see the fruits of the struggle, but we know the people will survive. He stated that there are really only two alternatives - reactionary suicide and revolutionary suicide. The BPP chooses revolutionary suicide because we are dying every day. When law does not serve the people it should not be recognized. If BOBBY and ERICKA stay bound up tight, we will pull back the switch and there will be no more light. Our goal is education, so there will be no more racism or war. We are diminished when we have to take lives. We are all 'homo sapiens', all of the same species. We cannot work out new value systems given the current power circle. We must be ready to take life to break the power and we call upon you to help us. The whole concept of nationhood is made up to exploit the people. We know man must eat-earth should supply these things. No one has the right to fence in grain while people starve. The State thinks it can determine who will live and who will die. To straighten out the Courts, we must straighten out the country by power in the community."

After concluding his speech, NEWTON stated that he would be in New Haven for several months and plans are presently being formulated to start a free shoe clinic in New Haven.

SF T-5
January 31, 1971

A great deal of community support had been generated for NEWTON's speech. This was evidenced by the overflow crowd which responded for NEWTON's appearance.

SF T-6
February 1, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The overflow from NEWTON's appearance at Lee High School were given free passes for an appearance by NEWTON which was scheduled for Woolsey Hall, Yale University, New Haven, on January 31, 1971. All persons except those given free passes would be charged a fee of \$2.00 to attend NEWTON's speech.

SF T-7
January 30, 1971

At 10:10 PM January 30, 1971, Agents of the FBI observed NEWTON and his party leaving Lee High School. They entered the above-described Peugeot and the vehicle proceeded to [redacted] where they were escorted into this residence by [redacted]

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[redacted] New Haven Attorney DAVID ROSEN, who is assisting CHARLES GARRY in the defense of BOBBY SEALE in New Haven.

b. Woolsey Hall
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut
January 31, 1971

On January 31, 1971, NEWTON spoke at Woolsey Hall, Yale University, concerning new ideology changes in the BPP. NEWTON spoke before approximately 1200 people, predominately Yale students. NEWTON expounded on his Panther Philosophy and discussed revolutionary intercommunalism. NEWTON was assisted by other Panther leaders, including [redacted] and [redacted]. He was also assisted by several pertinent guards and the audience was thoroughly searched prior to entering the hall. NEWTON's speech lasted approximately 90 minutes and he entered and departed by the rear door of the hall.

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SF T-6
January 31, 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1-

Date February 8, 1971

On February 1, 1971, ~~SA [redacted]~~ furnished the following summary statements made by HUEY P. NEWTON at his speech of Woolsey Hall, Yale University, January 31, 1971:

NEWTON began by thanking those present for freeing him from prison and said he was here to free BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS as well as LONNIE MC LUCAS. He called for the freeing of all political prisoners. He stated that we must change our revolutionary attitudes - put them into practice. He assured the audience that BOBBY would be freed by "whatever means necessary." He stated that the BPP is against the death penalty. The "racist reactionaries can make no law that the people are bound to respect." He stated that contrary to public opinion, the BPP does have an ideology. He quoted MALCOLM X by stating "Watch in the halls of justice - injustice is being done." He paraphrased that quotation by stating, "Watch in the halls of education - miseducation is being done." NEWTON discussed materialism and various philosophical theories such as "Kant's Rational Method of Solution." He also discussed WILLIAM JAMES' pragmatism. He discussed MARX and ENGELS and dialectical materialism. At times his pronunciation was erroneous and logic completely incorrect. Many of the approximately one thousand persons present appeared unimpressed. He criticized the united States and its capitalism and imperialism and stated that the United States Government exploits its people. The United States has gone from a colonial to a neo-colonial system and has now reached a reactionary intercommunalism. The BPP's ideology calls for a revolutionary intercommunalism. He discussed also minority cultures and stated that the Black Culture had been "raped." He said there does not exist a war anywhere in the world today but merely police actions. He added that the people will have power. He also stated that Black Capitalism cannot exist. He also quoted Freud, Hegel, and Professor ERIC ERICKSON. He advocated a theory of "essential miscegenation." He criticized FREUD, JUNG, and HEGEL as

On 2/1/71 at NEW HAVEN, CONN. File # NH 157-1031

by SA [redacted] amp Date dictated 2/5/71

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- 21 -

having made mistakes concerning man's essential motivation. He discussed the Lumpen Proletariat and defined it as the unemployed minority. He stated that as unemployment increases, the Lumpen will become the majority and hence the people will take power. NEWTON's speech lasted for approximately one hour and ten minutes. Near the end he was interrupted by a bodyguard who passed him a note which appeared to be sent by CHARLES GARRY (this note may have told him to bring his speech to a close, which he did). NEWTON concluded by stating "we will pull the capitalists down lightly. Even the capitalist was not born of a stone - he has relatives also." There followed NEWTON's speech a question and answer period in which three questions were asked. NEWTON was asked to :

- 1) Comment on the trend toward Western culture
- 2) On the anti-semitic nature of the BPP
- 3) Whether or not Russia was a socialist country

NEWTON answered all three questions by avoiding the questions and going off on a separate tirade.

Source further advised that NEWTON arrived approximately two hours late for his speech. He was dressed in a full length beige topcoat and carried a short black baton with a silver head which he used for emphasis during his speech. He appeared to be extremely satisfied with himself; however, his delivery was poor and many of the spectators appeared bored by what he was saying. Source stated that approximately half of the people there appeared to have paid the two dollar entrance fee; however, several had free passes and were allowed to enter without paying. There were no unusual incidents; however, one older professor refused to be searched at the door and was sent away. NEWTON arrived by the rear door and departed by same since it is a short walk to Trumbull College where he is staying.

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c. Radio Station WYBC
New Haven, Connecticut
February 1, 1971

Subject was featured on Radio Station WYBC on the night of February 1, 1971, and was interviewed by students at Yale University. NEWTON stated he was well pleased so far with New Haven and response he had received. "It's very beautiful and we're proud that the people seemed to be very interested in the plight of BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS and also that they're concerned about the kind of repression that all people in general, and black people in particular, suffer in America." NEWTON was asked how long he would be in New Haven and stated, "We plan to be here for an undeterminate length of time". He would like to mobilize the court for BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS and for the freedom of LONNIE MC LUCAS. He did not mention a definite time, stating, "It will be approximately 30 to 60 days, but if necessary we will stay here more time". NEWTON then went into the history of the BPP, discussed NAT TURNER, civil rights movements for the liberation struggle, and questions were telephoned in by Yale students but were screened prior to asking NEWTON by the moderator of the program. NEWTON made no unusual statements of this program.

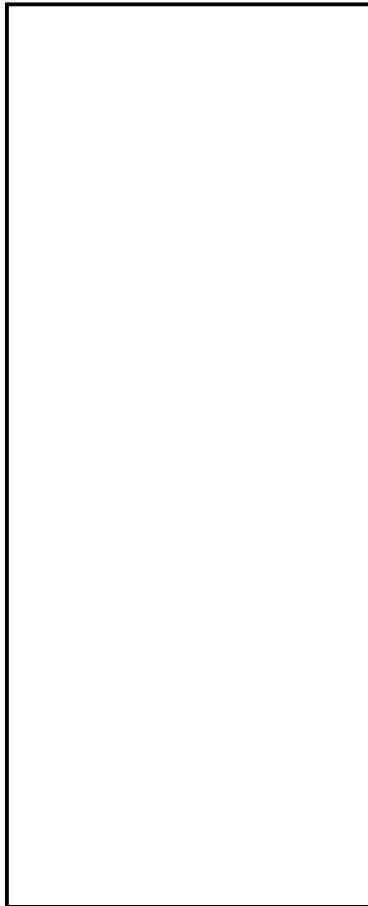
Agents of the FBI
New Haven, Connecticut
February 1, 1971

d. Seminar At Trumbull College
Yale University,
New Haven, Connecticut
February 2 - 4, 1971

On February 2, 1971, information was received that a seminar would be conducted on the campus of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, and that the major participants would be HUEY NEWTON, ERIC ERICKSON, noted professor from Harvard University, KAI ERICKSON, Acting Master of Trumbull College,

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Yale University, and Professor ELTING E. MORISON, Master, Timothy Dwight College, Yale University. In addition, the following 14 students were selected to witness this seminar:

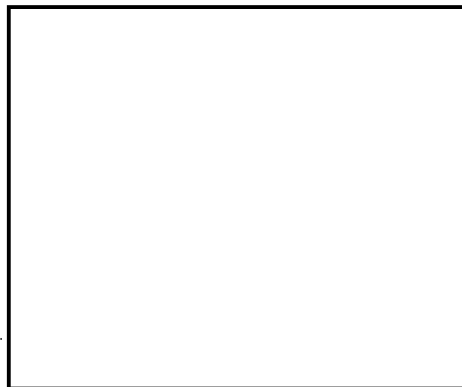


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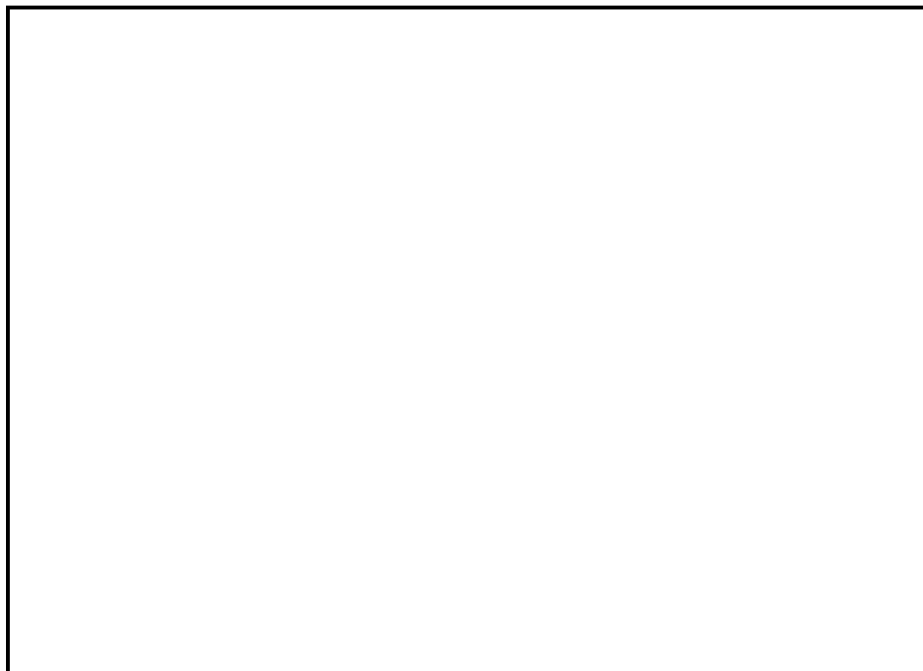
Three chairs had been reserved for Yale University Press personnel and would be occupied from time to time by Mr. CHESTER KERR of the Yale Press and his assistants, JANE F. ISAY, Editor, Yale Press, Mr. WHITNEY, and JAMES L. PRATT, Assistant Director, Yale University Press.

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The following individuals would be included in
NEWTON's party:



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An additional chair would be set up for a technician
from the Audio Visual Section in order that photographs might
be taken.

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February 2, 1971

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NEWTON's three day seminar was to be tape recorded and edited for publication by the Yale University Press. This book would be published in a paperback edition and all proceeds would go to HUEY NEWTON and the BPP. A guarantee of \$28,000 has been promised to the BPP. Yale University was attempting to "keep this matter quiet until after the departure of NEWTON from New Haven".

SF T-5
February 2, 1971

NEWTON concluded his three day seminar with ERIC ERICKSON at Yale University on February 4, 1971. NEWTON, during the three day seminar, appeared to be nervous and that by the third day, the situation at the seminar became "uncomfortable".

NEWTON was unable to transfer his ideas to practical action. He indicated that his plans had been formulated, but he did not seem willing to develop these plans. During question and answering periods, NEWTON continually evaded questions, and attempted to discuss problems of the countries, such as Cuba and Africa. NEWTON appeared to have been well coached and tutored by someone extremely familiar with Marxist - Leninist philosophy and ideology. He also appeared to have been tutored recently in the History of Philosophy and was able to discuss the basic ideas of EMMANUEL KANT and HEGAL. He appeared to have given his presentation several times previously. Those who participated in the seminar did not appear impressed and by the third day seemed disillusioned. ERIC ERICKSON attempted to get along with NEWTON and, therefore, did not question him too closely. ERICKSON took copious notes the first day and did not speak hardly at all. The students, who participated, were not allowed to question NEWTON directly. They were required to direct questions through KAI ERICKSON, the temporary Master of Trumbull College. NEWTON was observed drinking beer on several occasions during the nine hour seminar.

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During the three day seminar NEWTON spoke specifically concerning KANT'S "Rationale", Materialism and Logic, Marx and Engels, Freud, and specifically dialectical materialism. Remarks by NEWTON were illogical and confusing.

SF T-5
February 5, 1971

The ERIC ERICKSON - HUEY P. NEWTON seminar was held on the second floor conference room of the Yale University Press Building, 149 York Street, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday on February 2 - 4, 1971, from approximately 9:00 AM to 1:00 PM each day. This seminar was attended by various university faculty and students, as well as select members of NEWTON's personal group. This seminar was by invitation only and was closed to the public and news media. The moderators of the colloquium were KAI T. ERICKSON, Trumbull College, Massachusetts; ELLING E. MORISON; TIMOTHY DWIGHT, College Master; and CHESTER KERR, the Director of the Yale Press.

A group of 14 Yale students were also invited. NEWTON's party consisted of [redacted] and an individual named [redacted] who was described [redacted]

[redacted] resides at [redacted] was stationed at the entrance door at the conference room and allowed only those on a specified list to enter. Refreshments were served periodically and the conference room was off limits to people working in the building, as well as outsiders.

NEWTON and his group were guests of Mr. ERICKSON and resided and dined at Trumbull College. Extra security was furnished by the Yale police to insure that there would be no embarrassing incidents during NEWTON's stay at Yale University.

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On February 2, 1971, NEWTON's party arrived at 10:35 and did not appear to be in any hurry. NEWTON's group consisted of [] and an individual named [] who was described as a personal friend of HUEY NEWTON. At 11:30 AM the seminar broke up, with a coffee break and no formal schedule was followed. All appeared to be getting along well and the seminar was being tape recorded in order to be used for a future publication in book form. At 11:47 the group returned to the conference room for further discussion. At 1:00 PM a first key session ended with a light lunch served buffet style. The only individual who left the seminar was [] who reportedly has an ulcer and who travelled to the kitchen on several occasions for milk. NEWTON and his party left the building at 2:15 PM and returned to Trumbull College. Just prior to the breaking up of the first day session, two individuals appeared at the building and were refused entrance. They were later identified as personal friends of NEWTON and from out of town. They departed with NEWTON.

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The second session on Wednesday, February 3, 1971, commenced with the arrival of NEWTON at 9:55 AM. The second session followed the format of the first session. [] again continued his coming and going to take care of his ulcerated stomach. An additional person to NEWTON's party named [] took part in the second session.

[] the BPP in
Chicago, Illinois.

The third and final session of the seminar on Thursday, February 4, 1971, again took place at the second floor conference room of the Yale University Press from 10:00 AM to 1:00 PM. []

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[] all sat in on the final session as observers. At 9:41 AM, CHARLES R. GARRY and DAVID ROSEN, Defense Attorneys for BOBBY SEALE, arrived. At 9:52 Mr. and [] arrived and were allowed to observe the seminar. NEWTON and [] did not arrive until 10:32 and the dissatisfaction on the part of the people kept waiting was very much apparent.

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At 12:25 PM, NEWTON and [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] exited from the conference room. [REDACTED]
her coat and as she was leaving, NEWTON passed her a key and
stated that he would see her at another time that day. At
12:35 PM, NEWTON, [REDACTED] GARRY and [REDACTED] departed the
building and went directly to the courthouse to visit with
BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS.

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The last session was concluded with no incidents
or disorders of any nature. During the complete three days
of the seminar, there were no open attempts by the public,
common news media, or anyone else to try to gain entrance into
the building because of the session being held with NEWTON
and his group.

SF T-7
February 5, 1971

On February 5, 1971 the "New York Times" carried the following article concerning NEWTON's three day seminar entitled "ERIKSON AND NEWTON DISCUSS ISSUES IN CONFERENCE AT YALE."

Session in Honor of Erik Erikson at Yale

By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

Special to The New York Times

NEW HAVEN, Feb. 4 — For monologue using the notes for the last three days Erik H. Erikson, the psychoanalyst, and Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther, have been engaged in lengthy discussions at Yale University.

The public and the press were barred from the series of three-hour-long talks that ended this afternoon, but 14 selected students—eight white and six black—sat with the two men at a long rectangular table in a library at the Yale University Press and were allowed to ask questions. The university press hopes the conversations can be turned into a book.

Neither Mr. Erikson, who is 68 years old and a professor of developmental psychology at Harvard, nor Mr. Newton, the 29-year-old minister of defense of the Panthers, who is free on bond pending a retrial in California in connection with the death of a policeman three years ago, would talk with a reporter.

Others who were present during the discussions, however, said the talks centered on the ideology of the Black Panther party as outlined by Mr. Newton, with Mr. Erikson making comments and observations drawing from his youth as a student of Freud and his more recent studies of Ghandi (for which he won a National Book Award last year) and Martin Luther.

Party Shift Explained.

One student said that Mr. Newton's opening statement on the first day, which ran an hour and 15 minutes, closely resembled a speech reprinted in the Jan. 23 issue of the party newspaper. There, Mr. Newton told how party members has shifted from thinking of themselves as black nationalists in 1966 to revolutionary nationalists, then as internationalists and finally to something which he called "revolutionary intercommunalists," but did not precisely define.

After a coffee break, several

students asked questions of Mr. Newton. But Chester Kerr, the director of the Yale University Press, said: "Somewhat to our surprise, Erik Erikson never opened his mouth the first day."

Instead, the psychoanalyst fascinated many of the students by furiously taking notes on a long narrow pad, writing first with a blue pen, then switching off to a red one for underlining and connecting ideas.

The next day, Mr. Erikson opened with an hour-and-15-

minutes monologue using the notes for guidance. The two men spent most of the session today answering questions that had grown out of the two earlier meetings.

Despite the vast differences in age and background between Mr. Erikson and Mr. Newton, the 39-year-old eldest son of the psychoanalyst who served as moderator, said they felt the two had managed to communicate and understand each other.

Moments of Frustration.

Mr. Kerr said there were "obvious moments of frustration," but added: "This surely could be said of any academic seminar."

"A nine-hour conversation has its own rhythm, its own logic and its own momentum," said the younger Mr. Erikson who is a sociologist and master of Trumbull College at Yale. "This was an intense, sustained conversation for nine hours."

Many of the students were frankly awed by the two men. Some were unconvinced, however, that Mr. Erikson and Mr. Newton had come away understanding each other.

In a statement reminiscent of those issued after diplomatic meetings, Mr. Kerr said both men had agreed that the discussions had constituted "a useful and educational exchange."

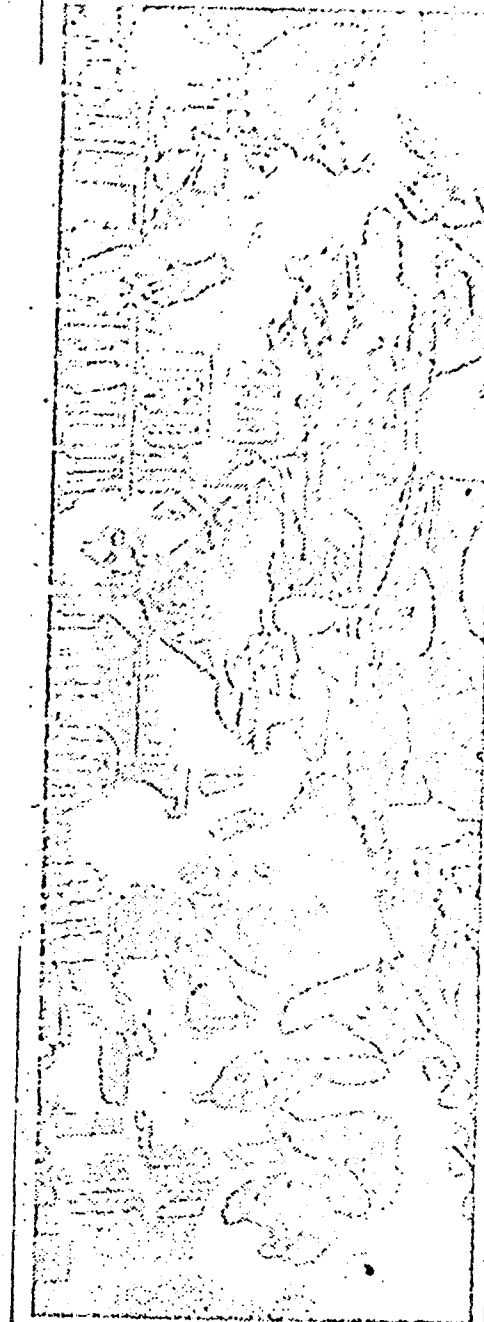
The younger Mr. Erikson said he had arranged for the discussions. Initially, he said, he had planned for a meeting of Mr. Newton with some students. Then he asked his father if he would like to talk with Mr. Newton and the more elaborate meeting developed.

In the last few days, Mr. Newton and at least two other members of the party have been living in the guest suite and Trumbull College. Last night and the night before, Mr. Newton and Mr. Erikson met informally at the younger Mr. Erikson's home.

Mr. Kerr and some of the students felt the evening chats had brought the two men closer and caused "done natural barriers to drop."

On the second day, for example, Mr. Kerr said, instead of referring to Mr. Erikson as "the professor," Mr. Newton would remark, "as my friend Erik says..."

After each three-hour discussion, the group relaxed around a table of roast beef and ham and cheese sandwiches, bean soup, beer and coffee. For the senior Mr. Erikson, there was always a paper cup of brandy and soda.



On February 5, 1971 the "Yale Daily News", a daily newspaper published on campus at Yale University, contained the following article entitled "THREE-DAY COLLOQUIUM ENDS."

Three-Day Colloquium Ends

By TOM WATSON

A three-day colloquium featuring Erickson and Huey Newton included yesterday afternoon, but its intent will not be known until the possible publication of the proceedings in a book.

Commenting on the session, Kai T. Erickson, who along with Elting Eason moderated the colloquium, said, "It was the tempo, the temper in the tone of the conversation that was its power. Secrets weren't wanted; new information was not withheld."

Erickson continually stressed his intent: neither the flavor nor the content of a "very powerful nine-hour presentation" could be accurately reduced to a few words, however. He accordingly declined comment on the essence of the three-day exchange. Talks have been extremely

sketchy throughout the conference. The site of the colloquium, the second floor of the Yale University Press, was not released until today.

Closed And Intimate

According to Erickson, the participants wanted a "close, intimate exchange without being the center of a spectacle."

The meeting place was not released in order to keep down the number of people in the room, he explained.

Although the ultimate content of the colloquium is not known, Erickson did say that the first day (Tuesday) was largely devoted to an explanation by Newton of the ideology of the Black Panther Party.

"It was a careful presentation of the Panther Party's current emphasis on intercommunalism," Erickson said. He again stressed the importance of the tone of the meeting.

"A nine-hour conference has its own rhythm, its own logic; and it can't be highlighted," Erickson explained.

The second day began with comments by Erik Erickson, followed by general discussion, Kai Erickson said.

Complicated Negotiations

Contrary to earlier reports, the idea for the colloquium originated in a phone call to Erickson from "some one close to Huey Newton."

Negotiations for the meeting were then carried through a variety of third and fourth parties.

Erickson did not actually speak to Newton until Sunday night at Woolsey Hall.

A few days after the proposal that Newton speak to some Yale students, Erickson thought of inviting his father, Erik Erickson.

Proposals concerning the possibility of a book emerging from a transcript

of the meeting were first made by a New York publisher, Erickson said.

Options for such a book appear to be currently held by Yale University Press.

Before a book may be published however, the major participants of the colloquium must give their consent, Erickson said.

The transcript of the meeting has been copyrighted.

Eighteen persons participated in the colloquium. They were Newton, Erickson, the two moderators, and 14 students. Eight of the students were white; six were black.

The number of participants was in part decided by the capacity of the conference table, according to Erickson.

The actual selection process for the students was to a large extent random, he said.

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e. New Haven College
West Haven, Connecticut
February 5, 1971

On February 5, 1971, at about 1:30 PM, NEWTON spoke at the Student Center, University of New Haven, West Haven, Connecticut. The crowd numbered approximately 250, and was comprised primarily of college students. The speech lasted about one-half hour. NEWTON made some of the following points during his speech:

The problem of survival is a most important one. Since laws are made by man, they are sometimes unjust. There are ways to correct these laws without reverting to physical violence; such as marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, etc.

He spoke out against the death penalty since there is no appeal from death in the event the state makes a mistake.

He stated there is a need to reconstruct the social system. If the system will not allow reconstruction, you have the right and duty to take necessary steps to correct it.

The BPP's aims are to help the socially oppressed whites and blacks; to reconstruct society so the people can take it over.

Many business leaders and governors of states consider the rest of the people as inferior; the Panthers intend to bring power back to the people. The power structure is hindering progression in some areas. Despite advances in medicine, people are not benefiting. The Panthers have set up about 44 health clinics in various states and have recently opened up a shoe factory which serves all who come.

He asked that all present support BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS by coming to the courthouse during the trial.

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February 5, 1971

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f. Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey
February 9, 1971

On February 9, 1971, NEWTON arrived at Jadwin Gymnasium, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, as scheduled. The affair did not start until 9:20 PM because of delays which were due to the presence of metal detectors at the entrances to the gymnasium and the subsequent search of all persons who activated these detectors because of the presence of metal in their possession. Approximately 6000 individuals were in attendance at the speech, which was sponsored by the Princeton Chapter of the New University Conference (NUC). NUC has had problems financing the event; however, Professor C. WILLIAM WHEATLY, who is the leader and often times spokesman of the NUC, said the organization had received money donations from undergraduate students and outside sources. It is not known if NEWTON lowered his fee, since according to WHEATLY the NUC had raised about \$5800 and this, of course, was not enough to cover NEWTON's fee and expenses.

The NUC is self-described as an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist group which is opposed to the war in Indo-China.

NEWTON spoke on "The BPP Program Now". He gave a historical analysis of the black man and at no time did he ever make any inflammatory statements or utter any obscenities. NEWTON's speech was not a fiery speech and at least one half of the people in the audience became very bored shortly after NEWTON started his speech and as a result they left the gymnasium. The crowd was not sympathetic and very few applauded NEWTON. No unusual activities occurred.

SF T-9

February 9, 1971

SF 157-1203

JIC/sad

[redacted] RPP member from Jersey City, New Jersey, transported NEWTON and [redacted] from New York City to Princeton, New Jersey, but the method of transportation utilized is not known. NEWTON was paid the sum of \$800 for this engagement immediately prior to his speech. NEWTON was quite upset over the small sum but agreed to fill the engagement because the audience was in place and they were desirous of hearing him speak. There were between 5000 - 6000 persons in the audience, many of whom left after a short time. By the end of the speech, which was about 11:00 PM, one third to one quarter of the original audience remained. The audience generally was unenthusiastic as it was obvious NEWTON's speech was vague and difficult to follow with little continuity.

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SF T-10

February 9, 1971

Prior to entering Jadwin Gymnasium all persons attending the speech by NEWTON were required to pass through a metal detector.

SF T-11

February 9, 1971

NEWTON's speech was recorded by SF T-11 on February 9, 1971. A transcript of NEWTON's speech is as follows:

HUEY NEWTON

... statement. For the freedom away
or how to take the freedom away of DAVID FRY (ph) so DAVID
FRY can be set free. He was ah put into jail for simply
ah selling our newspaper. That tells, that says a lot for
the First Amendment, you know. We don't believe in it any
way but ah it is becoming very clear that they don't either.
So ah the only things that are right pressing on me and should
be pressing on you is the freedom of BOBBY SEALE (ph) and
ERICA (ph) and also of ANGELA DAVIS and some of their brothers
and MICHELLE MC KEAB (ph). (APPLAUSE). You can free them,
the BLACK PANTHER PARTY cannot free them. The BLACK PANTHER
PARTY is not responsible for my freedom, you are. So it seems
to be the problem, a problem of consciousness as we call it.
Sometimes ah the people are so ah outraged by the violence
and by the brutal treatment of the established order until

they have ah a spontaneous recovery and I say spontaneous recovery because we believe at one time all of us realize our powers, our powers based upon our freedom but now we might feel overwhelmed because of the vicious authority of United States Imperialism. But ah tonight we will attempt to develop an approach to the problems in our community, the problems of the world. We will do this, ah, in a systematic way but first I would like to apologize. I would like to apologize to you, ah, for my, own ah shortcomings and that is that, ah, I'm not a very eloquent man, but the BLACK PANTHER PARTY was not built to form fancy phrases, ah, clauses, fancy phrases and clauses, that is it was build to form a program that was very concrete. After we made a very concrete analysis of our environment, that the material we attempted to, ah, to institute a program that will relate to these problems but in order to implement a program and institute a program such as ours, we had to have some system of thinking, that would give to us a conclusion that reflected

the real world. And I mention this to you because much of the time we're not clear on our thinking and especially now that, ah, in the various institutions where I've had the, ah, opportunity to speak, many of the educational institutions, I've seen miseducation there. I saw it through the, ah, discourse of some of the students, in fact most of the students. It was very apparent that something had gone wrong. It is very difficult for us to think in a society such as this that our educational institutions do not even attempt to teach us anything. It teaches to, it, it would like to confuse us. It likes to mislead us but yet extract the work, the creative things that are necessary to perpetuate this whole reactionary system. This is done through a very ah, tricky method, a very devious method. And tonight we will point it out through pointing out, ah, not only the, ah, the, ah, devious (inaudible) of the established ruler circle

and all of its institutions, the educational institution being only one of them, the educational institution is only an agent for the reactionary ruler circle. They do this, ah, its really a double evil, that, ah, first the institutions are erected and established in order to, ah, aid the development of a highly industrialized, technological society but the problem, the issue, is how would the ruling class be able to do this, to educate and at the same time miseducate. How would they be able to turn out technicians. How would they be able to turn out the scientists either, without turning out fakey people. And I'll tell you, ah, we have to give them a couple of points because they almost did just that but for a few of us. Most of us don't know how, but we know that its a fact but the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, through using a systematic, ah, way of approaching our problem, figured it out. The first thing is in order to keep the industrial, technological society going, we must, we need educated people, a special kind of

education, we need scientists. So we will will them with a conglomeration of facts, facts that show no relationship to each other, facts, facts that are categorical, in other words, they teach that there's no relationship between Physics, and Sociology and Psychology. They say you must specialize and be competent in that area and that even in that area they teach us that things are so disconnected and so a part can change without changing the whole. And you can change the whole thing even leaving one part stable and this is why you hear such rhetoric, ah, from the established order. That the only thing wrong with American Empire is that there are few, there are few fall people around, so therefore we'll institute a poverty program to correct that. The ruling circle will stay in time. We see that they teach us that there's no such thing as development, that things are just shifted around like, ah, mechanical, ah, parts is shifted and they're no interconnected at all, they only, ah, act according

to others, externally. So we eliminate 2/3 of humanity and keep that 1/3 intact. We know this is not true. But this is what we learn that we become professionals. Professionals are specialized in a certain area and we're always dedicated and responsible for that area and that's the way things always happen. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY calls this approach not only the ah approach of the ruling circle of the United States, but is ah we call it a metaphysical ah materialistic approach, or sometimes we might call it the metamystic, materialistic approach. But first, that I will lay the foundation which is our chief ah obligation today to exactly how the BLACK PANTHER PARTY arrived at some of its conclusions, 'cause too much of the time that you arrive at the conclusions without investigating them, and accept them as facts, dogma. The educational institutions are responsible for you doing this and we criticize and we can never criticize without offering a constructive criticism. A constructive criticism is always based upon a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, so I'll back up a little bit now and

go over some of the things I stated later on in our discussion but first I'm gonna ask ah some agreements from you and I need these agreements now in order to hold an intelligent dialogue and for this reason that we men, human beings, don't know very much you see. We don't know very much but most of the time we start out with the basic presumption, sometimes they call basic premises and we if we are not careful we take these hypocrisies of basic premises as absolute truth. We do this because it is difficult sometimes to test our first presumption and this is why I say that we don't know very much you see. It is to a point that we believe that science will deliver to us the necessary information and all of us are scientists, that we will deliver to ourselves the necessary information so that we will know something about beginning, ending and also first presumptions because there will no longer be a presumption, we will prove them true. We believed that science would do this but ah until it happens we don't necessarily know there will be a case.

Now I warn you got a pretty long way yet but after I lay the foundation and show you how the BLACK PANTHER PARTY arrived at his at its position and then we will talk about application and that's when we really get into ah what is' known as revolution but before we talk about revolution we have to talk about a systematic way of thinking and for planning because we know that ah a revolutionary act unplanned is a power revolutionary act so we're not going to follow that theory that we're going to suffer and we're gonna stay here tonight until we all agree, all reasonable people here will agree, that ah the vanguard of a people's revolution had reached a reasonable, rational, logical, dialectical conclusion and if we're not able to represent and defend the position then I will be perfectly willing to express the philosophy or ideology of anyone here whose able to give forth a reasonable approach. So ah first, in order to develop

a systematic way of thinking that boasts of a conglomeration of facts that show no relationship to each other only when the boss says A relates to B and you put those together and you come with an automobile, that ah we will attempt to show how systems of thought were arrived at.. Most of us here, many of us here would like to think that we do not have or I donnt have an ideology, I do not have a philosophy, I only relate to the facts of the matter. That's a clear indication of one whose _____ a conglomeration of facts and there's no _____ to their facts, just as in a scientific laboratory that ah we attempt to develop a formula in order to ah understand whatever we're studying. We understand the thing better if we understand it in the school context . So in order to understand society, as the scientist must also use the laboratory, but the laboratory in this case happens to be

itself and our community. So all of us have an ideology.

Number one, don't fool yourself. You might not be conscious of the ideology but there is a system that you use that, you give, that gives you what you believe is a valid conclusion.

In developing a system of thought it was necessary for the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and as any logical institute to examine all of the ways of reaching a conclusion. So first we went through what was called the idealist way because generally there are two great schools of thought and that is the school of the Idealists and then the school of the materialist and there is various persuasion of each. Some people mixing one with the other but first let's talk about the idealist way.

The idealist first say that I'm not sure and in fact the external world does not exist and all of the things, all of the pictures or images are not really images because even an images signifies an external object. All other pictures that

go around in my mind are only intangible, spiritual things projected by an intangible being which is myself, you see. This person is called a subjective idealist and I would ask you to bear with me because it takes sometime for me to relate this first statement through the fact of revolution but revolution don't come overnight. A spontaneous revolution is called a riot and not a revolution at all. So all people who are truly interest^{ed} in the problem will struggle here through this very boring speech to the question and answer period, where you will be able to challenge it, ah I believe I was talking about the ah subjective idealist and he's a very difficult person to deal with because as we already examined we saw that ah a man does not know very much, especially about the material world. We realize if we close our eyes we can see things ^{but} or we have concepts which is a better

of somewhat practical, we assume that they're wrong. We assume that in fact there is an external world and science in the future will give us the necessary information to prove that, but we can't prove it right now. So therefore we're somewhat arbitrary in our choice between the idealist way which says that I'm only a spiritual being and what's outside ah only a spiritual thing. We say that in fact there are material things there and that in fact the basis of all things are based on material in other words, we do not believe that ah we will go on existing if suddenly a head were to disappear, we think that it would be the end for us so therefore that even the spiritual, even a spiritual has a material foundation because it relies upon the organism and mechanism of the brain which is definitely material so this is the case for the materialist. Maybe at the end of this ah

dialogue if someone will set forth a case for the idealist. I will accept a few things about him because as we already said, we don't believe any. So ah the idealist school developed to a certain extent and I take a shortcut from the history of development of thought and philosophy. It developed and progressed as far as I'm concerned when a man by the name of EMANUEL KENT (ph) applied logic to the idealistic abstraction or to those spiritual concepts that man seems to have. When he did this the intergration of idealism and logic, that you have something that is called rationale. When you intergrate these two qualities, first you only have a conglomeration of ah spiritual abstraction before you discriminate between them through their quality, quantity, weight and value. In other words, what is the difference between one concept or one of those pictures when you close your eyes. What is the difference between one and the other? How do

you find relationship between them. The only way either, the only way you can do this is give one a weight, a value that the other one does not have and by that method that you ah distinguish between them. Some people say that logic is also based upon mathematics and they say that ah especially the mathematicians, they say that we're, they get their weight and value, they get the weight and value from the external world but we won't stipulate that at this moment because we don't know, but they get it from some place. So they get weight and value, quantity and quality that's really called in scientific terms logic, the mathematicians say they get it from the external world. We say they either get it from the external world or they arbitrarily apply weight, value, quality and quantity to idealistic abstractions so that they can distinguish between the two and find a relationship such ^{they} as^{ado} in what they call pure mathematics, algebraic reasoning

or geometry or any of the so-called higher mathematics as depends upon reasoning. Remember that the things we get from reasoning are spiritual things or just concepts and these concepts might and might not relate to the external world, so when EMANUEL KENT (ph) applied logic to idealistic abstractions, there was a new system developed called rationale and I must make it clear that he did this because ah people were not satisfied with the spiritualist and even in EMANUEL KENT'S (PH) time. So in order to reach a valid conclusion that ah we ah we created or pointed out rather, a new method of arriving at conclusions. So the rational method goes like this and we ^{HAVE} are set examples of it in mathematics, that the rational method will give you a rational, valid, logical conclusion but the conclusion has very little to do with our environment and the reason ~~why~~ I'm talking so much about it is because to know what to do, first

we have to know what not to do, you see. So ah the rational method was very good in dealing with those abstractions and it goes like this in mathematics of course you can ah use certain symbols and algebraic reasoning as A equals B and B equal 3 and da da da we reach a conclusion of X. We find out what that is all about but X might not exist in the external world and that's why we say that ah the mathematical way of approaching things does not first does not cure and secondly it does not necessarily tell us anything about the external world, the external world we must know something about because as victims we're oppressed by it. So as revolutionists, we must figure out a strategy, a plan, to manipulate it, get around it, and devastate it, but in order to do this we must use clear thinking, clear thinking that takes time. Clear thinking that will not be pursued through rhetoric and phrase mongering; clear thinking that only comes through sacrifice

and sweat. So this is our call. Now ah it goes further with the rational method, its not only mathematical, certain schools are . I'll give an example, a logical rational ah . If the sky or A if you will, you can use either or, because emphasis is upon the system and not the ah, ah, not the ah subject matter that I've given the system. If the sky is above my head, when I look upward, if there is nothing in between, then I'll see the sky and that sounds very good and matter of fact is valid but it does not necessarily relate to the external world because I gave you a condition. If the sky is above my head, but the sky might be beneath my feet, but if its above my head then when I look up would I see the sky. So that's perfectly valid but it has very little to do with the external world, with the material world, which we agree exists,

which we agree that if we find any solution to our problems
it will be by analysing that material world.
So there were some people dissatisfied with the pure reasoning
as it was called, of EMANUEL KENT (PH) and I tell you these
things in a nutshell so we won't be up all night,
as I am up all night, most of the time, ah Some other people
were dissatisfied so therefore they attempted to ah to ah
progress and promote and ah or develop some new methods of
thought, new systems that will better keep us in touch with
the reality of the external world that exists independently
of what we wish it will be because we know we're not just
progressive . But before I do this that
ah I would like to show some weaknesses in the material way.
I do this ah for all honesty because what we want is not
indoctrination but clear thinking. So we wanna know the
shortcomings of even the methods that we're using, you see,

because the question is a question of honesty and people are not being honest with the victim. People are not honest with us but we must be true to each other because in truth we'll find strength, you see and truth will develop the things that will free us but we will not develop it otherwise. So with the other school of thought, materialism, we already understand what it means because we've been over that and that is that in the external world there are objects that produce an stimuli that bombard the organism and therefore knowledge occurs. Knowledge occurs if the images that we have if the reflection correlates to the external fact or the external object then we have knowledge about it. When we say something about it then truth occurs. In other words, truth is only a statement about external facts and if this statement correlates to external existence then we have truth and when we store this information we call it

knowledge. So in the material world we have ah a similar problem. There are many objects out there, so in order for us to distinguish the difference between those objects and find a relationship between them so that we can manipulate them in our own interests. That we will apply what is called logics to them. But logic is no mysterious thing. It is more than common sense, its more than common sense simply because ah we know that common sense is a kind of ah a vague term, you see but ah logic is really a scientific term. Its a scientific term that has certain shortcomings, in other words, that ah in order to distinguish the difference between, the relationship between the material objects, then logic is applied and logic is quantity, quality, weight and value. So we apply this and we get this quality, quantity, weight, value even, even through examining the external world if it exists, which we believe it does, we will act accordingly.

We believe that it exists so therefore we'll act as a man and that it does exist and this is only from agreement with your permission. So either the weight, value, quantity and quality is gotten from the material world which we believe that it comes from there or else is arbitrarily applied through some ah creation of our own to the material existence out there it could be a fact that there is no difference between those objects out there. Perhaps that ah we only do that to ah help us in our fantasy but whatever it may be that we do distinguish between them and we use that system of thought that's called logic. So after we do this we intergrate logic with materialism and we get another concept, the concept is called empiricism, this ah empiricism or empirical evidence is no good, it doesn't work and at last we can distinguish between those material objects, so after ah we apply or intergrate empiricism with ah or after we intergrate logic with materialism, we get empiricism. A man by the name of

PEARSON WILLIAM JAMES (PH) perfected this method of thinking. The method was ah based upon historical evidence, in other words that this way of thinking would make us closer related to ah the material world. It would tell us more about that thing that we either have to submit to or that thing that we will conquer. So ah empiricism then was viewed as somewhate of a revolutionary thing and the revolutionary too. But ah some people were not satisfied with this because historical evidence does not necessarily help us in dealing with the future nor does it tell us ah very much about the present. It only would give us ah some information about what has already happened, for an example, the sun has been shining for many years, does that necessarily mean that it will always shine? No. But empirical evidence will show that its been coming up for many years. Man has been on ah mother earth for many years,

empirical evidence will show. But does that tell us, does that assure us that man will not be wiped off the face of the earth by the push of a button? No it does not. So we realize that the advancements that PEARSON WILLIAM JAMES (PH) through applying ah logics to ah materialism and coming up with the system of thought or ideology that's called empiricism, gets us closer to the truth perhaps, but it does not help us in the way that we need help, because our problem is so involved with the future occasion, until we need more than the methods that's been given us. We want to know about the future, what will make us free. That only tells us this, and our schools rely upon it very heavily, matter of fact, our whole ah Black Studies^{Program} was co-opted through, through or by the historical approach. In other words that ah all people became free of oppression through establishing their own nation. So, therefore, for Black people in the United States, the only way we will be free is to establish their

own nation. This is based upon historical evidence;
empirical evidence, but lets see that its not necessarily
so. (APPLAUSE) It is not necessarily so. In other words
empiricism or an historical materialism, does not necessarily
give us the tools to deal with the future but lets go on.
I won't condemn this way of thinking without investigating it
further. Matter of fact, I will be the first to defend it
or or at least in 1966 when the BLACK PANTHER PARTY were Black
Nationalists and segregated, that the conclusions were reached
through ah the method and ideology of the historical materialist
so ah I can sympathize with those who are still reaching
conclusions based upon history. I don't hold them responsible,
I hold the ah reactionary ruling circle responsible because
they condone it and this is why they finally support the
Black Studies Class. Of course Blacks are not only ah not,
Black in particular are not the only victims of this kind

of brain washing, this kind of ah dogmatic approach. Many of the so-called radical scholars are also victims of it. Some are victims of it even though they denounce it. But you can easily tell when they embrace it because they base all of their strategy, they base all of their tactics, they base their philosophy the difference from ideology upon a historical event and we'll go into that in the next hour or so. No, I'm just kidding you, I won't take that long but they base ah they base their whole philosophy upon ah the event of 1917 in the what was then Russia and they call themselves Orthodox Marxists and they say that if you deviate from the approach of Marx-Lenin, the Marxist-Leninist approach, then you're revisionary, you're not a dialectical material but really their being historical and

and their not at all ah spiriticians and scientists because a scientist would not accept philososophy and by way of definition that I'll make a distinction between what the BLACK PANTHER PARTY calls philosophy and ideology. We have an ideology and we steer away from philosophy. In other words, we call ideology the systematic way of reaching a conclusion. So ideology involves a process, while philosophy is a conclusion. Usually its a collection of conclusions that were arrived at through ideology. But once you arrive at a conclusion then things all of a sudden are pretty static and this is why with the empiricism, the empirical way, the historical way, it does not really reflect the true, the real world because it talks, it talks about things, like this static, like that night in a constant state of transformation. It talks about things like yesterday this was A, the next day it was B, but they did not tell you that yesterday was

both A and B and it always, it was already becoming C, D and F. In other words that they tried to stop things and picture there did not reflect the ever changing quality and the ever changing nature of the universe, so in that way we get certain schools, ah certain ah parties that call themselves Marxist-Stalin. Marxists who are very idealistic because really a few ah historians is some what idealistic because the conclusions are based upon the way he viewed the environment and not based upon the way the environment is in fact, because we know that things do not stay the same. We cannot name one thing that is maintained itself totally for even one day but ah but ah we will, we will try to give you evidence of this because we don't want you just to accept a ah a dogma because this is what we criticize. So we see that ah when we, when PEARSON WILLIAM JAMES (PH) applied what some called common sense, others called logics,

to the material world and came up with empiricism, it was an advancement, but it did not help us to predict what will happen in the future, we only know what happened in the past. No if we don't think clearly we'll think that ah we might conclude that historical information will, will give us the knowledge about the future because we will unconsciously apply something else and in a few minutes I'll tell you what that is. So we would like to be very clear that just because the world is here today does not guaranty that it will be here tomorrow and that is the trouble with historical materialism or empiricism, because we want to know about tomorrow, especially Blacks in America because we know what happened yesterday and we want to change things tomorrow. We want to change things tomorrow. (Applause). So in order to do this, in order to do this, we must take a systematic approach to it and I'm sorry if I take so long and I try in

every way to cut this ah discussion down, but each time I do, it, I feel very badly because I find myself doing like the instructors. They try to get off work at 4 o'clock, at 3 o'clock. So, therefore, they push everything into those few hours, not caring if they've given you a totally idealistic view. (APPLAUSE). But ah we're not going to do that. No. Because we ah saw they shortcomings of the rational method or pure reasoning of KENT (ph) after he intergrated logic with idealism and we, we also saw the shortcomings of ah WILLIAM JAMES, after he intergrated logic with materialism and came up with empiricism. We saw the shortcomings, so we have two advancements there. We have the rational method and we also have empiricism Ah, because ah CARL MARX (PH), who is most known for perfecting ah the system or the equation or the formula, if you will. That they say that ah the line of thinking that we'll talk

about next is Marxist thinking That's why that some unfortunate people call themselves Marxists. But I would like to let you know that I'm not a Marxist that ah we're all Panthers ah that ah MARX (ph) himself, matter of fact MARX himself matter of fact made it very clear. He said that one thing that I'm not, I'm not a Marxist and he said this why. He said it because he was more interested in a systematic way of thinking or ideology, if you will, rather than _____ your conclusion because conclusion are by by necessity, information that does not reflect how things really are. So what he was saying was this. He was saying that unless the process and that people go around saying that their Marxists that ah I'm going to disown this because I want them to be interested in process. So everyone says that he's a Marxist is necessarily a historical materialist because they want to apply the method,

the strategy of 1917 to 1970 in Babylon (ph) here, that's the United States and it does not work, because first, according ah to ah the dialectical method, now I'm just a little ahead of myself, forgive me, I'll pick it up. First we have two advancements. We have a rational method and we have empiricism. What happens if we intergrate those two qualities? After we intergrate those two qualities in order to give us a better understanding of the ah external world we have a thing that MARX (PH) called dialectical materialism. Now before MARX, I would like to ah explain to a few of my friends that ah I already made it clear in the matter of MARX that exactly marx is most known for ah perfecting the system of thought but the system of thought itself has very little to do with MARX. In other words, if someone else had done that the phenomenon still would be the same. Matter of fact, the thing that MARX saw had been

examined years before him, ah, how did these ah offer a dialectical method of argument and this was ah ah to present ah thesis _____. But what person will say this is so. The other person will challenge that and hopefully they reach a conclusion that will show an intergration of what both of us think, you see. They will view things from all sides, but even before Socrates and Aristotle, even before those three, that the dialectical approach was going on, was going on and probably originated originated ah in a place that most anthropologists Dr. LEAKY (PH in specific would say the Cradle of Man, it originated in the Cradle of Man and that is _____. I'll show you, I'll show you evidence of this (NOTHING ON TAPE FOR ABOUT FIVE SECONDS). The philosophers in Greece made pilgrimages to ah the University of Timbuktu and ah they went there to learn a system of thought because they realized that Timbuktu at that time from 1100's and up to was the cultural center of

world where they would give books if you gave them gold
but for the Greeks they pilgrimaged, they travelled, to
ah the area and at that time, ^{the} African had developed a
dialectical approach to his whole life, in other words he
did not deal in absolute, he dealt in a process ^{and} he even
founded his whole remission upon a dialectical argument
between the gods. In other words _____ that
the African god ^{always} had at least two heads and sometimes more
because the god did not deal in absolute. So in order
for an African to be safe in his natural environment that
he had to please and get favor of the good head and out
maneuver the bad and this was the kind of a dialectical
approach, so we see that the genesis of the dialectical
method might and I believe it did start with the genesis of
man. That's a _____. Now I'm saying
this to ah brag but we like to keep things also in the historical
context so that ah some people here won't think that ah in

order to give someone credit that ah we're belittling and not recognizing the contributions that someone else made and in fact I'm not here to praise any man. We're here to develop a system of thinking or an ideology if you will because our educational institutions will not give us that. They would rather say and criticize an ideological approach which is a system of thinking. So they can stuff you with a conglomeration of _____, a conglomeration of fact so that later they can turn you on and you will spit out little cards with holes in them. They will like that because they don't want you to be conscious, but they want you to produce. So in order to do this they will criticize any system that you develop because they believe that it is good not to have a system, because once you have the system of thought then this will give you the ability to question the very foundation, the very foundation of their system because they have one remember. It will give you the ability

to not only do that but to understand in order to change your situation that everything else will change. No, they want everything else to change but they will stay the same because things are not interrelated. So this is why they want you to be specialized. But ah away from that I'll go on to try to give you this system of thinking or at least discuss it with you and if you don't invite me here again then I will weep for you and I'll be very sorry because I'm glad to see you tonight and you're responsible for me being here, not only by the invitation but by the _____ when you opened the prison gates for me but because that ah I have a great for you that ah I think that I and the Party have an obligation to not ah give you perhaps what you want but give you what we think you need because we're servants of the people. So ah (APPLAUSE) I will try to make it as short as possible. Now, after we've intergrated the two

qualities of the rational method and the empiricism, we got what MARX called dialectical materialism. And he called it dialectical materialism because it was like a dialogue that offered an _____ and a synthesis in the material world. MARX also believed that everything had, has a material genesis. That all of our spiritual thoughts are based upon our being here as a material being because we haven't seen anyone through any concept without also presenting his physical body. We think people, we think people talk about the powers of the spiritual but when we face them down when we ask a question, we see that everything has a material basis. So dialectical materialism first because that it is integrated the advancements of thought such as the abstractions of the mathematical idealistic school and the rational or that integrated with it, the rational method that would

really based on idealism and intergrated that with the empirical method that was based upon materialism. It has intergrated the most important things and most functional things of both of those schools. So after the intergration rational with the empiricism we get full, a whole view. In other words we're not viewing half but now we're quick to approach the external world that seems to be in a constant state of transformation and also constant conflict. We see that ah the basis of ah our thinking is based upon material existence and we see everything in the world seems to be always moving. So we ah say that things seem to be propelled, things move because of a principle of motion and matter. Perhaps the motion and matter are arrived at through an internal contradiction, that everything seems to be subject to. What do I mean by this? First, we'll examine the ah physical world. In Physics we see that

ah atoms clash and when atoms clash they subdivide. They have a break-down such as you have the electrons and protons and the neutrons. And the break-down probably will go on. But this is through the contradiction of the dialogue in the physical world. And this dialogue occurs because even within the atom there seems to be an internal contradiction and this is what gives that ah matter motion the things, the things that tipped in reaching equilibrium or straining apart. We see that ah its always a dominant inferior relationship between things of contradiction, even internally. So the opposites struggle based upon their unity because their connected together only because of the relationship in the external world but because their eternal quality. For instance the atom already has the electron within it but because of some other ah external contradiction it allows the electron to become dominant or escape the mass. We see that in the world of

biology that there seems to be a contradiction always going on within the organism. That is, first, the organism's cells multiply, in order for it to mature, in order for it to live. If there's no multiplication then the organism will die. But while its multiplying and maturing, it will reach a point where it will no longer multiply, it will start on a decline, It will decay. It will become old and will die. But we could not mature unless the cells did multiply. We could and we would not die unless at some point that a change in the struggle of the opposites because that's the very thing that's responsible for our death, the fact that we became mature. In the natural world we see that let's take a thing like a caterpillar. That as it grows and matures it becomes more and more fat and hairy. Its quantity will increase and at

some notable point it will stay in a cocoon and emerge as a butterfly. The caterpillar had to have had that contradiction in him in order for it to spin a cocoon in the first place in the first place, but when the butterfly emerged of course the caterpillar was wiped out but not completely because the butterfly showed some of the properties of a caterpillar and also some of the properties of the new thing that was in contradiction but because when you change a part of a thing, it changes the whole thing, a new development occurs, a transformation, we call it an , where there the ah caterpillar leaped from a caterpillar to a butterfly. In other words that sometimes the growth or quantity decrease the increase of somewhat smooth going. But in everything we've investigated that in order for a transformation to come about that there

seems to be need for some eruption. The eruption then would be the change in the dominant although the internal contradiction or as we call it the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity. United because its in one thing. Struggling because it carries things that negate each other So that we say that ah with everything, with everything it has a determining factor and also it has a factor that limits it. So we say that every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination but we must realize the interconnectedness. We must realize that everything is interconnected, its moving because of the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity and that's called motion and matter. Motion and matter causes things to give itself a self movement because of its internal contradiction. But the thing I want to point out that everything that we've

examined, I say everything we've examined because there might be more information that we get later on it shows that its becoming something else and this why its necessary for us to try to gadge no only what it is now but what its becoming because this will give us a clear picture of the universe, would know that its not one thing but seems to be in a processes all the time, and this is why in order for us to manipulate our environment we will have to know not only what it is today but what its becoming and when we find out, when we find out what its becoming we'll know how to react to it. There's some other things that ah the scientist show and that is that all of the qualitating transformations or developments seem to be based on a quanitating increase or decrease. We know that things have an internal contradiction but we see this contradiction grow and when it reaches a noted point there is a reverse in the dominance of the opposites and when this occurs then we get a qualitating transformation

but its always based on quantitative increase, it seems to be. When I say always I correct myself because man knows nothing about absolute, such as always, he knows nothing about beginnings or endings, we only know about his _____. But because I'm victim to (boozwar) (ph) language I'll I'll contradict myself but because I'm a revolutionist I'm not afraid to correct myself. So if they hear that ah, if they that we're free then in order for a thing to show that quality changed where the dominant in the struggle will change that there must an increase and a decrease in a certain factor. Now ah we talked about the physical world, we talked about the natural world, we talked about a little biology, and I would like to introduce another phenoenon. Its also connected and shows some ah similarities to all of this and that is society. In the social world we

see that ah society clash. We see that cultures clash.

And when they clash we say that there's a dialectical thing that happens. Just as happens, just as the same,

not the same but a similar phenomenon happens in a

dialectical argument. Remember you _____

and then you get a _____ an intergration of all

of that. We see that ah if we increase something in physics

if we increase a couple of protons and a couple of ah ah

neutrons here, we get a whole new composition. We know

we can just multiply atoms and we see that the composition

will change and at some point there's a qualitative change

So we see that an argument just happened, where things clash.

We see that ah in society that when cultures meet or when

cultures have a contradiction that both are transformed and

the sociologist call it acculteration. An acculteration

means that ah when two cultures are ah thrown together that

something happens. That ah either one is modified more than

the other but the other will be modified because of the contradiction. We see that an integration might happen, a simulation might happen or annihilation might happen, but something will happen because nothing ever stays the same. We don't believe that it does, based upon our investigation. Now if this true, and if this is true that all that all qualitative changes or qualitative transformations are based on quantitative increase or decrease, but we find out the necessary properties, qualities, that we find out the necessary quantity that make thing change in a particular specific area then we can bring about the change. So its the same with society. If ah if its concluded, if we conclude here tonight that we can make a _____ leap through ah knowing what is necessary to increase or decrease in this society then we will go out and manipulate that and bring about the qualitative change because we definitely need that

because we're victims but we want a reverse in the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity. In other words at this time that a certain class is dominated and we want to reverse that through increasing whatever is necessary to make the victims dominant. When we do this we will have a whole new society. So first lets see what they've learned and ah in Sociology though and anthropology. We see that ah we know now we know cultures ah come into ah contradiction that something will happen and both will be modified and this is our problem here tonight, but in order to understand that, we have to understand that how its based upon some principle in the universe and the principle is not a principle that some preconceived notion or scheme in the interpretation of everything but is a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. So each thing has to be individually analyzed. So what we're getting at is this. Is that today that the BLACK PANTHER PARTY

is _____. That first that we or we represent the
_____ class. We say that the _____
is the only ah class that carries potentiality of
revolution. We say that ah we realize that ah classes
clash and its the property class against the class that
don't have property and when they clash and its all then
a revolutionary contradiction with one class trying to
overthrow the other. Here in this country the country
is very ah difficult to analyze because we not only have
a class contradiction we also have what we call racism,
where the class lines become somewhat vague and this, we
claim tonight this is only a _____ of the oppressor.
So ah but to understand it in a scientific way we have to
see how the universe works. So we say that ah first thing
that we know that the _____ which means
the unemployable. They carry the revolutionary banner today.

That they carry it free for the new society and many historical, materialists will say, will call themselves Orthodox Marxists. We'll say no, its not true, that the _____ will bring about the new order because this is what happened in 1917 and this was MARX's analysis but MARX was analysing a set of concrete conditions and he came up with a concrete conclusion. Because at that time proletarians in Russia did carry the revolutionary potentiality and in fact was destined to be the majority class because at that time that the industrial base in Russia was on the upsurge it was a determination while the agricultural work of the peasants class, peasantry class on the decline and that was the limitation of that class and in spite of the fact that the proletarians in Russia in 1917 in spite of the fact that they were the minority and see the similarity that the _____ EXISTS in this society

they also the minority but they carry the potentialities of the majority because of the trend of the technological developments and it seems to be the same where the peasantry class was doomed to negate itself. It was negating itself through yielding through, to the technological advancements in Russia. So while the proletariat of 1917 were minority they were not only destined to be the majority but they were also destined to bring about the change because of the total conditions existing in 1917 which match the conditions which exist now. Now the proletariat class is one of the most reactionary racist classes we've ever seen. We see that they relate to capital and industry even though they fall victim to it and while the _____ are most alienated and they want to tear it down. At least

they want to see the controls and make it work for them.

So we see that at the first thing that at it was necessary in Russia in 1917, it was necessary for a capitalist class to exist because that class through hoarding the surplus, through exploiting the peasantry, created the necessary at capital to at create an industrial base or a technological base and they did this and as they did it they also developed a proletarian class. So this shows the internal contradiction that in order for capital or the _____ class to exist they also had to have a worker. So this was the internal contradiction in that particular phenomenon. And as they became more industrialized, as they became more industrialized, the enemy of the _____ became logic, as their technology advanced. They were also, technology itself the _____ itself was also seeing that there was about to be a negation of negations as it was called. In other words the capitalist negated the feudal lords and now

negate the _____ that the capitalist actually were somewhat responsible for creating. So we see that at one time in history and what is so is so. We see that at one time in history that a _____ or phenomenal situation we see that ah set of conditions a subject can change because if dialectical materialism mean anything, it means we possibly have to apply the formula to a new set of conditions and therefore come up with new answers. If we do not do this then we're being static. So it would surprise us very much if the same answers that ah history gave people who struggle for a separate nation. If this answer was true now, it would contradict all concepts of development. It was true that the prolitarian class at this time was still the revolutionary class. It will show a static thing; it would not show any development. So we see that now that the _____ or the unemployable are becoming the largest class because

technology, some experts say, in the next ten years we will be able to do a function with only approximately 10,000 workers involved and this this will be called the Age of Technocracy. We saw what happened with automation it displaced people. We saw now think we're moving into cybernation (ph), displace more people and now they say that when they reach the Age of Computer, the real age of the computer or a technocrat, they will displace all of the workers with the exception of a very few. And all those people who used to be workers, they become what? They will become unemployables or they will become _____ because that is unemployable workers. So we see that while the proletarian class is in the majority this time that the creative things to be, that they're being negated through the development of technology. They're being displaced and placed in the ranks of the _____ and people aren't

conscious, the worker or the _____ worker or the
ex-worker. Many of us because we're blind and mislead
they get angry with the other _____. They say if
it were not for you competing with us we would have jobs
today and we saw that with the hard-hats who were victims
but blinded all the same and of course we have to defend
ourselves against them but we must also weep for them
and try to educate them or bring about some kind of con-
sciousness because we dont like _____ people around
us and if we can help a person who's also victim as we are
then we will do that but we will not commit to him. So we
see how society is moving now. We see that at one time
that the prolitarian carried the banner but ^{deserved} of the fact that
everything is in a constant state of change that they do not
carry the banner any longer. Now they will be negated by
another class. Now when society reaches a point where very
few industrial workers will be what will happen to the _____

What is happening to it now. If the ruling circle has any power at this time stay in power then what you see in society is most of the people on welfare to appease are drawing unemployment 11 months out of the year. Not enough enjoy the abundance they created through their exploitation and slavery because starting back in 1619 in Jamestown that we Blacks contribute to the technological development in the industrial empire exists to date. So because of this contribution that we feel that we own it and because we feel that we own it, we have no no conscious about appropriating and negating the negation. We have nothing whatsoever about taking what is ours. We want to take charge you see. But when we take charge then we will not make the mistake that the oppressor made by negating himself through creating many enemies. So when we take charge we deliver the power to various communities of the world. So we will be secure

in our existence and existence of our descendants, but until this time lets understand what is happening now. Now I spoke earlier about ah ah about the fact that is somewhat unrealistic to try to solve the contradiction of exploitation, Racism and oppression through gaining a new nation and I say this with a certain amount of reluctance just as the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to go from Black Nationalism to Revolutionary Nationalism to internationalism and then reach the highest plateau of ideological development and going into what we call revolutionary interfeudalism (ph). What does it mean? First, it means that we want some answers and since we're staisfied with things that happened in history, does no necessarily give us what we want for the future, we have to come up with some reasons. Let's analyse the arguments of the ah ah national ah nationalistic _____

because a person first is reacting to some treacherous violent, oppressive, greedy action of the ruling class which is the master of us all. So we will examine the solution because when if we were to take route we want to make sure the suffering will pay off. Now, some time ago in history that its true that the fact that nationhood was to cure a people from Racism, it will, it would secure a person from domination by another culture or ethnic group, by another nation and by way of another definition a nation is apiec of land. Its set of cultural institutions, political institutions, educational institutions, security institutions that serve the people, usually you can distinguish one nation from another through analysing their language, through observing their behavior patterns, through investigating their culture by way of definition which is by way of definition learned patternsn of behavior. We could see this

and we know one thing that in history if you were separated from a person or a group of people rather through partaking or _____ water that you are relatively safe if you have self-determination. In other words you would have freedom to control your cultural destiny, your political destiny and you will be reasonably sure that your territorial boundaries will be respected because if a person from another culture from another nation, started to attack you you see it from many miles away. If a person or group of people, if a nation wanted to control you'll be virtually possible of the difficulties in communication so forth. But as time went along and technology developed drew everyone closer together and the United States in particular became nationalistic and then later on they became imperialistic

and imperialism means that the fact an empire developed.

An empire is a nation transformed. So once a country

becomes an empire it is no longer a nation because for

_____ an empire is a nation transformed. Now

at some time in history it was true that the Roman Empire

allowed other nations to exist but this was because of the

low level technological developments such as transportation

and ah ah communication through the media. This was the

cause it was difficult for them to know all of the world

so the Romans say. We are an empire because we control

all of the known world. But nations existed outside of the

Roman Empire because the Romans did not know all of the

world. The modern empire is a different story because it

doesn't stay the same. Perhaps we need another word. In the

modern empire 1970, in the 70s, we know, we believe that the

imperialist know all the world so therefore the imperialist

control not only the known world; they control all of the world, all the world they want to control and when they control all of the world they negate the quality, it negates the foundation and criterion necessary to give a land space the definition of nation, because the empire remember controls all other people. They have control of the political, the economic, the academy, they have control of the territory. They have control of the culture. so therefore the United States negated all nations and transformed them into what looks like oppressed community because the _____ did not have the quality of _____ . So through this domination, through this domination that the United States, the American imperialist created a situation that was not colonial because the colonized people in history showed first a certain amount of _____ of the culture because a settler hardly

ever saw where most of the natives lived now in the
backwoods. That communications were so ah bad until a
settler had to live there. They relied upon a psychology
of intimidating the natives and in fact the natives at any
moment they became conscious could overthrow that specific
settler or that particular group of people who are
dominating them and usually he felt very secure so he
stayed around the towns in the _____ of the nation
not into the backwoods of the town. But as colonialism
developed and controls became more rigid through communica-
tion and through world control by the North Americans that
he withdrew from the land because it wasn't necessary for
him to be there any longer and then some scholar _____
_____ because the fellow was not present. But
as _____ developed, the economy of the country
or the _____ was more intergrated and to the

empire to finally see very little difference. So we see a phenomenon where its not Neocolonialism (ph) any longer. What it is is reactionary intercommunalism (ph) because the reactionary forces all what use to be nations of the world but are now a dispersed collection of communities on the seas just as Black people are dispersed all over the United States but yet they are controlled by one man, one group and that's a small ruling circle and by way of difinition I talk about that group of people who own the 75 companies that control not only the economy in the United States but the continental world and if you don't believe me you could easily investigate or read the report the President was responsible for doing and that is the report of Civil Disorders that JOHNSON was responsible for. _____ said' 76 companies control the economy of the United States and then I add also the world and we know that the ruling circle realizes

what has happened. We realize this, that he'd use everything in domestic action. In other words, when the Korean war occurred, when the Korean War occurred that the United States called it a police action. In other words you have police action inside of a nation but how can you have a police action with another nation. They use everything, they define everything as a disturbance to the Americans. In other words there's a riot going on in Vietnam, a police action. There's also a police action going on in every community in the United States in order to perpetuate the existance of a small ruling circle who have all the communities _____

So we realize that it will be very, it will be very good if we could separate and create a nation of our own if this will give us freedom because I think that most of us will agree that the cry for nationhood is not an abstract thing where we just want a nation but we relate nation to freedom so

actually people are saying that ah we want some freedom.

We want some freedom just as when the Algerian war took

place according to _____ the revolution

in Algeria, the war of liberation that France offered a

seat to the revolutionary forces which they declined by

saying that we don't want some France, we want some freedom.

So the same thing we say that it will be simple if we could

just separate but we see that the whole world is _____

by the small ruling circle there's a saying I can remember

from Sunday School if you will, saying I went to the mountain

to hide my face, the mountainside offered no hiding place

so we realized that if the people ten thousand miles away

in the mother country and in Vietnam, in Latin America.

If we see that they're already separated but yet _____

control of the ruling circle how can we separate the five

_____ here and be free while _____.

We say that the only way that we can be free is to negate the thing that is attempting to negate us. The only way we can be free is to negate and eliminate the slave master. We cannot separate from him because we realize that he's intergrated all the land spaces and all the institutions into one civilization. Now we can be very unhappy about this but we saw one thing, that everything carries an internal contradiction and just as a capitalist created the an exploitation in Russia, 1917 the also created the conditions for the new society, the collective society, even if you dont' call it socialist believes that it was necessary for a civilization to exist in order to use the surplus to develop a tool on industry in order to free man. But only a few poeple because a few people had control of that tool and that is the industry. But while they did

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this they were negating themselves because at some point

the dominance in the contradiction, the dominance as the quantity grew of industry therefore the quantity of exploitation grew. We saw something happening reach a noted point and then the proletarian expropriated the tool and made it a social tool. So it was very much like the caterpillar into a cocoon and emerge as a butterfly. But he already had to have those properties to do that. He could not come out an egg. So capitalism itself the Russians found carried the basis and the foundation for their collective society. We see now because of the necessity of civilization, dependent because of division because of the need to survive would consume most of the things they produce so it took a greedy man to exploit them and use surplus in a way to give himself an abundance and while he did this we saw what happened, an industrial complex existence, an industrial base existence that was finally taken away by the people. So it seems that history

goes on but we must see where it is going. Of course we don't praise what the capitalists did in 1917, they were both revolutionary and reactionary at the same time. They were revolutionary because they expropriated the feudal laws. At the same time they were reactionary because they resisted change because they wanted to say we could change part or reform part, maintain control because a change in the part does not modify or transform the whole but this is a wrong way of thinking and empirical evidence shows what happened. So we see now that in this country first that the proletarians becoming _____. The Blacks of the country are already _____. We see that White people generally are getting upset because something is happening and they're not getting the job they want. Right now they're blind, so they attack students and Blacks who

point them the truth, they're real aggressive. But they don't see it yet. So we must make a distinction between they way we deal with an objective enemy and a subjective enemy. Those people are just as _____ or subjective enemies when they don't agree with us, and I say us the victims, the exploited. Our objective then _____ holding the goods you see. So, this point in history was travelling so fast taat we got here from the West Coast in about four and a half hours. That we can get to Vietnam now in about ten hours and Algerian in about nine hours and that transportation is so fast that going from one land space to another is like going around the block. So therefore get land separation we see will not qualify a nationhood along the lines of a traditional definition... So we need something else. So we say we'll recover our culture because a culture will make us free. It will give us the truth and also it will give us

strength and division in order to maintain a nation. But we see it because we see the evil and we see how cultural indoctrination _____, racists cultural indoctrination hurt us and is hurting the world. We see this but what do we say. We say that we will develop a culture to defend ourselves. Now we see _____ happen. We see that we have very few surviving _____. We also see that the world is now in a trend in becoming westernized. We see that the Japanese are acting very Western. We see that their value system reflects the contact and dominance of a small ruling circle. So we say that the difference between Blacks in this country, Chinese in this country, Japanese in this country shows no qualitative difference. The trend is if the ruling circle stays in power long enough, the same thing will happen to Afro-Americans, what happened to the Japanese, the Chinese in Hong Kong and the African, both North and South Sahara. We see that technology seems

not to backtrack. We see that all of the power is centralized in one place and it seems to be Wall Street. We know that there must be some internal contradiction. We know that things cannot go on like they are. So we want to know the quantity we have to increase or decrease in order to change the whole thing delivered upon the people. Now we saw what happened with the _____ capitalist of 1917. Now we have the problem of imperialism. But we that imperialism has laid the foundation for world communism because in order for the people in the various communities of the world to have freedom, in order for the people to plan economy and a world government. First, we must be centralized. Now its centralized by reactionary forces just as the capitalist _____ centralized the wealth in Russia 1917. So the world now is struggling to expropriate the power and tools in order to redistribute throughout the world so that the people in the communities of the world will be free and

they will have control then of the institutions where they live. And we see also that there will be a need for this because if it does happen, then we will have a mutual slaughter of man by man. We see that nations are a thing of the past. There's no nation existing in the world today. This is why the BLACK PANTHER PARTY are no longer internationally because inter means the interrelationship between things and in this case, nations. So an internationalist first assumes that nations exist but if there's no nations in existence then we could not very well be international and this why we're intercommunalists (ph) because the nations of the world been transformed and they file around one centralized authority. Get this, a selection of communities evolve ^{around} one State administration. So there are only communities in the world and all of them are communities under _____ was the four white community operations on whether a Black community, Africa, a Black community in Harlem, a Black community right here. We see that

the same security force, we see that the police action that we suffer are also the police action that the Vietnamese suffer the police action that the people in Laos suffer. We that its the same police action people in the Dominican Republic and the people in South Africa and all the other communities suffer. So in order for us to change this thing we must know first where the power is.

(Inaudible) the authority before it happens (inaudible) People, do you think we will be able to again, to backtrack technology so that nations will exist. History shows that this is usually not the case and things do not repeat itself, it shows the progression in stages of development. So because we cannot have a nation that we want freedom and in order to have freedom we would have to have the essential quality that nation is signified soil is made of. So we don't want America, we want mother earth. We want mother earth in order to divide among the people of the world and in order for us to have freedom

(APPLAUSE) and self-determination. That is control of the institutions because the communities by way of definition are comprehensive collection of institutions to serve the people. Now these institutions are serving only one small group and the people are angry about this but we must also realize what has happened. So my proposition is this. That just as capitalism was necessary in order to establish a modern socialist economy, imperialism or a similar phenomenon it would be necessary to cut the ties of wealth and lay the foundation for Communism and this is not supporting imperialism but this is saying that imperialism has an internal contradiction. It has negation and it has negated the people's freedom and now you'll see a negation of the negation but when we do this the people of the world then have and profit by or they will be able to reach the wealth because in the United States we'd never see a socialist state. The reason you'd not see a socialist state is because first of all the very name the socialist state

requires that nationhood exists. Also ah that if there's no nation then we can not have a redistribution of wealth based upon the reported people in a particular area and the United States is _____ the whole world, it means to have a redistribution of wealth you would have to redistribute to the whole world. You would have to start, you would have to start not only, -not reparation how can we have this when much of the wealth is invested in machinery which has the potentiality of freeing all of mankind. In other words LENIN instead of praising the prolitarian saw the day when man would be able to stay in place _____ and move mountains. It sounded like even Lenin realized, anticipated technocracy. The only thing is he saw that by the time technology developed to that thing that the people would already have the tools under control but we see now the reactionary ruling circle have the tools under control and that

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what we have, we have not Communism. What we have is not even

imperialism. We have reactionary intercommunalism (ph) because every people in the world only represents at best the provisional government. In other words, what is the difference between the Vietnamese who are operating at the liberation front, who are operating in the south who instituted a provisional government and ah the government that's in Korea of the Honorable KEM O SA (PH). What is the difference because there seems to be no difference. First, the Koreans have not liberated all their communities. So at best I think they have a provisional _____. The Vietnamese in the South have not liberated all of their land so therefore they realize they have provisional government. We see that the Chinese from the Peoples Republic are _____ because they could not use their energies to promote the welfare of the people. They must use most of it for defense because they know they _____. They have not liberated all of their communities. They do not have Formosa, or Taiwan so therefore only part of their community is liberated

and I'm hear to say that if the community in Detroit _____
_____ If when they liberate that A block then if they
had, if the community had instituted a provisional
goverment they would have been on the same footing as
the Peoples Republic of China or any ahah community that
has liberated territory. But we can not say that they have
nation or government because nations are made of stronger
stuff. So we say this, we say that first we ~~must~~ realize
that the people of the world have suffered from a common
enemy and we realize the contradictions that lie within
imperialism but we see that with centralization of the power
that we know that America, we know that North America, the
only way it could come to grips with it and give justice to
the world os to have a redistribution of wealth and also a
redistribution of power. In other words the African has the
right, has a right to share in the control of the operation

in General Motors. He has the right to share in the wealth of Oil Refineries because all of the people were responsible for producing that. So in order to do that we have to have a world government and that's all Communism means. It means a world government with one community and we know because we're so thrown together, we know that cultures seem to change. I was talking to AL BALEY (PH) and he just did a study of his ancestors and he went back to a remote part of Africa, in West Africa, a little village not commonly, is not commonly travelled to by outsiders. He made the pilgrimage for about seven years. The last time he went that something shocked him very much and that was that he saw an old African man walking down a dirt road with a small thing to his ear that he carried. IT was a transitter radio with CBS coming across. So AL BALEY (PH) saw a culture about to be transformed so he got together a few

college students to try to get what part they could preserve and bring it back. So I'm saying that we cannot turn this trend around because just as everything else is subject to change so are cultures but now they are changing for the interests of the Westerner and the reactionary ruling circle so what we really want, ~~what~~ we really want the power in the people's hands so they can make the kind of behavior pattern, create the kind of behavior pattern that will be in their interest and because the people of world are so thrown together they will have to work out some culture or behavior pattern that is essentially human because whether we like it or not we will modify each other and we don't want this modification to be annihilation so in order to keep us together we must have control of the mass media that the reactionary circles now control. We must have control of that in order to give a fair, equal redistribution power because that's only another

manifestation of technology, because we know, because radio beams, we know that the television satellite, we know that they're chiefly responsible for molding cultures. So in this we will not backtrack no matter where we go and this is why we say we cannot hide, we cannot separate but what we can do is expropriate. Everyone realizes this and its hightime that the _____ AND also the proletarian and let me tell you something about that. Many of the people think that we're anti-proletarian or anti-worker. No. We know that we're not only willing to work outside of the factory including our liberation army. We must go into the factory because the worker will not disappear, the worker will not disappear, he will be unemployable. He will be an unemployable worker. So why wait until he's unemployable go into the factories and educate him so he will know exactly what to do but also know the worker of the future or the

it won't be necessary for a large group of people. You see, the people who bring about revolution, must be or have the potentiality to be the majority. So we know that time we know that time is quickly and the leaps in technological development is getting rid of the prolitarian and putting him in our ranks. So we say that along with the people of the world, that we must prepare our people. We must also prepare, prepare ourselves to develop a new culture, a culture that's based upon values that essentially human and is is a behavior pattern that will promote the unity of man instead of promoting division of man. So our chief motivation then is to turn back, turn back the violence and turn back the oppression of the aggressor to the time where to a situation so the people then will control. So they said that the 70s, the decade of the 70s is the decade of the boomerang or the first stage of violence, where violence is turned on the oppressor, hit him, its likely to kill him

and then he wouldn't know any more than he did the first time

our main motivation would be to free the people of the world to free our community. Now this seems very abstract but its but its not. In other words that we say that our dispersed communities whether Mexican, Black or all White is on the same footing as all other oppressed communities so I think we should do the same thing. In other words liberate the territory and institute a provisional government and to close-in because the United States is around us. We know its around because we see that the whole world is upset over what they've been doing and we know that after we expropriate that we don't want to make the same mistakes that they made because we're a little smarter than that. So in conclusion I would like to say and then if anyone cares to hang around then we'll have a short question and answer period. But in conclusion that we want to develop that kind of santiy that will deliver us the freedom necessary and we will not

be duped by the Nationalism because we know the United States is nationalist and we know they're hated by the whole world and we see that all our friends are trying to create an apparatus that will allow people to hold hands and to be friendly in order to live. The power of peace brothers and sisters. (APPLAUSE) If you have any questions there's a microphone up here and a microphone over there. The people in the front there's a microphone right here.

I have one other statement to make and I almost forgot it and I would like to that, is that the first thing that I talked to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER (PH) THE other day you know you can call Algeria and we talk frequently because we have a little liberated territory there. Its called _____ where we're allowed to give asylum you see and we communicate with all of the communities who are _____ and fighting the aggressor. So ELDRIGE
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asked me to ah to ah tell, to ask you a favor and that is

he would like for you to liberate the territory and set a place for him because he would like to come home again and he knows that he cannot come home until you liberate the territory and when you do that, to make it real safe, institute a provisional government, you see and then we can talk but ELDRIDGE is moving around the world in all those liberated areas and the people are friendly towards him and that he should be home soon but it all depends on us. On March 5, KATHLEEN will be back to talk to you and give you a report. (10 second pause) This is a letter concerning DAVID KLOT (PH) and ah it indicates that the BLACK PANTHER PARTY desserted KLOT (PH) and this is not true at all but let me tell you something that usually I don't mention names when I'm on the podium because there's so many political prisoners as the political prisoner's loved ones and family might be in the audience and if I

get MICHELLE MC KEAB who no one talks about and is beat
up every day you remember_____ and that he was

the only brother who survived that murder thattthe police
are guilty of there and he doesn't get any support but if
you don't mention all of them then people aren't happy.

So what I would like to say to free all political prisoners
and we're doing now everything in our power to give DAVID
CLARK (PH) legal aid and also a possible bail. I don't

know all the facts of the case because as I said the party
_____ there's so many political prisoners and this

is a strategy. The ah the reactionary regime attempts to
disperse the interests of the community, the focus of the

community through arresting so many people it will make
factions in the defense apparatus instead of having the

people mobilize in one case, such as mine, where the people

declared it a political case and the whole country, the whole

world mobilized behind it. Now we have literally hundreds of political prisoners and we must learn a method and a strategy to work more effectively to release them and we must not get hung up on just issues because then we'll be methamystical materialists. They'll drag us from issue to issue to keep us away from the cause of the issue in the first place so they want us to deal with the effects of it and the party wants to deal with the cause but we're now considering and doing everything we can for DAVID CLARK (PH) and I'm going to try to personally see him while I'm on the East Coast (APPLAUSE) Oh, I'm sorry, I can't see very well.

UNKNOWN MALE:

The first question regards you Ideology and the Black Panther Party. First, you mentioned political prisoners. There's a rumor, probably a widespread one, but, there's a rumor and probably a widespread one that the Party is coming apart because of the political persecutions and whatnot. Do

you as President have enough support in the Black Community that if this system came down on you, hard, would you have the sympathy or the support or apathy and most of the Black Community wouldn't help you?

HUEY NEWTON:

Ah, the first thing, the PARTY was born of repression because repression breeds resistance. If it had not been for repression there would be no Black Panther Party so therefore I'm saying that's a _____ increase of the quantity would not negate the party, it will create more party members until we reach the noted point and then there will be a qualitative leap, you see and that qualitative leap is treating everyone in the world and everyone in the United States like, you see, the Black Panther Party. They're doing it every day and everyone is getting angry and if people get angry our forces will get stronger. So not wanting, we don't

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want them to be like they are, we would like some peaceful

either be nonantagonistic or antagonistic. Nonantagonistic contradictions are not based upon economic conflict we saw the people make but those contradictions that are based upon economic clashes they seem to always show some ah some ah abrupt violent change but to answer your question ah Commandant brother ah we see the party growing because say two years ago we didn't have an embassy. I guess that the Black in American, America's rural Black seemed to be the first ones to erect a government in exile and that is in Algeria where we have some liberated territory and it was granted to us by Korea, China through some deals they did for Algeria and if the situation or the occasion arise where you have to have this country for revolutionary reasons then your welcome at our small liberated space.

UNKNOWN MALE;

What I really mean is that in the community do you presently have the active support and the active sympathy of the entire Black community or a good enough majority of it to

support your cause and help you go strong. This is opposed to a reality of the situation and a rhetoric of it.

HUEY NEWTON:

Ah, the answer to your question is that you said full and entire and I guess you were speaking in' absolute. The answer is no because we don't understand entirety. We only understand portions of and as far as ah because remember we said earlier in our talk and I keep referring to my talk because it only a discussion or lecture you see. I could make you feel good but we already agreed we already agreed when man talks about absolutely, beginning, ending or all of them he doesn't know what he's talking about because it's something he can't conceive of. Maybe some day that we can talk about those things and say those words and they're significant. But as far as far as the influence of the Party_____ I'm their steer head and

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a head of a steer is only dangerous with that force behind

it a certain amount of force, you see and the people then represent that force and they'll do the job and for the people related to the Party, first party, because the vanguard is small. We think that we've had a great influence not only here in North America but in the world. Certainly were not interested in becoming, in becoming a Party that's based upon number. We would like to start people thinking because we're a _____ group and if we can influence your thinking where you come up with the answer and then create a truly revolutionary Party then we'll join that yousee. So we only want to make a contribution because our motto is service to the people. So the answer is that no we now have influence upon a significant amount of the people in America but not the majority and we'll say in the future we believe the majority will think in dialectical terms and we believe

that they will see the necessity of liberating territory
through the means that been developed by other communities
through also exploiting.

UNKNOWN MALE:

Last question

ANTOHER UNKNOWN MALE:

Er, excuse me, you want to keep it limited, cause
we have people here who might want to ask questions.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

g. Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York
February 14, 1971

NEWTON spoke in Hendricks Chapel, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, on the evening of February 14, 1971. Hendricks Chapel was filled to capacity as approximately twelve hundred applauding students heard NEWTON's comments about "intercommunalism", revolution, and United States repression of black political prisoners.

NEWTON stated that the security forces of this country are the enemies of the people. He defined security forces as the various police agencies and Armed Forces of the United States. He advocated that the "people" should use force to take over the operations of General Dynamics, Wall Street, General Motors, and other "establishment programs". According to NEWTON, the riches of these corporations should be redistributed to the poor.

NEWTON told the crowd that "without you, there can be no change and no revolution". He said, "people must liberate their institutions, and when this empire that is America can no longer control the world and when the universal police can no longer oppress the people, there will be but one world and one people". NEWTON said that the whole world, not just black people, must be liberated. He stated, "all political prisoners must be freed" and called for support of jailed black leaders ANGELA DAVIS and BOBBY SEALE.

NEWTON also said that the BPP was instrumental in assisting TIMOTHY LEARY to flee the United States. He said that the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) helped LEARY to escape from prison and transported him by car to Oakland, California, and from Oakland, the BPP transported LEARY to Algeria.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

TIMOTHY LEARY is a well known drug user presently in exile in Algeria.

NEWTON also talked about his future plans and indicated that he intended to travel to Connecticut to hold demonstrations as long as BPP members are being tried in Connecticut courts.

NEWTON's appearance at Syracuse University was sponsored by the University Union, the Black Student Union, and the Peace and Freedom Party of Syracuse. The principal personalities involved were LAWRENCE ERNEST ALEXANDER, Chairman of the Peace and Freedom Party of Syracuse, and IRA KURZBAN, President of the University Union. They paid NEWTON \$2000 plus transportation expenses for the speaking engagement. The money was allocated from "student activity fees" which students are required to pay at registration time.

SF T-12
February 15, 1971

The Peace and Freedom Party of Syracuse is self-described as a radical, independent political party.

The Black Student Union and University Union are officially recognized organizations on the Syracuse University campus.

All students who entered Hendricks Chapel to hear NEWTON's speech were searched for weapons and recording devices before they were admitted. Several penknives and small recorders were confiscated from the students. These items were later returned at the conclusion of NEWTON's speech. The reaction of some of the students to the body searches was that NEWTON was being "overly paranoid". Some students refused to be searched, and they were denied admittance. The body searches were conducted by members of the Syracuse University Black Student Union. Other security precautions consisted of "bodyguards" standing on either side of NEWTON

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during his speech, and other "goons" circulating amongst the audience to insure complete compliance with NEWTON's security regulations.

After his speech, NEWTON and his travelling companions returned to the downtown Holiday Inn where two rooms had been reserved for them in advance by the Black Student Union.

SF T-13
February 15, 1971

h. Radio Program "Hot Line"
Radio Station WVON
Chicago, Illinois
February 19, 1971

On the night of February 19, 1971, NEWTON appeared on radio program "Hot Line", a radio discussion program sponsored and broadcast by radio station WVON, Chicago, Illinois.

The following is a transcript of that program:

VOICE:

...Hot Line, are not necessarily those of the management of WVON or the participating sponsors. (Music) Hot Line. A program of public comment. A program where you voice your opinions and ask the questions of our Hot Line guests. And now, Wesley South and Hot Line. (Music)

WESLEY SOUTH:

My name is Wesley South and this is the Hot Line, a program of public comment, a program where you may voice your opinion or ask the questions of our guests and you do that by dialing our (incoherent). And we have been announcing it all day, and the last four or five days, that Huey Newton would be our guest. We understand that he is in town and ah, I can understand that he is very much in demand and possibly he is on his way here, we hope so. We called the Headquarters, the Black Panther Headquarters here just, oh, maybe seven minutes ago, and they say, well he's supposed to be there, and..they did not know why he was not here. So, we are, should I say stuck at this point without a guest. We cancelled our other guest who was going to be here in order to provide a, a spot for Huey Newton. He will be at the Coliseum, incidentally on Sunday. And so if you don't hear him here tonight, you can hear him at the Coliseum Sunday. So, since we don't have anything planned, since many of you

out there do have quite a bit that you would like to ah, discuss, then there's only one thing for us to do, and that's to resort to what we call our grab-bag. Unfortunately, and I say unfortunately again, we don't have anyone to answer our telephones, so consequently you just have to let the telephone ring, until I answer it. Now, we will have what we call the grab-bag, and that's where you're allowed to call in until, well, and make any comment that you feel would be of interest to our community, and from what I understand there are many of you out there who have something to say. Now we ask you that I hope that I don't have to say it again, I've been saying this for eight years, but I have to say it each time so I guess I'd better become accustom to it, and that is you've got to turn off your radio, when you and I are connected. I mean turn it off, not down, because we're on a six-second delay. That means what you are hearing right at the instant that you hear it, was actually spoken six seconds ago. And that means that ah, we cannot ah, allow anyone to be ah, to come in without that. The FCC regulations say that when we have this type of show, we must have a ah, delay in order to prevent any obscenities from going out over the air. Now there are occasionally when there are a few youngsters and surprisingly quite a few elderly as well, middle age people, at least adults, who try to get something obscene through. And usually, not always, but usually, when you hear ah, some dead air on one of these programs, whether it's mine, Ben Sanders (ph) on WDEB, or

any of the other stations, it's indicative that someone has said something, had said something that is ah, well, objectionable, and quite likely it's obscene. So, we ask you to dial us, keep your comments as brief as possible. You hear someone make the comment that you h..were about to make, please hang up because as right now, all of our phones are busy.

(Portion of program not cut as it was not pertinent.)

UNIDENTIFIED MALE:
(Calling into radio station)

SOUTH:
UM:

SOUTH:
UM:

SOUTH:

UM:
SOUTH:
UM:
SOUTH:

UM:
SOUTH:

....so I said well how long would it take to check out about the gun. An' he said until tomorrow. An I said...

Uh-huh.

...why so long? He said cause we have our reasons, that's the way we do things.

Uh-hmm.

So finally, anyway, about around twelve thirty, one of em told me say, ah, well you can get out on bond. And I asked him how much my bond was...

Wait now, (incoherent)

You reared, the..I'm talkin about the little girl now that they'd accused you of raping.

Right.

Ah, s..you raised her from a baby.

Right.

And you have thr..two other children of your own, you and this, and ah, your wife, which you say is your common-law wife.

Right.

Uh, all right. Now, I'll tell you what. We have our guest in the

studio, I'd like, th..your wife
 I (incoherent), she's in the
 hospital, I didn't say what hospital,
 she has a telephone at her bed,
 and I spoke with her, and ah,
 she's on the line also. She's
 listenin'. You're both there..

UM:
 SOUTH:
 Right.
 And I will, ah, talk with you
 about this, though, ah you..I
 told you to get a lawyer, you have
 a lawyer, and ah, we'll talk about
 this one day next week, okay?

UM:
 SOUTH:
 Okay, fine.
 Yeah, okay. Oh, a, just a moment,
 ah, (incoherent) just a moment, hold
 on. Just a minute. Ah...just a
 minute, hold on. Ah, now if you'll
 put this on here, an' you can hear.
 same thing I'm hearing. Ah, you have
 we have Huey Newton sitting in the
 ah...now, if you talk right into that,
 (incoherent).. Now what..What did
 you say just a, a moment ago?

NEWTON:
 Ah, I would like ah for the ah
 sisters, ah..

SOUTH:
 NEWTON:
 Sisters and brothers.
 Ah, sisters and brothers, to ah,
 report these ah, ah tragedy ah
 this murder, ah, ah to the ah
 Black Panther Party, ah at nine
 two four, ah six nine seven, ah
 five. Ah, the address is fortytwo
 thirtythree Indiana Street, ah, in
 Chicago, is our, our local branch
 here, our state branch. Report it
 to ah, ah Bob Rush, ah who is the
 companion of Fred Hampton who was
 murdered ah fourteen months and
 fifteen days ago. So he can sympa..
 not only sympathize with us, but
 identify with you, and that we'll

do everything possible to mobilize the community against the abusive and the brutal authority who are responsible for it.

SOUTH: Okay?

UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: Okay.

(Calling into radio station)

SOUTH: And we'll talk with you next week.

UF: All right, thank you.

SOUTH: Sure. Good night.

Well, (stumbles over words) we're hanging up now. Thanks for calling.

UM: Okay, thank you very much.

SOUTH: Now, ladies and gentlemen, our guest has arrived, ah, we're gonna take an extra three or four minutes tonight, and ah, let's stop here for a message, that's our final message, then we'll be back in just... we have one more, is that right?

Good.

(Commercial)

SOUTH: And our telephone number, five nine one, five four hundred.

Well, we have our guest here tonight.

And that's ah, Huey Newton.

(Incoherent)

Now, what are you doing in Chicago?

NEWTON: Ah, I came to Chicago, to ah, first of all, ah thank the people for my release ah from prison because I would not be out of prison and ah to say the least that ah, not only out of prison, but ah, I would not have lived the gas chamber, ah in California, ah if it had not been for the power of the people, ah demonstrating their interest in my case, and the ah kind of attention given to me, and I would like to um, ah to thank them, and I

know that the words are of little value, to ah, when one tries to express such a, a, ah emotion (incoherent) are a value of life. I would like to say ah without words, ah, because words aren't sufficient, I would like to say, ah, thank you. And, of course, the Party itself will demonstrate our thanks, ah to you by programs. A life was given to me, and ah we intend to preserve the rights of the people, and eventually ah, ah do things that will accomplish our necessary transformation so that life will be guaranteed, and then we'll, we'll not have ah, the need for a ah survival program such as our ten-point ah program, which is no more than their ah, a survival kit.

SOUTH:

(incoherent)

NEWTON:

I wa..

SOUTH:

I, I know it was in California, which prison was it?

NEWTON:

I was imprisoned at ah (incoherent).

SOUTH:

Uh-hmm.

NEWTON:

Ah, ah, which is called the ah California, ah Penal Colony for Men, and ah, I stayed there for approximately two years. Ah, I was in the County Jail prior to my trial for one year, and ah, so it was a total of ah, ah really ah, just about three years, short of about two months.

SOUTH:

What was the charge that they had you on?

NEWTON:

Ah, I was tried ah for first degree murder, and the ah, ah jury, ah who were a very unenlightened, and who were ah engineered by the state, ah,

prosecutor, and all of his ah
bombastic ah ah strategy ah
that's based upon the (incoherent)
ah, they ah (incoherent) the
(incoherent) absurdities of what
he was saying ah it was a compromise
verdict, ah (incoherent),
ah they didn't release me as I
should have been, ah, but they
sent me to prison for fifteen
years.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

That was a policeman, wasn't it?
Ah, yes, I was accused of ah
killing ah, one of the
(incoherent) who occupy our
community as a foreign troop
occupies a territory, and a
the community, ah, clearly issued
a mandate to the state, saying
that we will not tolerate the
kind of indecencies that you are
attempting to ah inflict upon ah
this individual. And ah I would
like to emphasize that what this
individual, because it could have
been anyone, it just was a
coincidence that ah, at that time
I was head of the
Black Panther Party, ah, that
ah lovely people and that have
ah instituted programs ah
demonstrating their concern for
the people generally.

SOUTH:

Don't you believe that it's,
that ah because you were Huey P.
Newton, and because you were one of
the top officials in the Black
Panther Party, this could have been
one of the reasons that you were
arrested, and ah that they were so
severe with you, and if it had been
anyone else, yes, but I mean, what,
didn't they make a special effort to
(incoherent) of your activities?

NEWTON:

Ah, I would agree with that, ah, because the established order has always feared the Black Panther Party because they have the interests of the people at heart. Uh, but, it, and the ah, same ah ah vain ah the people ah, would not ah tolerate ah the state murdering me, ah because of the love that they have for the Party. And ah of course, that the Party is a very small thing, a very small (incoherent) compared to the kind of ah, ah sacrifices that have been made for our history, and ah, I would like to ah, ah, ask the people to grow in their concern so that there'll be concern by each ah individual that's done an injustice by the state.

SOUTH:

You'll be at the Coliseum on Sunday, (incoherent) er, what time is that? Two PM?

NEWTON:

Two PM.

SOUTH:

And you'll be ah, is there any particular program that, or would you just be the only speaker there?

NEWTON:

Ah, as far as I know, that ah, I am the only speaker, ah..

SOUTH:

Yes, you're the main speaker.

NEWTON:

Ah, the main speaker, of course, is Bob Rush. He was the ah ah Chairman ah of the ah Chicago ah f..I'm sorry, it's ah, I, sometimes I mix up the ah the rank and file order ah Bob Rush is the Deputy Minister of Defense of the ah Chicago Chapter, will speak. And there might be other speakers.

SOUTH:

Uh-hmm.

NEWTON:

Ah, b..in fact, there aren't any guest speakers.

SOUTH:

I see. Ah, do you...eh..how old are you?

NEWTON:

Ah, I'm twentynine just two days

ago, February seventeenth is my birthday. This is my last year of being a teenager. I'll be a, I, an adult next year. (chuckles) You won't, you won't be a boy to ah..

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

(incoherent)

No, I'll be thirty, so ah..

(incoherent)

I will bridge the ga..generation gap, ya know. If I can hold on ah to my youth, as well as ah the ah foresight of the adult perhaps I'll be in a position to c..really contribute something.

SOUTH:

You were one of the original organizers of the ah Black Panther Party, weren't you?

NEWTON:

Ah, yes, I was the founder of the ah Black Panther Party...

SOUTH:

(incoherent)

NEWTON:

Ah, and Bobby Seale is the co-fon... founder of the Black Panther Party. How about Eldridge Cleaver?

SOUTH:

Eldridge Cleaver joined the Black Panther Party after he was released from prison, but this was about six months after the Party started.

NEWTON:

I see. So you are the founder. Bobby Seale is the co-founder.

SOUTH:

Yes.

I wonder if you would tell us how you happened to ah form it, why you formed it, and how did you have been able to keep the very small group of people close to you and dedicated to

(incoherent) It was nineteen sixtysix, wasn't it? Almost five years.

NEWTON:

Yes, October nineteen sixtysix. Ah. First off, I would like to

clarify that, ah, it is not a question of keeping a small group of people who ah, ah, ah close to you, and ah it is the fact that the Black Panther Party and its love of the people ah generally, the oppressed people. Ah, as far the organization, it's a vanguard group, and by that I mean sphere-head (ph) necessarily in a small cadre.

But (incoherent) of course, (incoherent) which is much (incoherent) and I lacked ah, ah supplies of force in this sphere. Ah, in the (incoherent) of the Black Panther Party, we had a love of the people as part of the people and that's the force behind the vanguard, or the small cadre. Ah, we have fortyfour chapters and branches and ah in ah approximately thirty states. Ah, we have seven ah branches, and ah, and ah, what we called our Intercommunal (ph) Section in ah seven countries. Ah, so we ah have a great influence, and we judge our success on the basis of ah how much influence we have upon the people and the influence that we attempt to get, is an area of enlightening or ah bringing about racial conscious. So the people ah will ah exercise their power and therefore gain their just deserves which is control everything in the universe.

SOUTH:

How did you eh..we..How did you organize and why (incoherent) come about? I mean, I'd like to get (incoherent). I think ya didn't just come out and say one day we're gonna, ah maybe ya did (incoherent) organize the Party, the Black Panther Party. Eh, w..would ya take it through..

NEWTON:

No, I..I would like to say that,

but I'm not so arrogant that I think that the history of the black resistance to oppression, ah is responsible for the Black Panther Party. That ah ah the Party ah was formed in October of sixtysix and ah nineteen fiftynine, nineteen fityeight, that I was a member of the NAACP, and ah later CORE and ah in nineteen sixty ah a member of ah, not a member of, but I associated with ah, the Muslims. And ah with the RAM, Revolutionary Action Movement. Ah, I was associated with (incoherent) labor, and Socialist Workers Party. And ah was frustrated with all of them.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: Because ah..

SOUTH: This was just a natural outgrowth of the ah..

NEWTON: I think that ah th..the Party itself ah ah ah synthesized ah the total ah contribution that's been made historically. Ah, so therefore I have great respect for al..ah..for all of those who contributed. Even though I might have great criticism of many, but I will not deny his contribution, ah, his contribution might have been a negative thing, but even that ah was a positive ah contribution to the Party because at least we knew what not to do.

SOUTH: You said something a moment ago about you had fortyfour different ah units in the ah (inaudible)

NEWTON: (incoherent) ...or cadre groups.

SOUTH: Yeah. Ah, we read in the paper here not too long ago that ah you were closing some and going underground. Is this correct or incorrect?

NEWTON: Ah, no, ah, and even if we were

going underground, that I wouldn't admit it here. Ah, I will say that our forward, progressive chapters are still functioning. We're anticipating more opening up because we think that's necessary before anyone goes underground, if you ever go underground, ah, you must first ah make an impact above ground so that people will at least recognize and lend their receptive ear to the kind of ah educational things.

SOUTH: You didn't, you didn't make the statement, (incoherent) statement that you're going underground.

NEWTON: No, no, no. But I..I think it's not enough just to say there was a, that statement because ah, it's not that I'm denouncing any underground action, it's just that ah, I do..

SOUTH: Certain things have to be done before you do go underground.

NEWTON: Ah, yes, we also have to have a lifeline and a vein ah, that ah will ah connect ah the above-ground with the underground. Ah,

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: If you do not have that, then the underground is not only underground but it's buried, and you're..you're above-ground without a strategy that's secret is ah somewhat ah impotent.

SOUTH: Ah, one other thing. I noticed that that ah many of the (incoherent) in that group, many of us were older. We look at many of the people who are in your organization, and we often wonder, at least I often wonder, and I've heard some of the other..my contemporaries say the same, why do you ah, advertise what you're going to do, like really puts you on the spot. I've heard you say the

the, I heard, ah, some of the other members of your organization say that the power of the, what, is it, revolution coming out of a gun, what, what's the..

NEWTON: Ah, i..it's probably the quote of, of the chairman..

SOUTH: MAO Tse-tung, yes.

NEWTON: Ah, that says political power grows through the barrel of a gun.

SOUTH: Yes. All right..

NEWTON: And you know the people, I would like to add something. I always have to clarify that statement.

SOUTH: Yes.

NEWTON: Ah, what I have to say, cause may because Americans generally and b..black people in particular ah did not ah ah study and understand thoroughly, especially the English language.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: And I can understand ah being dis..

SOUTH: Well, how about..

NEWTON: Being disillusioned with it. But understand that..

SOUTH: That wasn't what my question w..

NEWTON: No, no, no. Your, your question was and ah was based that statement..

SOUTH: Yeah.

NEWTON: But I doubt if you understand that statement, and maybe you do, but I say..

SOUTH: Uh-huh.

NEWTON: ..generally, people don't.

SOUTH: Yeah. I understand.

NEWTON: In other words, now may I explain it.

SOUTH: I don't need it.

NEWTON:

All right. Political power grows through the barrel of a gun with emphasis upon grows, it is not there by accident. Ah, the Black Panther Party adds political power grows through the barrel of a gun, but it cultivates and th...c the ownership and the control of the land and the institutions thereon. So then, ah, the other statement by the chairman is not in contradiction, (incoherent) we're advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, that ah war is abolished through war, in order to get rid of a gun, ah, it sometimes becomes necessary to pick up the gun. So our main emphasis is to become disarmed, to disarm man so that he will not mutually slaughter each other. But, ah, we will not be ah, ah mysticists, and ah deal in idealism, where we will say that ah, in spite of, of people taking our head with the sword, that we will never defend ourselves. We said we will defend ourselves, but we will also weep, ah, for our trans...ah...gressor, because he is only an ignorant, ah, unenlightened Homo sapien. So, we ah, ah want to ah ah change or bring about the transformation of (incoherent) because our great feeling of love ah, for people. Ah, we have (incoherent) love we know that only people of dignity can love each other. (incoherent) dignity could not love another who's on a high level than the person who's maintained his manhood. So in order for us to truly love each other, we say that we will maintain our dignity. This...if you attempt to take it away in the name of love, we will (incoherent)

that we have to hurt you to do so, but we will hurt you that you will weep because the death of any man diminishes us. But, at the same time, that we know that we must preserve sanity because we believe we're sane, and ah we must not let the madman run amuck and cause the bloodshed that he's been doing for the last four hundred years.

Now..

I'm sorry for being so long-winded.

Yeah. What I was..my question was ah..Well, let me ah go and ask another question first. It has been ah attributed to the Black Panther Party that they, if they have to, if they must, they would resort to guerrilla warfare. This is one of the reasons why they..am I right there? I..in order to protect the people.

Ah..

..And to protect themselves.

Yeah, I, I thing that's the wrong word, but ah..

I thought, I thought I was using the right word that I had heard.

Well, sometimes we use the wrong word.

Oh, I see.

Ah, but ah, we will use the strategy that's effective, sufficient, and necessary. And ah, if that strategy happens to be guerrilla warfare, which I think guerrilla warfare would not work in this country because that ah very clear military strategy. Ah, ah this country will (incoherent) because of our whole different composition of conditions, it will require a whole new creative set of strategy and tactics. But,

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

ah, what I would like to say is this. Is that ah, as far as we're concerned that our..

SOUTH: (interrupting) Wait, I (garbled) let me ask you..

NEWTON: Ah..telegraphing, ya hafta have a station break?

SOUTH: No, I want to ask this so you can answer all that's here.

NEWTON: No, no, no, but, no. First I would like to add to this then.

SOUTH: Okay.

NEWTON: That..but as as far as our ah strategy and broadcasting our strategy...

SOUTH: Uh-huh.

NEWTON: In nineteen sixtysix, we walked around the street armed..

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: And ah, it made a point because we know one thing, that black people because we're powerless ah cannot call a press conference. The press hafta call us. And (stumbles over words) in order for the press to call us, (clears throat) we have to do something that they consider significant, whether it's positive or negative.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: In our case, of course, we could only offer a negative thing because we were suffering a negative reaction from them.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: So the main emphasis here, is usually the tool for the mass media of communication. This was the case in nineteen sixtysix of October.

SOUTH: Yeah.

NEWTON: So, at first, you do what? You regain the res..you gain the

receptive ear. Secondly, ah the press will make it very derogatory, but the victim has been suffering from the derogatory ah dealings of the press all of the time. So he sees through it. So in effect, ah, two negatives make the positive, and two positives make the negative. So ah we ne..negate the negation because the press will make a double negative when they report it, and the community will view it as a positive because I say those people are outraged, just as we are. And ah you speak of a generational thing, that ah, well (incoherent) Ho Chi Min (ph) of Vietnam, the late Ho Chi Min, Uncle Ho?

Uh-hmm.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Said that it's perfectly ah, incorrect to broadcast military tactics for military reasons. But it's perfectly correct to broadcast military action, or military strategy for political reasons. Ah, so ah, you could judge what we're doing in that context. Now, ah, after that time, after that ah armed kind of demonstration, there was a real demonstration because it was a little more than that. It was that twilight zone, in between some real action, but not yet there. Ah, after we've exhausted that we've gone onto higher level because we don't need that any more because the community is (incoherent) we are the only party with a program. That isn't including all of them.

SOUTH:

I have to stop here and say this is WVON, Cicero. Go right ahead.

NEWTON:

All right. Ah, so, what I'm trying to say, and I won't ah be too long-winded that I'll say in front of the Coliseum, and my throat gets sore where I can't talk, and I think it would be a catastrophe for me not to be able to address ah, the people I love very (incoherent) in person. Ah, at least to say thank you anyway. Ah, what I'm saying is that what we did in nineteen sixtysix of October, w..was no more than what you did, ah say ten, twenty years ago, and that is when you stood up to your boss now you, a plural, and said that I would not be treated like a dirty dog and sleep in a hollowed-out log, ya see?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.

That ah I would rather drink muddy water, ya see? And ah you showed your outrage, and you let your comrades knew, know it, because..

SOUTH:

(Interrupting) Will you, what we try to do...(both speak simultaneously)

NEWTON:

Because..wait for a minute, huh? Wait.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

..take another step.

Wait just one minute, huh? You let your comrades know it for political reasons.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.

You knew you couldn't take on the sheriff and all his dogs But you also knew that your comrade was coward. Ya see?

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Uh-hmm.

Because they were, had internalized that negative identity. But, ah after you show a certain amount

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

of dignity, that ah ah there
were (incoherent) of ah
dignity and manhood as you
allowed them, and then through
your communica..through communication
and your fraternal kind of relation-
ship and love. So this is essentially
what the Black Panther Party intends
to do. Now we do not walk around
with guns, but at the same time
we maintain the same policy..that if-
if we cannot maintain our manhood
we'll level the earth trying.. But
this time we will not be sitting
ducks, we will deal with you in a
military way, and I won't discuss
that here because it's incorrect
according to Ho Chi Min (ph).
Now, ah you spoke of Ho Chi Min,
you spoke of ah Chairman Mao. Ah..
I could start speak of O..ah..
(incoherent) or, or, yeah,
Odinga Odinga (ph) ah, who's ah
fighting in Kenya ah..
Yeah.

...for the liberation of the
ah people of Kenya, fighting
the over-reactionary (incoherent)
Ya know revolution ah, is a sort
of ah, ah, strange thing that
ah i..the basis of it is a struggle
between the old and the new.
(incoherent) was a revolutionist ah
in nineteen sixtyone, but he became
old and ah he tried to consolidate
and hold to his position. So there-
fore, he became reactionary. And
the new Odingo Diga (ph) who is
a relatively a young man, I don't
think he's a teenager any more, he's

about thirtyfive or thirtyseven
now, ah, but at any rate, now he's
struggling to take the freedom
to a higher manifestation, and the
Black Panther Party (incoherent)
this is the answer and we will not
change, that we will classify ourselves
as reactionaries, if we're honest.
Uh-hmm.

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

So we always go through, ah, ah
continu..ah..a continuation of trans-
formation. In nineteen fiftysix
we said we're nationalists. A short
time after that, we said we were
revolutionary nationalists. A short
time after that we said we're
internationalists. A short time
after that we say that, we're not
nationalists at all. We're
inter-communiteralists because
it's necessary to view the world
as your community because as we
anticipate a universal technology
we must have a universal identity
so that we will not divide each
other into tribes, nations, species
and pseudo-species, but we must
embrace each other as Homo sapiens
and looking for the same thing
and that is life, and happiness
and well-being and dignity.

SOUTH:

Now, the question was this,
let me get to the question.
And, don't answer until I finish
it, (incoherent)

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

Don't tempt me then. (Both chuckle)

Okay. Ah, is there a, I mean,
d..that the Ho Che..Ho Chi Min,
Chairman Mao, and O..

NEWTON:
SOUTH:
NEWTON:

Odinga Odinga (ph).

Odinga Odinga.

And I could have mentioned
(incoherent), I, I could have
mentioned Patricia Mulba (ph)

I made secretary in New York,
who ah smuggled her way over from

France. I just wrote a book about him, ah, that I adore him. I could have mentioned Malcolm X. Before them all I could have even ah ah mentioned ah one of the great movements that you..know much about I'm sure, which is Markus Garvey (ph), and ah, before that ah we picked the man that Markus Garvey hated, and perhaps he wasn't mature enough because he could have used some of the ah contributions that the man offered, but criticized at the same time those, Booker T. Washington, and ah and ah ah...

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

DuBois?
DuBois. Ah. E. B. DuBois, he liked to be called DuBois. Ah, that ah he could have used this, and he did use some, but what we try to do is this. We try to ah make an (incoherent) and integrate the complex whole to get the best out of everything so that we will not only view the best of the two worlds, but we will have it. And that will be the new thing. And after this we dedicate ourselves to constantly change because we know that man wants the one thing, and that's free. And his ultimate freedom will rest upon his ability to become Godly, and ah we think that he has the potentiality to reveal the secret to ah the Buddha at the head of the garden. (incoherent) secret of the beginning and end... Now there's one last question. ..which we know nothing about now. Now maybe I can get to the question now.
Go ahead now.
(incoherent)

SOUTH:
NEWTON:
SOUTH:

NEWTON:
SOUTH:

NEWTON: D..don't tempt me please.
 SOUTH: Don't tempt ya, okay. Ah, is there a..
 NEWTON: Is it all right (incoherent) around?
 SOUTH: Yeah.
 NEWTON: He says it's all right.
 SOUTH: Okay.
 NEWTON: Okay.
 SOUTH: Is there a..
 NEWTON: I mean it'll be all right with Fred Hampton.
 SOUTH: Yeah.
 NEWTON: That's why I'm happy.
 SOUTH: Is there a spiritual..ah, any type of link between the Black Panther Party and Ho Chi, the late Ho Chi Min (ph) and his followers and Chairman Mao.
 I kno..now I would assume that there is eh, a ah, what do we call it, Communist, ah, ah base for the Black Panther Party. Am I right, or a Socialistic base? Which is it? Or is there..
 NEWTON: Well, I, I would hi..I could only answer that in full context. The same link that is between ah, Chairman Mao and Ho Chi Min (ph) ah, we would have to say that's the same link as between DuBois, Booker T. Washington, and also Markus Garvey (ph), Malcolm, because as I told you before we've..
 SOUTH: Yes.
 NEWTON: ..integrated all the good thi... of the thinkers of the world. Now we're not dogmatists, and we don't sit, we're not flunkies for anyone. We say that we're for freedom and if a man says a thing just because he's of a certain, ah, ethnic or racial group, or country, we don't disqualify him because the white racists say disqualify it, we'll disqualify it on the basis of it not being functional for us. So, ah. we say this, that we're interested

SOUTH:
NEWTON:

in mankind, and ah, we're dedicated to not being prejudice or discriminate against anyone ah because he's from, from a certain region or his texture of his skin is a certain way, or his eyes are slanted a certain way. And this is i..in spite of everything else, even though we would have every reason to hate everything American. But we don't do that. We say even America has contributed something, even though the double negative, which makes a positive. Uh-hmm.

And maybe that's e..the future of the Third World which is the colored world, and we like to call it the black world, because we know one thing, we know that the dominant gene is black and we said we must not be racial chauvinists, but at the same time that the future itself will eliminate the problem of light skin texture and dark skin texture if the mass media is the (incoherent) ah, ah, development ah, throws man together that the, the cells of dark men will probably dominate over the cells of light, and ah, this is no ah great thing to celebrate about, it's just that I think that problem will be solved who have not only effected (incoherent) in a biological way, will also have it in a spiritually, ah, a in a spiritual way, the cultural way, political way, and a way that will deliver man ah, to what we call the promised land, and that's the collective society that man would love each other,

SOUTH: share with each other..
Do you really think that could come about in this, in the entire world, or in the United States?

NEWTON: Not in your lifetime, and perhaps not in mine, but without a dream we cannot have a dream come true.

SOUTH: Uh-hmm.

NEWTON: So, therefore, I pursued the dream...

SOUTH: (Both men speaking simultaneously, Newton continues speaking. South's remarks incoherent.)

NEWTON: ...with a passion, because I will not except the nightmare of this reality if here..that is a pitiful excuse of a life. I will not call it the happy life. I will not commit to it and I will not give up my manhood, and that's what the (incoherent) want of me. They wanted it in prison, and now they want it out of prison, but I will give up nothing, they'll have to take it but in the process I might take something.

SOUTH: All right, let me ask you this question, and make it, eh, you've got two minutes to answer it. So, think of your words real carefully. Ah, when do you think, because you've answered part of it, you said not in my lifetime, and maybe not in yours, when do you think we will have a good, ah...

NEWTON: Well, you've done many good things in your life, your generation..

SOUTH: Yeah, yeah, I'm saying wha..

NEWTON: And I appreciate that.

SOUTH: ..what I'm saying no, no I didn't mean it would be, it may never be Utopia, but when do you think it will be..

NEWTON: I don't believe in Utopia.

SOUTH:
 NEWTON: Well.
 Because that would be a final conclusion. I believe in a continual ah, process...

SOUTH: I hit the wrong nerve, when I said Utopia. Let me, let me get the rest of, eh, what, when and where eh, do you think this will occur in the United States?

NEWTON: Ah, it would...

SOUTH: You only have ninety seconds.

NEWTON: It would have to occur in the world because the world is one community and that's why we call ourselves intercommunilists (ph) because...

SOUTH: No, why would it happen in the world then?

NEWTON: Pardon me?

SOUTH: When will it happen in the world?

NEWTON: Ah, could you have told when you, your generation..

SOUTH: I don't know.

NEWTON: Wait just one minute.

SOUTH: I don't know.

NEWTON: Wait, I, I'm not asking you, my (stumbles over words) ninety minutes. You could not have told when you ah would have when your mother would delivered Malcolm or when ah the people would have delivered the Black Panther Party. So I cannot tell when the Black Panther Party ah, with all of the contributions be given to it, would deliver a new idea and a new strategy to gain freedom. So I say power to the people, best to the fascists, and love to all of the people.

SOUTH: Are you gonna cry when the fascists die?

NEWTON: Pardon? Yes.

SOUTH: ..cry..

NEWTON: Yes. Because the fascists are, that's only an adjective to modify the noun

of Homo Sapiens, human beings.
 So, he is not born of stone, he
 is born of woman, so therefore
 I cry for his mother, I cry for
 his sister, and his family...
 It is only his deeds and his
 beliefs that you..

SOUTH: Th..that's, that's correct.
 NEWTON: But I would not ah submit to
 his deeds, and be distant to
 them.

SOUTH: Ladies and gentlemen, our guest
 tonight, Huey P. Newton, age
 29, (inbackground) just a moment,
 (into microphone) ah, the ah
 Minister of Defense, Black Panther
 Party..

NEWTON: And ah, and ah Supreme Servant..
 SOUTH: And Supreme Servant.
 NEWTON: Of the people..
 SOUTH: Of the people. And he will be
 at the Coliseum on Sunday.

NEWTON: Yes.
 SOUTH: At ah two o'clock.
 NEWTON: To thank the people.
 SOUTH: To thank the people.
 NEWTON: Cause I would be dead if it were
 not for the people.

SOUTH: You would be ah not here if it
 weren't for the people, you'd be
 dead.

NEWTON: Thank you.
 SOUTH: Until Monday night at one, eh well
 no, at eleven o'clock.

NEWTON: Yeah.
 RECORDING: Hot Line, with Wesley South is a
 public affairs presentation of
 Globetrotter Communications, Incor-
 porated. Join Wesley South,
 Monday through Friday at eleven,
 for topics of our time....

(Recording discontinued.)

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

i. Chicago Coliseum
1513 South Wabash Street
Chicago, Illinois
February 21, 1971

Special Agents of the FBI observed the arrival of NEWTON at the Chicago Coliseum on February 21, 1971, at approximately 4:45 PM.

NEWTON spoke at the Chicago Coliseum on the afternoon of February 21, 1971. Approximately 2000 people ranging in age from 19 to 30 years were present. Of those present, approximately ten per cent were white. A \$1.00 donation was charged at the door and everyone entering the Coliseum was searched for weapons, cameras and recording devices.

NEWTON told those present that the BPP supported all anti-capitalistic organizations. He was critical of GUS HALL, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), because of the fact that HALL was operating in 1917, rather than 1971. NEWTON informed the audience he had had a recent discussion with National leader ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, currently in exile in Algeria, who had informed NEWTON the people had to organize and fight against fascism in the United States. NEWTON also spoke on the fact that BOBBY SEALE was also a victim of American fascism.

SF T-14
SF T-15
February 21, 1971

NEWTON thanked those present for lending their help and support while he was in prison. He also stated he wanted to get ANGELA DAVIS to return to the folds of the BPP and denounce the CP. He stated the BPP in California had constructed

SF 157-1203
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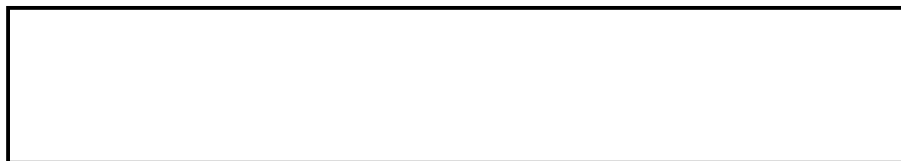
a shoe factory and were presently making shoes for children less fortunate. He also called upon all political prisoners to be freed.

SF T-16
February 21, 1971

BOBBY RUSH introduced NEWTON as the "Man of the hour". At the outset of his remarks, NEWTON proclaimed the fact that he was a "revolutionist" and wanted people freed, noting specifically that BOBBY SEALE and ANGELA DAVIS must be freed. NEWTON advised those present the BPP was behind ANGELA DAVIS, but wanted her to return to the BPP and denounce the CP. If she would do this, then the BPP would give her all-out support.

NEWTON also spoke as to how the people had freed him from prison. He stated that the people are being oppressed and that this power that is in the hands of the oppressor must be taken from the oppressor by the people. NEWTON stated he was against GUS HALL because all the CP understood was how people lived in 1917 and that the CP could not relate to the present. NEWTON also informed the audience that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER wanted to return to the United States and in time he will come back, but could not return since all of the people were not free. He also stated that BOBBY SEALE was not guilty and that the State had no reason to say when an individual should live or should die.

NEWTON, during a question and answer period, stated that ELMER PRATT, also referred to as "Geronimo", was a traitor to the people and for that reason, had been suspended from the BPP.



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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON called upon those present to go to 4233 South Indiana Avenue, the south side headquarters of the Illinois BPP. He wanted people to work for the Panthers and after a six month period, could be called Panthers. NEWTON was critical of JESSE JACKSON, leader of Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who is presently running for Mayor of Chicago, because JACKSON would not say whether he was a revolutionist or not.

The speech was concluded at about 6:00 PM.

SF T-17
February 21, 1971

Special Agents of the FBI observed NEWTON's departure from the Chicago Coliseum at approximately 6:10 PM on February 21, 1971.

The Deputy Superintendent's Office of the Chicago Police Department advised that the area in the vicinity of the Chicago Coliseum had returned to normal by 6:30 PM, February 21, 1971, with no incidents reported.

The April 10, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained the text of NEWTON's speech at the Chicago Coliseum. The following is the speech as reported in this newspaper:

**STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE
OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, SUPREME SERVANT
OF THE PEOPLE AT THE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS COLISEUM,
FEBRUARY 21, 1971**

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

First of all, I would like to thank you for my very presence here. If it were not for you I would have been in the gas chamber long ago. I would still be in prison. But because of the power of the people and the fact that you realize your power, I'm here today. So I would like to thank you. But I can't because I can't find words to express my gratitude. So without words, Thank You.

Today I would like to ask you to do something else, another favor. Will you free Bobby Seale, the Chairman, and Ericka, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and also Brad Green. I'm sorry that I kept you waiting; I will try to make it worth while. But you will have to forgive me, because I'm not familiar with fancy phrases and clauses. I'm a very practical man, we have a practical Party. We have a practical Party; the Party is ded-

icated to the survival of the people. We were not founded upon eloquent words; we were founded upon a survival program. And, I feel quite out of my realm here, because I'm not a speaker. I'm a man of action. So as best I can, I will outline to you the Black Panther Party's program and also persuade you to join in the program.

Many people believe that in order to participate in the community programs that you must be in the Black Panther Party. But this is not so. We ask everyone to become involved in the community programs, the self-defense program. Self defense, you know, is a necessary thing today, because the people's very existence is in danger. The violence of the aggressor comes in many forms. The vicious service-revolver of the police is only one manifestation of violence. But it is equally violent for the

"The Black Panther"
April 10, 1971

State and the small ruling circle to deprive the people of housing, of medical care, of food, of clothing, those acts are acts of aggression, when we live in such an affluent society. The Black Panther Party views those acts as very violent ones. So therefore we must defend ourselves by any means necessary. We will use those means that are necessary, efficient and sufficient; and, we would like to warn our aggressor that we will not rest until the people are free. So not only do I ask you to free all political prisoners, but also to free the people, because that will be the final test.

Some people have told us in order for us to be free, that we must have assimilation. But we know that is not so. Some people have told us in order to be free, we must have integration. But we've tested that also; and we're still not free. Some people have also told us, in order for us to be free, we must have separation.

But we know that's not so, because, when we look around the world, we see the African people are separated, we see the Chinese people and the Vietnamese people are separated from the aggressor here in the Empire of North America, but yet they're not free. So the people do not want assimilation, integration or separation. They want some freedom. We will not be free until we negate the power of the aggressor.

We think it's somewhat absurd to feel that here in the United States, if we were to get a small plot, that United States Imperialism will let us exist side by side with it, when it won't even let people

ten thousand miles away exist; will not let them exist until they submit-submit to the brutal tactics of the imperial army. The imperial army wears many uniforms, but they all do the same thing. They're all flunkies for Daley; they're all flunkies for Nixon and General Motors. And we see that they might wear the uniform of a local policeman; they might wear the uniform of the National Guard; or they might wear the uniform that the men wore who slaughtered the Vietnamese people in My Lai and Son My or invaded the borders of Laos, or the people who are responsible for the siege of Africa, and for supplying the Portuguese with the weapons to torture the people of Angola and Mozambique.

We see that the world is different than it used to be, some years ago in history. To be separated geographically, you could claim nationhood. But now we see that the aggressor has co-opted the whole world. And we see that just to be separated by geographical location, whether its water, land or partition, does not necessarily mean freedom. In order for the people to be free we must not separate from the slavemaster, but take the slavemaster's power, expropriate that power and distribute it to the people, so the people will have the power. Those countries that used to be called nations now more resemble oppressed communities, communities under siege. We see that the universal police are doing everything possible to either exploit or eliminate. But as far as we are concerned, we say that we

know that the power that we're fighting is great—but we will not submit. A slave should never die a natural death. A slave who dies a natural death will not balance two dead flies on the scales of eternity. I spoke of the survival program, the Black Panther Party's program. And I would like to say that that survival program is not a revolutionary program. It's a program instituted in the community so that the people may survive pending revolution. In other words, people make revolution. If we suffer genocide, then revolution will not occur, because we won't be around. If we can preserve the life and the welfare of our children through the Breakfast for Children Program, if we can preserve the health through distributing free shoes in the community (we've just opened a new shoe factory in Oakland, we hope to have them all over the country), so that we can give shoes to the children of Buford County, who suffer from hookworms, simply because the grounds are infested with hookworms. The people must survive. But, as I said the survival program is not a revolutionary program. The survival program is to guarantee the existence of man, so that he can make the necessary changes, so that the survival kit will not be necessary. Our program is like a first-aid kit or survival kit, used by a pilot who is shot down over a sea. He takes a first-aid kit with him, and also takes a few protein tablets. He might take some warm clothing, but he knows that he won't really be comfortable, until he reaches the shore. So we say that we're doing the same thing; and we'll reach

the shore when the people reach the level of consciousness to change the society, and therefore change the world. Until that time, until that time, it is very necessary to stop just talking about revolution, because you might not be able to participate; you might not be able to participate, if you are wiped out beforehand.

So we see the world now as one community, because the oppressor has transformed it, and reduced the larger units to a smaller unit. We see that there's only one State power and that's the State power of General Motors because they're administrating the whole world. And if you don't believe me, just look around and you'll see what happened in the Dominican Republic a few years ago, when Juan Bosch was ousted. You see what happened when Patrice Lumumba fought for the people in the Congo, the same people were there—the fascist American forces. So in order for anything to come about, in order for any kind of social system to be realized by the people, first things first. We must take away the power and ability of the aggressor to inflict harm upon the people. So this is the unity cry of the people of the world. It is a cry that is necessary in order for the people to survive. We view all of the people who are now fighting as simply instituting a survival program. We see that people are becoming more and more conscious of the need to create the unity that is necessary, to overwhelm the power of the machine that is now in the hands of the aggressor.

According to Johnson's report on civil disorders about 75 companies control the economy of the United States, and subsequently control the economy of the whole world. So we see that the whole world's economy has been integrated into Wall Street, and that in order for them to plan their future, they must first consider the force and the atrocious actions of the American government. We know that the people of America would like not tomorrow, but yesterday, to change things. But people are confused. People are confused because of a low level of consciousness. And that's the main theme of the Black Panther Party. Not only do we institute a survival program in the community, we also institute an educational program, built around the survival program. Because if a man does not know how to get to that land, when he is cast out at sea, then he's lost and he will struggle forever. And he will be like the myth of Sisyphus pushing a rock up the hill, only for it to fall back at its own weight. So we must first realize exactly who the enemy is. We must stop fighting our potential friends. But we must defend ourselves against anyone who threatens us, because we will not let insanity prevail. Sane men must prevail, in order that man will prevail, so that mankind will have a future.

We know that for some years now the Black Panther Party has been under siege. Just a year ago Fred Hampton was murdered. Fred Hampton was murdered because of a conspiracy of Hanrahan and Daley and all of those other vi-

cious tools of oppression. We know that this happened. And we must not forget this. Because Fred Hampton was conscious; he didn't only say he was somebody, he said, "Not only am I somebody I know who I am - I am a revolutionist". Some people claim that the Black Panther Party is a suicidal Party but I would like to reject that here tonight. The Black Panther Party realizes one thing, that death comes to everyone. But it varies in its significance. To die for the reactionary and the racist is lighter than a feather; but to die for the Revolution and the people is heavier than a mountain and deeper than Lake Michigan. Because of the changed phenomena in the world today, it is very necessary for the people of the world, all of the victims, to not only unite, but also develop a common language. They also have to develop a culture that's essentially human. Because, whether we like it or not, we are thrown together. We're thrown together, and in order to avoid the mutual slaughter of man by man, we must develop a common identity, a universal identity, because of the universal nature of technology. Today that technology is being held away from the people. It's held from us. But we will seize it in order to free the people from not only the natural forces, but also free the man from the labor, so that man then will be able to indulge in productive creativity and create the kind of social system, create the kind of value system that will allow us to live together in peace.

We know that our enemy, in fact, is

only a small ruling circle. But we have many people who fight the victim. This person, who fights the victim much of the time, is also a victim; and that makes it even more confusing. Gradually as the climax comes, the people are seeing that it is not in our interest to fight each other, because there's one common oppressor, and that oppressor now has divided. Not only divided the world into nations, not only divided the world, and therefore divided the human spirit. So that men now see each other as something less than a man. We call each other species and pseudo-species or we say that we're human or we're homosapiens, but the others are not. While the small ruling circle stays on the outside of all of this and acts as a so-called peacemaker, but really enjoying the fight, because while we fight, he robs us both blind. In our community in California, if you want to see the biggest fight you've ever seen, let the oppressor come down in the community with a poverty program and offer a dollar-sixty-five an hour with ten positions open, that community then will divide into the Chicanos, into the Blacks, into poor Whites and stab each other to death for that dollar-sixty-five an hour. And fight for what they all deserve. What they rally should do is turn on the person that keeps away the abundance, because there's enough for everyone. But in order to understand this, we must become conscious.

Today I would like to call your attention to the trial that's going on in Connecticut of Bobby Seale, the Chairman,

and Ericka. Their trial is another aggressive violent act. Some people wonder are Bobby Seale and Ericka guilty, or are they not guilty? And I say that that's not the question, even though they are obviously not guilty. The question really is - the question is, does the State have the right, does the State administration have the right to ask for a man's life? Once the State asks for a man's life, it negates and invalidates its power; it becomes illegitimate. It becomes illegitimate because a contract that any man makes with his administration - with the State Administrator, do wrong, or an injustice towards the citizen, who is then to have a redress of grievance that's set up by the State, so that things will remain peaceful. But how could you have a redress of grievance. If the State takes your life, you cannot come back then. The State decided, because of your power, that I was not guilty so they released me and now the people ask for a redress of grievance. But what if the state had had their way; what if you had not intervened? They would have taken my life, and then denied that they were ever wrong. And Bobby Seale and Ericka's murder, and must stand witness against it, and do everything possible to free them. So I say Free Bobby and Free Ericka and all other political prisoners.

There's been some misunderstanding about the Party at this point. Because the mass media is only an agency of control by the reactionary forces. They've spread the lie that the Party is deteriorating, because some people have been

suspended for various reasons. But this is ~~not true~~ at all. Remember that we base our success upon the programs we institute in the community and when these programs fail, the the Party will fail. Until that time we would like to call those who stand on the sidelines, just gesticulating and criticizing, we would like to call them a liar, because our work will speak for itself. It's not only a great pleasure to be here, it will be even a greater pleasure when I see you at our center at 4233 Indiana Street, where you sign up for our community program and involve yourself in the survival program. Because it's been too long that we come, and we come to speaking engagements and rallies to be entertained. But now the day is so violent and the people's very existence is so under threat, until if we do not involve ourselves more than talking, we have a very short future. So I ask you to show your enthusiasm; show your enthusiasm for the Black Panther Party's program; show your enthusiasm for the community's welfare, by attaching yourself to some program. And then we will know that the people are not only becoming conscious, but putting this consciousness into action. And therefore we will be ensured of a victory. Otherwise we will sit around, we will sit around and look for feel good words. But we will not understand why we are becoming more and more in danger, dying off everyday like flies, but yet doing nothing about it, nothing but words. So we say, put your words into action, put your put your words into action, put your energy to work in the community, because the communities themselves are really nothing but what used to be—could

be called a nation. In other words, the nations of the world now are merely a dispersed collection of communities.

A community is basically a collection of institutions that are supposed to serve the people. So we have Black communities here in Chicago, we have Chinese communities here in Chicago, we have Chinese communities in San Francisco, Puerto Rican communities in New York, Black communities in New York, and really, it's like a dispersed collection of nations but the only thing is that the aggressor administrated all of these communities, just as he administers the wealth and the economy and the political institutions of all of the so-called countries of the world. The

countries of the world now are merely a dispersed collection of communities. The reality of today is not internationalism, but reactionary intercommunalism. We would like to transform that into Revolutionary Intercommunalism by turning the institutions over to the people. And that's the prime motive of the Black Panther Party.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

FREE BOBBY, FREE ERICKA, FREE ANGELA, FREE THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS, FREE THE PEOPLE, AND FREE YOURSELVES.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE, BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

j. JIM DUNBAR's Television Program "A.M."
KGO-TV, San Francisco, California
February 26, 1971

On February 26, 1971, NEWTON was a guest on JIM DUNBAR's morning television talk program "A.M." from 7:40 AM until 8:30 AM, which was broadcast live on San Francisco Television Station KGO-TV, Channel 7. Following is a summary of that program:

Mr. DUNBAR began the interview by asking NEWTON if there has been a change in his (NEWTON'S) title from "Supreme Commander" to "Supreme Servant".

NEWTON replied that the Central Committee of the BPP has bestowed upon him a new title of "Supreme Servant" and he hopes that in the future he will be able to persuade the Central Committee to change his title to "Servant" and drop the "Supreme".

In response to Mr. DUNBAR's question if the change in NEWTON's title indicates any kind of change in the leadership of the BPP, NEWTON stated there has been no real change, that there have been development periods and periods of transformation which he said differs from change. NEWTON continued that the BPP has not gone from one position to another but has added, expanded and developed some principles. He explained that the Central Committee thought it was in the interest of the Party to put a new title on the head of the Party, which role he said he assumed in 1966 when BOBBY SEALE and he formed the Party.

Mr. DUNBAR stated that he has ELDRIDGE CLEAVER on the telephone in Algeria and would then talk with CLEAVER.

Mr. DUNBAR referred to the film that had been shown recently on television in the San Francisco area showing CLEAVER and TIMOTHY LEARY in a dialogue about drugs and revolution and he asked CLEAVER what is LEARY's status and if LEARY is still under palace arrest.

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CLEAVER replied that LEARY is not under any form of arrest and that he is just as free as the rest of them are in Algeria.

Mr. DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if CLEAVER's recent pronouncement of drugs, particularly LSD, and some of the other drugs, represents an international policy of the Panthers or if that was something undertaken by CLEAVER himself and then endorsed by NEWTON.

NEWTON commented that it was the intercommunal policy derived through the Central Committee of the BPP, which he described as an Intercommunal Party. He continued that the BPP does not use the word "international" any longer because it confuses people and that "the world is really one community -- inter-related communities -- at this time even though the reactionary forces control them". NEWTON stated that the "polit-bureau" makes policy and that the "polit-bureau" is "part of the whole Party, whether it's an intercommunal section or a branch or a chapter in this community".

Mr. DUNBAR asked CLEAVER if he planned to return to the U.S. soon, to which CLEAVER stated that "It should be absolutely clear that I have every intention of returning to the United States and it will not be too long a time when I'm ready to do that".

NEWTON commented that CLEAVER will return to the U.S., but that in order for him to be able to return, the communities must be liberated. He stated that "We have to prepare a place for the Minister of Information and for the people to be free and to be able to move freely".

Mr. DUNBAR asked CLEAVER if he considered himself in any danger in Algeria at the present time.

CLEAVER stated "I think that when one is dealing with the agents of the fascists imperialist's empire of Babylon there is always an element of danger involved because these pigs are running all over the world making trouble and trying to destroy the progressive forces of the world. But we're not worried about them because the first one that we catch we're going to deal with him".

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Mr. DUNBAR told NEWTON that he understood NEWTON to have stated that the number one goal of all Black Panthers should be the freeing of people like BOBBY SEALE and he thought he had read where NEWTON was quoted as saying it was somewhat more difficult obviously for a man to participate in that when he is in Algeria or somewhere else. Mr. DUNBAR asked NEWTON if he might have been referring to CLEAVER or if he had been misquoted.

NEWTON stated that he had been misquoted and commented that in order to free political prisoners we have to first free the people in the community.

Mr. DUNBAR referred to the recent renouncement by the BPP of CONNIE MATTHEWS, RICHARD MOORE and MICHAEL TABOR as enemies of the people and asked CLEAVER if he would expect to see them in Algeria.

CLEAVER stated, "I don't know their travel plans but we could expect to see almost anyone here. Many people come to Algeria because they know that here the government has a very progressive policy toward revolutionary, liberation movement. So, if they were to show up I wouldn't be startled. But I don't know of any travel plans they have to do that."

DUNBAR asked CLEAVER what contributions TIMOTHY LEARY has made as far as BPP world aims are, to which CLEAVER replied, "Well, I think that TIMOTHY LEARY is not one who would be looked upon in terms of world aims of the BPP but more so as a product of white America. We took upon ourselves the case of TIMOTHY LEARY specifically at the request of the Weatherman organization and this was to show revolutionary solidarity with our comrades in arms. So, I think you should apply that question to the goals of the American revolutionary movement as a whole and our role here so far as TIMOTHY LEARY is concerned is to look after him and take care of him and try to keep him from getting into trouble because the man has suffered very severe mental damage from very extensive use of LSD. "

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DUNBAR further asked CLEAVER whether he was satisfied with LEARY's final position renouncing LSD and CLEAVER stated, "I'm not satisfied with it because he equivocates. When he's not before any microphone or camera he can be very emphatic in his review of that, but he still vacillates in terms of taking an honest and forthright position on that front, but the process of re-educating one who has undergone the use of LSD seems to be kind of slow, but he's coming along okay."

DUNBAR then asked CLEAVER if he had anything he wanted to say to any of his followers in the San Francisco Bay Area.

CLEAVER stated, "I just want to comment on the present situation that exists inside the BPP, specifically in reference to the purge of brother "GERONIMO" and the expulsion of the New York 21. Our position over here -- and we have three members of the Central Committee of the BPP over here -- is that this action is regrettable. It should not have taken place, it took place without proper consultation with the other members of the Central Committee and we lay the responsibility at the feet of DAVID HILLIARD and we demand that DAVID HILLIARD be dismissed or resigned from his position as Chief of Staff of the BPP so that we can go about the work of bringing the Party back together again because it looks to us as though as a result of the action taken by DAVID HILLIARD over a long period of time, the Party is falling apart at the seams".

DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if he had any comments, to which NEWTON replied in the affirmative. NEWTON continued, "ELDRIDGE, of course that I'm here and I'm very much in touch with the Central Committee and Central Headquarters and I would disagree with your position, though I hate to disagree with it here, but of course, you leave me no other choice. As far as the purge was concerned, I think the purge was a necessary thing. That the people not only ran out on their comrades, they also ran out on BOBBY SEALE, who is now facing the death chamber in Connecticut. When CONNIE MATTHEWS was asked to testify, that was the next day she left and took two people

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with her, one who had threatened my life. So, I don't think the Chief of Staff is responsible -- I'm responsible for it and I take that responsibility".

CLEAVER then told NEWTON that, "We plan to deal with that in a report to the Central Committee of the BPP".

This concluded the conversation between CLEAVER and NEWTON on the television program.

At this point in the program, questions directed to NEWTON were accepted from people calling in by telephone.

An unknown female referred to the recent publicity regarding NEWTON's residence in a high-rise apartment building in Oakland, California, and asked NEWTON if he is paying \$650 a month for rent of the apartment.

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Newton replied that he honestly did not know how much the BPP is paying for his security and continued, "I'm living in a building that I don't like. I consider it a prison. It's away from the community. The Party decided I live there only for security reasons. I argued not to be there. I was placed there but of course I would like to be in the community, but the Party decided that until the community could offer the security necessary that they would be responsible for my security. As far as the expenses are concerned, I think that the money used for my security should be used on our programs but their position was that they spent about three million dollars in order to save me from the gas chamber and they think it would be rather foolish for me to be assassinated the next day after I'm out. But I would agree with the people, and, as a matter of fact, I'm anxious for the people to write in at 1048 Peralta and give us an answer on exactly what to do concerning security."

BPP National Headquarters is located
at 1048 Peralta Street, Oakland,
California.

Dunbar asked Newton if his chief concern was the police, to which Newton stated that the Party is concerned with anyone who has threatened the life of a member of the Party. He continued that he receives about 25 threats a day and that he is sure some of those are from the police. Newton further commented that when he was on the gurney going into the operating room the police promised that if he did not die in the gas chamber they would murder him. Newton also stated that the Party thinks it needs more direction than it actually does, that the Central Committee held the Party together and he thinks they could go on without him in the event he is assassinated. Newton said, "But I've always taken the position that I know I won't live forever, but I just demand that my death be significant."

Another unknown female telephonically stated she had attended a meeting where a film was shown in which the BPP's Ten Point Program was set out and she asked Newton to tell the viewers about that program.

Newton replied that the BPP does have a Ten Point Program which he said is their survival program. He then mentioned the

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various programs the BPP provides for the communities, such as free health clinics, Breakfast For Children Program and the recently instituted Shoe Program, whereby he said the BPP will make shoes for people in the South and the poor people in the communities.

DUNBAR mentioned that it appears that the leaders of the BPP are in jail, have been killed, or are facing jail, whereas the white revolutionaries seem to "be making it" and he asked NEWTON if that indicated a possible change in the direction of the BPP.

NEWTON answered that black people are the most oppressed people in the world and continue to be the victim. He said the BPP is not only the vanguard for black people but the vanguard for the people's revolution of the world, including whites. NEWTON continued, "Our interests and our goals are really the goals of all the world. We're fighting for the interest of everyone and blacks in particular, because we are the most victimized in the whole world. Of course, we will not let the Weatherman or any other white radical group be our vanguard. They will not set our principles or our strategy. We want the people to survive pending revolution. We have to educate the people to such levels until they see the necessity for revolution. Survival until revolution. Our Ten Point Program is not a revolutionary program; it is a survival program."

An unknown male then telephonically asked NEWTON to comment on what is happening internally with the BPP and specifically concerning the comments by CLEAVER.

NEWTON commented, "There was clearly a contradiction and as far as the Chief of Staff DAVID HILLIARD is concerned and the way he handled the Party after he took control of the Central Committee after BOBBY SEALE was imprisoned and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was driven into exile, I think the Chief of Staff did a very fine job in holding things together until I returned. He had a tremendous responsibility with short notice. I think it was too bad that the Minister of Information took this time to bring it to the forefront. The Central Committee of the BPP will now have to

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"discuss not only the position of the intercommunal section and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER per se, we'll also have to consider the comments and the fact that it was brought out not to the Central Committee but the public."

DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if the fact that CLEAVER recommended that DAVID HILLIARD be removed from the BPP would be a violation of the bylaws or rules of the Party.

NEWTON replied that it would not be a violation per se, but, "We would only question the timely, or untimely, expression of it. So this would be the discussion. I cannot make a decision here because I am not the Central Committee."

DUNBAR asked NEWTON how many are on the Central Committee, to which NEWTON replied, "We don't even give out that number."

DUNBAR inquired if major decisions such as those relating to the removal of members from the Party are submitted to a vote and if it is a democratic procedure.

NEWTON stated that it is democratic centralism and continued that the policy making is centralized, but it is democratic because "We believe that it is in the interest of all of the people."

DUNBAR asked NEWTON if he had one vote as Supreme Commander or if he had any "extra weight", to which NEWTON replied, "I have much influence within the Central Committee and I'm also on the 'polit-bureau', inside of the Central Committee, which is a smaller group than the overall committee. I only have one vote, but I have much influence because of my position as one of the old guard."

NEWTON was asked by DUNBAR if he has veto power, and NEWTON said, "No, I don't have veto power."

At this point NEWTON announced that the BPP was holding a Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity Rally for BOBBY

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SEALE and other political prisoners on Friday night, March 5, 1971, at the Oakland Auditorium Arena, Oakland, California, and urged people to attend that function. NEWTON stated that KATHLEEN CLEAVER, wife of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and he (NEWTON) would be the principal speakers.

An unknown male telephonically asked NEWTON to explain the type of society the BPP is trying to create and to give a political analysis of the ANGELA DAVIS trial.

NEWTON stated he would like to have more time than he had to answer the first question, but that in connection with the new society, it would be a society that has a capability of developing a culture that is essentially humane and will be based upon collectivism. He explained that everything will be commonly owned and commonly administered so that a few people will not be able to horde and to exploit other people. He continued that the exploitation of man by man will end and that this is the primary goal of the BPP. He remarked that this is not the end goal because, "We are a revolutionary group and revolution is a process --a process that means constant change."

Concerning ANGELA DAVIS, NEWTON stated that, of course, she must be set free and that this is the Party's position. He continued, "We criticize ANGELA's connection with the CPA (Communist Party of America) or the American Revisionist Party--that's the name we give to the Communist Party--so we asked ANGELA to denounce the CPA and join the true revolutionary party because we feel the BPP is the only Communist Party in America. So, this is our position and in spite of that small argument, we support ANGELA DAVIS and we will go on supporting her in spite of her bad judgment."

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DUNBAR commented that the so-called "New York 21" are being represented by counsel and that it was his understanding that the Black Panthers currently on trial in Oakland are being represented by court appointed attorneys. He asked NEWTON if the New York Panthers are more important than the Oakland Panthers and why the Oakland Panthers are not represented by GARRY or someone else.

NEWTON told DUNBAR he would have to specify which Panthers in Oakland he was referring to inasmuch as some members were expelled from the Party and therefore were not given counsel by the Party.

DUNBAR then asked NEWTON if TERRY COTTON, LANKFORD, WENDELL WADE and SCOTT are still in good standing with the Party.



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NEWTON replied that JOHN L. SCOTT has been reunited with the Party. He stated that SCOTT had quit the Party and therefore he was not given consideration that regular members would have been given but that he is now back with the Party. NEWTON said that LANKFORD is not a member of the Party and had defected some time ago. NEWTON also said that WADE is a Party member again.

NEWTON was asked by DUNBAR why he carries a swagger stick and after holding up the swagger stick so it could be seen by the television viewers, NEWTON replied that the Party had presented him with the swagger stick and that it is a command stick. He explained that the swagger stick signifies the leader of the Party at a particular time and is a symbol of command and that when he no longer holds the position as head of the Party, or if he is imprisoned, the stick will be passed on to another leader.

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The February 27, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, reported that after the foregoing television appearance by NEWTON, he held a brief news conference. At that news conference, a radio reporter asked NEWTON for elaboration on the dispute between CLEAVER and himself, to which NEWTON replied, "He found it necessary to bring that point out in public first. It was a shock to me and we will take action against that. If it was left to me, he might find himself in jail just as LEARY was in jail".

According to the article, NEWTON continued that "If the Central Committee decides he (CLEAVER) will be disciplined, I will recommend that he be put into jail inside our embassy in Algiers".

JIM DUNBAR privately stated on February 26, 1971, that during a commercial break on his program "A.M." when he was interviewing NEWTON, he asked NEWTON what he (NEWTON) would do about CLEAVER'S [redacted] and NEWTON replied that the Central Committee might have to "recall CLEAVER from Algeria". NEWTON told DUNBAR he would not repeat that during the televised broadcast.

SF T-18
February 26, 1971

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On March 1, 1971, [redacted] Intelligence Division, San Francisco Police Department, advised he had determined from the General Manager of KGO-TV station that NEWTON did not receive any pay for his appearance on the JIM DUNBAR show on February 26, 1971.

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k. Fund Raising Cocktail Party
Held By [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Massachusetts
February 26, 1971

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[redacted] will have a cocktail party at her residence, [redacted] Massachusetts, on February 26, 1971, to raise funds to finance the legal expenses incurred in the defense of BOBBY SEALE. HUEY NEWTON and CHARLES GARRY are scheduled to attend that party.

SF T-19
February 17, 1971

[redacted] mailed approximately three hundred invitations, which read "You are cordially invited to attend an evening with Charles Garry and Huey Newton. \$25 per person." The party is scheduled to follow a public lecture by GARRY at Lowell Lecture Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, which commences at 7 PM. The invitation stated that in the event the invitee could not attend, checks may be made payable to CHARLES GARRY or the Legal Defense Fund and forwarded to [redacted] residence.

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SF T-20
February 24, 1971

Special Agents of the FBI, Boston, observed that the cocktail party began at approximately 9 PM. 27 males (20 white and 7 black) and 28 females (21 white and 7 black) were seen entering the house, including HUEY NEWTON who arrived at 10:25 PM accompanied by [redacted] of the Boston Chapter of the BPP and an unidentified white male. The party ended at approximately midnight.

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The March 7, 1971, issue of "The Boston Herald Traveler" contained an article entitled "Cambridge Socialite Gives Fund Party For Panthers", written by GORDON D. HALL, a regular contributor to the Herald Traveler, who interviewed KENNELLY after the party. The article states that "about 40 individuals including several Mrs. KENNELLY described as 'prominent' paid \$25 each for the 'privilege' of listening to Panther Defense Minister HUEY NEWTON outline his Party's continuing need for financial and moral support Mrs. KENNELLY wouldn't say how much but she indicated that funds well in excess of the \$1000 taken at the door were collected for the Panthers." When asked about her own financial support of the Panthers, she dismissed it as being nothing more than "giving to the best of my ability". According to the newspaper article, "that giving includes one contribution totalling \$3500, another of more that \$700 (for car rentals to transport Panthers to distant appointments) and the donation of a Volkswagen bus used daily by officials of the Panthers, Boston branch on Winthrop Street in Roxbury".

1. Radio Program "Black Montage"
Radio Station KDIA
San Francisco, California
February 28, 1971

A pre-taped conversation between NEWTON and LOUIS FREEMAN, Moderator of program called "Black Montage", was broadcast over Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco, California, on February 28, 1971, from 4:30 PM until 6:00 PM. This program had been taped on February 23, 1971, at the studios of Radio Station KDIA.

NEWTON began the program by thanking all the people listening to the program for his release from prison. He then spoke briefly about his early life, stating he was born in Louisiana in 1942 and his family had moved to Oakland, California, when he was one and a half years old. He further

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commented about members of his immediate family and reminisced about his growing up in the black neighborhoods in the Oakland area.

During this program when NEWTON was discussing the various programs of the BPP he stated, "We offered troops to the people suffering in Vietnam - the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government. It was not only to show our revolutionary solidarity, but it was also an attempt to stimulate the thoughts of our black brothers who are allowing themselves to be drafted and put there to fight for more victims of capitalism".

NEWTON stated the median age of the members active in the BPP is 19 to 25 years. He said he is currently writing a book called "Revolutionary Suicide" which he hopes will be completed in a few months.

NEWTON also discussed the ten point program of the BPP, which he called a survival program. He said it is not a revolutionary program, but a survival program pending revolution.

NEWTON was asked about his living in the high-rise apartment building in Oakland, California, and who was paying the the rent of the apartment. NEWTON stated that the Central Committee of the BPP decides where he is to live and that the Central Committee wanted him to live in the most secure place in Oakland. For that reason the Central Committee made the decision that he reside in the apartment building and the Party pays the rent. He stated he would rather not live in the apartment building, but because of the security it provides for him, the Central Committee has demanded he live there.

At the close of the program, NEWTON announced that the Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity would be held on March 5, 1971, at Oakland, and the speakers for that event would be KATHLEEN CLEAVER and himself. He urged all those listening to the program to attend that event.

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m. Intercommunal Day Of Solidarity For
BOBBY SEALE and Post Birthday Celebration
For HUEY P. NEWTON
Oakland Auditorium
Oakland, California
March 5, 1971

The above-captioned event took place as scheduled on March 5, 1971. The admission price was \$2.50 per ticket. The event began at approximately 8:00 PM rather than 7:00 PM as originally scheduled and this was due to the extensive security precautions surrounding the event. Members of the BPP thoroughly searched the persons entering the auditorium to attend the speech.

NEWTON arrived at the auditorium at approximately 9:30 PM accompanied by four bodyguards.

SF T-21
March 5, 1971

SF T-22 advised NEWTON spoke for approximately ten minutes and stated in part as follows:

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"I would like to say tonight that the Black Panther Party stands against all forms of fascism including sexual fascism. That we are against all kinds of chauvinism including racial chauvinism; we're against sexual chauvinism, national chauvinism. We're intercommunalists.....

"And I would like to say this, that from now on the Party itself will be better known by its contributions to the people for the simple reason that some people around seem to want to be known through the media, but the Party can only judge itself through establishing certain survival programs pending revolution.....

"We always have welcomed all forms of contradictions because without the contradictions there is no transformation. So from the contradictions that have developed now in the world and in the Party, we hope to have a qualitative leap.....

"Words will not start the revolution either.
Only action.....

"Recently it has become all too obvious that through their various means, the agents and agencies of the U.S. Empire Ruling Circle have powerfully struck at the main artery of the heart of the struggle of black people and other oppressed people. That is, they have struck at our unity, which is the core of our winning, of our survival, of our being free. Divisiveness is the main tool the oppressor has to defeat for the struggle for liberation and revolution."

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Approximately 3,000 persons attended this event, with approximately 40 per cent black. No incidents occurred and the audience was orderly throughout the event.

SF T-22
March 5, 1971

NEWTON expressed solidarity with ANGELA DAVIS and stated that the BPP will support ANGELA DAVIS in her trial. NEWTON did not mention ELDRIDGE CLEAVER by name, nor did he directly refer to the split between CLEAVER and NEWTON. NEWTON received a standing ovation and immediately following his speech he left the Oakland Auditorium.

SF T-18
March 6, 1971

Page two of the March 13, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained the following article setting forth the text of the speech given by NEWTON at the Oakland Auditorium on March 5, 1971:

STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON,
MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND
SUPREME SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE
ON THE OCCASION OF REVOLUTIONARY
INTERCOMMUNAL DAY OF
SOLIDARITY- MARCH 5, 1971

Power to the People, Brothers and Sisters,

First of all I would like to thank all of you for my very presence here, because if it weren't for the Power of the People, I wouldn't be here tonight. I'm not here because of the Black Panther Party; I'm not here because of any grout, I'm not here because of a group of kamakazis. I'm here because of the Power of the People.

We must remember that Revolution is a process. It's not a conclusion; because once we conclude, then we become counter-revolutionary. And that means even with the gun in our hands, because fascism also has a gun. And I would like to say tonight that the Black Panther Party stands against all forms of fascism, including sexual fascism.

That we are against all kinds of chauvinism, including racial chauvinism, we're against sexual chauvinism, national chauvinism. We're intercommunalists. Before I went to prison, most of you know, you are aware, that I never made any speeches, you see, because I'm not a very eloquent man. I'm better known by the actions. And the Party was built upon the actions. And the action itself is a process. And we're not ever fixated. We haven't accepted any dogma. And we will not.

And I would like to say this, that from now on the Party itself will be better known by its contributions to the People, for the simple reason that some people around us seem to want to be known through the Media. But the Party can only judge itself through establishing certain survival programs, pending Revolution. Because remember, you make the Revolution. We can't free

political prisoners, only the people can free political prisoners. And a people who are not free cannot free their prisoners, cannot free the prisoners that fascism makes. So I would like to say that we must work very hard in order to lift the consciousness of the people. We must free our Chairman Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, the Soledad Brothers, the seven and the three, and all other political prisoners. Randy. We have to free all of them.

But we must remember that we must exhaust every possible tactic. And we must let it be known that never broadcast military tactics for military reasons. It's perfectly correct to broadcast military tactics for political reasons. That's what Uncle Ho said, and I agree with him. So we would like for the people to know that there are many things that we will not discuss in public. But what you can do is watch the fruits of our work. And we would like to say that our Party became an intercommunal Party upon its actions. And I think that's very good. So I'm asking you in order to free all political prisoners, free the people, free the woman and also the man, that we have to get together in unity by substituting verbal expressions for action. The final test of the pie is the action. We'll stand on the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party from 1966 when it was formed will stand on its record, will stand on the action. We won't claim to be ultra-leftists; we won't claim to be infantile leftists. What we'll do is act in accordance with the particular set of conditions and the particular problem that we have at a time. So please judge

us upon our actions and we will develop like that. We will not develop with lip service coming from anyone. And sometimes I'm very thankful that I don't talk too well, because that's only one way of communication. We say that a picture is worth a thousand words, but action is supreme.

But what kind of action you take will depend upon the particular set of conditions. And I say all of this, because you know the Party and the world today is under turmoil. And this is very good. We always have welcomed all forms of contradictions. Because without the contradiction there is no transformation. So from the contradiction that has developed now in the world and in the Party, we hope to have a qualitative leap. If this leap eliminates some of us, then, of course, we'll weep for that. But we must not stop the Revolution. I will not stop the Revolution. You should not stop it. And, for all that it's worth, we know that words will never stop it. Words will not start the Revolution either. Only action. 'Sixty-six kicked off the armed manifestation of Revolution in this country, because it focused upon the need for the People not only to defend themselves, but also to develop a consciousness necessary to perform and to act to be able to fight in a protracted war. And that is why it is necessary for us to develop the correct ideology, which is a system of thinking. And we must not rely upon and conclude with the philosophy, which isn't necessarily a conclusion.

So we're ideologically revolutionists. We're in a constant state of change. And we fight with all people who want

to change, because we know change will offer our hope. So after all of this, we must pay more attention to what is happening. The news media has attempted to discredit the Party by saying that it's over, because they don't see anyone. I think our programs are better than the Party. The communities are involved in forty-four cities. We must support these; we must expand them. Because I read an article, recently, a few months ago, where Che had some problems in Bolivia, because the peasants were so unconscious until he could not rally them even with the "focos". They did not understand why the military, the regular military was dropping. So what did he do. He attempted to form certain programs that he called survival programs. He attempted to form a free health program in order to get the peasants inside, to help them, and also to provide things for his focos. He also took to form a free breakfast program, a free shoe factory,

and a sporting good store (for obvious reasons). So programs are good. Because an act that might be revolutionary might be counter-revolutionary, if the correct preparations are not made.

So to be a serious revolutionist, we must know that we are involved in a process, and not a set of principles or conclusions that are of face-value revolutionary. I do not know one thing that is revolutionary in itself. And all things might be revolutionary in context. In other words, capitalism was revolutionary when it kicked out feudalism. And now we have a situation where the capitalists have become the imperialists, and the people of the world, of the communities of the world will have to kick them out. So in order to free Angela, Bobby, Ruchell Magee and all other political prisoners, we must kick the fascists out. And we cannot do it with lip service.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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n. Black Panther Party Picnic
De Fremery Playground
1651 Adeline Street
Oakland, California
March 27, 1971

The BPP held above-captioned event on March 27, 1971, from noon until approximately 4:00 PM. Approximately 150 to 200 persons attended. About 90 per cent of those in attendance were black with approximately 80 per cent being young children ranging in age from 2 to 12 years. Music was played by The Lumpen, a BPP revolutionary singing and musical group. Sandwiches and soft drinks were provided by the BPP to those in attendance and the children played various games. NEWTON appeared briefly at the picnic at approximately 2:00 PM. He ate some food with the children, talked to several of the children and adults in groups, but he did not give a speech to the entire gathering.

SF T-23
March 30, 1971

o. J's Bag
Highway 151
Burke, Wisconsin
April 3, 1971

The University of Wisconsin Afro American Center (UWAAC), Madison, Wisconsin, has made tentative arrangements for NEWTON to speak at the above-mentioned establishment on April 3, 1971. Plans included busing arrangements from UWAAC for those attending speech.

SF T- 37
March 31, 1971

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On April 1, 1971, the UWAAC agreed to pay the BPP \$2500 plus \$375 for expenses for NEWTON's appearance at J's Bar on April 3, 1971. In addition, the UWAAC is paying \$250 for the rental of the bar for NEWTON's speech.

SF T-37
April 1, 1971

The April 1, 1971, issue of the "Wisconsin State Journal", a Madison, Wisconsin, daily newspaper, reported that BENNY FICK, Manager, J's Bar, formerly D. J.'s Bar, said Wednesday he has reached tentative agreement with the UWAAC to rent his bar for a speech by NEWTON on April 3, 1971. FICK stated security arrangements will be handled by the BPP. 2000 persons are expected to attend and loud speakers will be installed in the parking lot in order to handle any overflow.

NEWTON spoke at J's Bar on April 3, 1971. He announced that there has been no split in the BPP and that only ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the New York Chapter of the BPP have defected from NEWTON's leadership. NEWTON stated that CLEAVER's adherence to violent revolution is not consistent with NEWTON's belief that deeper rapport with the community is necessary before the revolution is possible.

SF T-37
April 3, 1971

The April 4, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner", a daily San Francisco newspaper, reported that in a speech given by NEWTON in Madison, Wisconsin, on April 3, 1971, he said that the split within the Party is not serious and will serve to strengthen the ranks. It was reported NEWTON said the split had solidified the attitudes of members who remain in the Party and that Party members now think more alike since many of the recalcitrants have left the Party.

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According to the article, NEWTON criticized ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and remarked that CLEAVER did beneficial and sincere things for the BPP in the beginning but had no interests in the Panthers' political machinery.

The article reported that the 300 persons attending NEWTON's speech were frisked before-hand by members of the Afro American Society.

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JLC/sad

3. Cancelled Appearances

a. University of Illinois
Champaign - Urbana, Illinois
January 7, 1971

On December 12, 1970, SF T-4 reported that NEWTON was scheduled to appear at the University of Illinois, Champaign - Urbana, Illinois, on January 7, 1971.

Arrangements for NEWTON's appearance at the University of Illinois could not be finalized because of a difference of opinion between the University of Illinois Administration and the BPP about security measures to be taken at NEWTON's appearance. The University of Illinois Administration would not make University police in a force sufficient to provide proper security. BPP members from Chicago wanted to exclude police from the appearance and provide their own security. Consequently, no University of Illinois space is being made available for NEWTON's appearance on January 7, 1971. Therefore, NEWTON's speech was cancelled.

SF T-24
December 24, 1970

b. University of California at
Santa Barbara, California
January 13, 1971

NEWTON was scheduled to speak at the Center for Black Studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara on January 13, 1971, on the topic of intercommunalism but this appearance had been cancelled [redacted]
[redacted]

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JLC/sad

In connection with BPP security measures for NEWTON's appearance, two San Francisco area BPP members were sent to Southern California to determine if adequate security for NEWTON could be provided. Upon their return, they reported a lack of cooperation on the part of the sponsors of the speech in regard to special BPP security procedures. It was specifically stated that the BPP was refused permission to search all persons desiring to enter the hall to hear NEWTON speak. Consequently, the appearance was cancelled by NEWTON based on the lack of cooperation of the sponsors and campus authorities in regard to necessary security measures to secure NEWTON's safety.

SF T-4
January 12, 1971

c. California State College
Hayward, California
January 21, 1971

The January 14, 1971, issue of "The Daily Pioneer", a daily newspaper published at California State College, Hayward, California, contained an article announcing that NEWTON would speak in the gymnasium at California State College on January 21, 1971, from 1:00 PM to 3:00 PM. The honorarium for NEWTON was shown to be \$1250.00.

The January 21, 1971, issue of "The Daily Pioneer" contained an article that stated that NEWTON's appearance at California State College had been cancelled. According to the article NEWTON answered the request for his appearance at California State College at Hayward with the stipulation that either armed guards accompany him or there would be a search of everyone entering the gymnasium where he was to speak. It was stated that NEWTON said he would refuse to appear if his request was not met with agreement.

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JLC/sad

The article further reported that the Black Panthers received notice from the California State College Administration Office that due to a state college ruling no guns are allowed on campus. According to the article, a Panther spokesman said that if no armed guards were to be present then a metal gun detector would have to be used at the door to the gymnasium.

The Dean of Students, LYLE EDMISON, replied that this was against the idea of the college being a free and open university and a definite "No" was the answer to any frisking at the door.

The article reported that ART LIPTON, Speakers Committee Member, had stated that he had received information from the BPP that NEWTON receives an average of ten assassination threats a week.

The article reported that due to a conflict between the BPP and the college administration over the use of a metal gun detector at the door, NEWTON's appearance at California State College, Hayward, California, was cancelled.

d. Television Program
"Contact" WNHC-TV
New Haven, Connecticut
February 3, 1971

NEWTON was scheduled to appear on a program called "Contact" on WNHC-TV, New Haven, Connecticut, on February 3, 1971. He failed to show up for the program and the announcer stated that his appearance had been cancelled.

e. State University of New York
Stony Brook, New York
February 13, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[redacted] Security Police, State University of New York at Stony Brook, New York (SUNY-SB), advised on February 13, 1971, that the appearance of NEWTON at SUNY-SB scheduled for 8:30 PM that date had been cancelled. He explained the reason for the cancellation was that NEWTON would not consent to the University's prohibition concerning searching those who attended the speech. [redacted] that since oral arrangements could not be concluded between the BPP and the University, NEWTON was asked not to appear.

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The February 14, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" reported that the State University of New York at Stony Brook cancelled a speech for February 13, 1971, by NEWTON. According to the article, a spokesman said Panther representatives had failed to appear to sign an agreement that no one would carry weapons on campus and that students attending the speech would be examined with a metal objects detector rather than physically searched for guns.

f. Columbia University
New York City, New York
February 15, 1971

NEWTON is scheduled for an appearance at Columbia University, New York City, New York, on February 15, 1971. His appearance has been approved by the Board of Managers at Columbia, a legitimate student organization and is scheduled to be held at McMullin Theatre, Columbia University, from 2:00 - 5:00 PM on February 15, 1971.

SF T-25
January 13, 1971

On February 15, 1971, [redacted] Security and Investigations, New York City Police Department, advised NEWTON had cancelled his scheduled appearance at Columbia University. No reason for the cancellation was given by the BPP.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

g. Music and Arts High School
New York City, New York
February 15, 1971

On February 4, 1971, it was learned that the Student Senate of the City College of New York (CCNY) is sponsoring the appearance of NEWTON at the Music and Arts High School, 135th Street and Convent Avenue, New York City, and the appearance is scheduled from 7:00 PM to 9:30 PM on February 15, 1971, at the school auditorium. The Student Senate of CCNY is an elected body of CCNY and is financed through student fees. The security for the appearance will be handled by the Wackenhut Corporation on the outside of the school and other security will be employed inside the school itself.

SF T-26
February 4, 1971

On February 15, 1971, BPP representatives in New York City cancelled NEWTON's appearance at the high school of Music and Arts and no reason for the cancellation was given.

SF T-27
February 15, 1971

h. Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois
February 19, 1971

NEWTON was scheduled to speak at the above-captioned University on the indicated date. On February 16, 1971, NEWTON cancelled the speaking engagement and no reason was given.

SF T-28
February 16, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

i. University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin
February 20, 1971

NEWTON is scheduled to speak at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, on February 20, 1971. His appearance is sponsored by the University of Wisconsin AAC.

SF T-29
January 29, 1971

Department of Protection and Security, University of Wisconsin, advised on February 20, 1971, that approximately 3000 persons attended scheduled speech at the University of Wisconsin Stock Pavillion on that date. An unidentified Negro male made an announcement that NEWTON would not appear inasmuch as the University of Wisconsin had promised to make the field house available for NEWTON's speech but had not done so and that security for NEWTON provided by campus police would be wholly inadequate. The Negro male stated NEWTON would speak on campus at a later date and urged students to leave the Pavillion and crash the field house. According to HANSON, approximately 300 to 500 members of the audience marched to the field house, entered, but were immediately dispersed by campus police without incident.

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SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

4. Requests for Personal Appearances

During the period from January 15, 1971, through April 20, 1971, there have been several requests received at BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, from various universities and radio and television stations for personal appearances by NEWTON. The engagements accepted by NEWTON have been set forth in this report in the foregoing sections.

SF T-4

January 15 - April 20, 1971

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JLC/sad

B. TRAVELS OF NEWTON

On January 29, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco, California, to New York City, New York, on United Airlines (UAL) Flight 28. Purpose of travel was to begin East Coast speaking tour.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
January 29, 1971

On January 29, 1971, [redacted]
[redacted] UAL, San Francisco, advised the ticket for NEWTON's travel on that date was paid for with cash.

NEWTON was in New Haven, Connecticut, from January 30 until February 5, 1971, where he made personal appearances.

FBI Agents
New Haven, Connecticut
January 30 - February 5, 1971

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On the night of February 5, 1971, NEWTON traveled to the Boston, Massachusetts, area, where he stayed at the residence of [redacted] Massachusetts. On February 7, 1971, he visited and inspected the BPP Center located at 23 Winthrop Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts. He departed from Boston on February 7, 1971, and traveled to New York City.

SF T-3
February 5-7, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On February 9, 1971, NEWTON traveled by automobile from New York City to Princeton, New Jersey, where he fulfilled a speaking engagement at Princeton University. Upon completion of his speech, NEWTON returned to New York City.

SF T-9
February 10, 1971

On February 10, 1971, NEWTON returned to San Francisco from New York City on American Airlines (AA) Flight 145. NEWTON returned in order to appear in court on February 11, 1971.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 10, 1971

On February 12, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco to New York City on AA Flight 14 at 9:00 AM. Purpose of this travel was to complete East Coast speaking tour.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 12, 1971

On February 14, 1971, NEWTON traveled by air transportation from New York City to Syracuse, New York, where he spoke at Syracuse University. On February 15, 1971, NEWTON returned to New York City from Syracuse via AA.

FBI Agents
Syracuse, New York
February 14-15, 1971

On February 15, 1971, NEWTON arrived at San Francisco from New York City on UAL Flight 23 at 2:15 PM.

FBI Agents
San Francisco
February 15, 1971

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JLC/sad

NEWTON's ticket for travel from New York City to San Francisco on February 15, 1971, was prepaid in Boston by Carte Blanche Credit Card Number [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Massachusetts.

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[REDACTED]
Port Authority Police
John F. Kennedy Airport
New York City, New York
February 15, 1971

On February 19, 1971, NEWTON departed San Francisco on AA Flight 222 en route to Chicago, Illinois, where he had a speaking engagement on the afternoon of February 21, 1971.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 19, 1971

On February 22, 1971, NEWTON returned to San Francisco from Chicago on AA Flight 65.

SF T-4
February 22, 1971

On February 26, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco to Boston, Massachusetts, on AA Flight 682. Purpose of travel was to attend fund raising cocktail party at the home of [REDACTED]

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FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
February 26, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON traveled on a first class ticket which was paid for with a check drawn on [REDACTED] [REDACTED] California, signed by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AA
San Francisco, California
February 26, 1971

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[REDACTED]

On February 28, 1971, NEWTON took a shuttle flight from Boston to New York City. On the same date, NEWTON traveled from New York City to San Francisco on AA Flight 145.

SF T-4
February 28, 1971

On March 23, 1971, NEWTON traveled from San Francisco to Boston, Massachusetts, on AA Flight 216.

[REDACTED]
San Mateo County Sheriff's Office
San Francisco International
Airport (SFIA)
March 23, 1971

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On March 24, 1971, NEWTON traveled via automobile from Boston to New Haven, Connecticut.

FBI Agents
Boston and New Haven
March 24, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 26, 1971, NEWTON arrived at San Francisco from Boston on Trans-World Airlines (TWA) Flight 33.

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[REDACTED]
San Mateo County Sheriff's Office
SFIA
March 26, 1971

On April 2, 1971, NEWTON departed San Francisco en route to Chicago on UAL Flight 136. Purpose of trip was to go to Madison, Wisconsin, where he had a speaking engagement on April 3, 1971.

FBI Agents
San Francisco, California
April 2, 1971

On April 3, 1971, NEWTON traveled from Chicago, Illinois, to Madison, Wisconsin, on North Central Airlines Flight 111.

FBI Agents
Madison, Wisconsin
April 3, 1971

At 5:30 PM, April 3, 1971, NEWTON returned to Chicago from Madison on North Central Airlines Flight 272.

FBI Agents
Madison, Wisconsin
April 3, 1971

On April 3, 1971, NEWTON traveled from Chicago to San Francisco, arriving at 11:10 PM, on UAL Flight 135.

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[REDACTED]
San Mateo County Sheriff's Office
SFIA
April 3, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On April 16, 1971, NEWTON traveled from Oakland, California, to San Luis Obispo, California, via automobile for purpose of having a two day vacation. NEWTON returned to Oakland from San Luis Obispo on the afternoon of April 18, 1971.

SF T-2
April 16 - 18, 1971

During all of NEWTON's travels he was accompanied by and one or more other BPP members.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

C. EXPULSIONS

1. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND OTHER MEMBERS OF
THE INTERCOMMUNAL SECTION IN ALGIERS

On January 28, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria. He discussed with NEWTON an article appearing in "The Village Voice", a New York underground newspaper, regarding a film of CLEAVER and Dr. TIMOTHY LEARY which was made in Algiers. NEWTON complained to CLEAVER that the BPP did not have control of the film and, in fact, had not even seen it. NEWTON said he would not allow it to be shown until the Party got possession of it.

CLEAVER explained that the film was made when LEARY was in Algiers and that the individual (not identified) was supposed to have contacted the BPP for the necessary authority to use it. NEWTON said the man had not contacted [redacted] or the BPP about it, and CLEAVER said he would send information regarding the man so he could be reached concerning the film.

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NEWTON criticized CLEAVER as he did not get permission for the film and said that it was necessary that they get some coordination on things of this type.

NEWTON then terminated the conversation after complaining of a bad connection.

SF T-2
January 28, 1971

On February 19, 1971, NEWTON contacted ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algiers, Algeria, at which time the following matters were discussed:

NEWTON attempted to justify to CLEAVER the necessity for his residence in an exclusive and expensive Oakland, California, apartment building and referred to recent publicity

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

which had been afforded the matter. He explained that it was necessary for security reasons and was paid for by some writers in Los Angeles. CLEAVER was not aware of any publicity in this regard and was apparently not concerned about the matter. NEWTON said he would send CLEAVER the press clippings and told CLEAVER that the FBI had tried to smear him and "HOOVER and his boys gave it a national smear".

NEWTON told CLEAVER they had been unable to find the jackanape with the film CLEAVER said he had sent to the United States regarding TIMOTHY LEARY and noted the guy had just contacted [redacted] once and then disappeared. CLEAVER wanted to know if it had been shown anywhere and was told it had not been, although the tape had been played all over the country. NEWTON then said that the white radicals had been demonstrating against CLEAVER as a result of his stand on the LEARY matter. CLEAVER said he was sending an article today for the white radicals to read.

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NEWTON then returned to the publicity about his residence and inferred that some jackanapes, unnamed, in the Party, had accepted the smear, and he wanted CLEAVER to write an article about it when he received the clippings and NEWTON's responses. CLEAVER agreed to do so.

NEWTON then told CLEAVER that he was about all finished with his communal tour and now planned to come to Algeria with [redacted] on her return after March 5, to which CLEAVER responded "No you ain't". NEWTON then told CLEAVER that [redacted] was scheduled to speak at the Oakland Auditorium, Oakland, California, on that date and wanted to insure she would be here as she was listed as a speaker on posters and in publicity regarding the Intercommunal Day activities scheduled for March 5th. NEWTON expressed concern that [redacted] would not appear as it would appear he had been jiving if she did not. CLEAVER said he knew nothing about [redacted] being scheduled for March 5th and he did not positively assure NEWTON she would be there but said he would deal with it, but did not explain further.

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JLC/sad

CLEAVER said the only thing he had seen about Intercommunal Day activities and the tribunal (in Stockholm) was the original announcement in the BPP newspaper and he inferred to NEWTON that when it came to intercommunal business he was being bypassed and, in his opinion, NEWTON was responsible as NEWTON was in charge. CLEAVER said he had been receiving calls from Denmark, Germany and France for information and was unable to furnish it as he is not informed. NEWTON and CLEAVER then argued again about this matter as they have done in the past and NEWTON reminded CLEAVER that certain things he had sent had been sidetracked by jackanapes and apparently this had also happened to certain material sent to CLEAVER. He indicated that items going both ways had been ripped off.

CLEAVER said some things had reached him but then pointed out that [redacted] in Paris had received an order from Central (National) Headquarters in Oakland not to relate to Algeria. NEWTON denied knowledge of this and inferred this must have come from [redacted] and noted that [redacted] was that jackanapes [redacted] noting she had tried to break them (CLEAVER and NEWTON) up. NEWTON criticized CLEAVER for his lack of confidence and CLEAVER responded that NEWTON knew him better than to think that. NEWTON did not know what CLEAVER was talking about and said he did not know [redacted] and only knew he was [redacted]
[redacted]

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CLEAVER told NEWTON he had prepared a video tape which he was sending in which he was going to review a lot of problems and set forth his suggestions as to how many contradictions presently facing NEWTON and the Party should be dealt with. CLEAVER told NEWTON he wanted him to relate more closely to him and Algeria as he could give help. NEWTON then complained that he did not know how to get any closer to the intercommunal section and noted that all he gets (from CLEAVER) is a lot of criticism and no recommendations or suggestions and does not want such criticism without constructive suggestions.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON said he had had confidence in [] making correct reports and was undermined. Both agreed that they should not let petty problems come between them. CLEAVER said his video tape should help clear the air. He then again commented to the effect that the news which he received in Algeria indicated to him that there were a lot of criticisms in the Party which were not being dealt with to which NEWTON replied that it was not true and blamed the mass media for attempting to promote a factional split. CLEAVER cautioned NEWTON that he had taken a lot of unwarranted opposition not directed to him, but built up and directed at [] while NEWTON was in jail. NEWTON said he didn't understand this and CLEAVER said that he would when he played CLEAVER's video tape.

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Further, with respect to [] and her scheduled appearance in Oakland on March 5th, CLEAVER said that she is going to try to make it and he is now waiting for [] to return from Kuwait, where they were to participate in a conference on Palestine, and plans to submit an overall report at that time.

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[]

In relations to Intercommunal Day activity, NEWTON told CLEAVER that he was waiting for the intercommunal section to give him the format to which CLEAVER replied that he needed to know the original plan. NEWTON said that it was to include support for the statement of Madame BINH of North Vietnam, the struggles of the peoples of North Korea and China, the consciousness of the Third World strugglers for liberation of their community. CLEAVER wanted to know if the Stockholm tribunal would be considered. NEWTON did not know, said [] took all of the material.

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CLEAVER told NEWTON he had heard nothing from [] [] but had heard about the stipulation and had received many inquiries regarding her.

SF T-2
February 19, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On February 23, 1971, NEWTON contacted ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria, at which time they discussed various matters, summarized as follows:

NEWTON complained to CLEAVER about the planned showing of his video tape in the San Francisco area and CLEAVER pleaded ignorance. NEWTON accused CLEAVER of making no effort to contact him or BPP Headquarters about these things and complained about people who keep coming to the U. S. from Algeria with things such as this video tape, over which the BPP has no control for fund raising purposes. CLEAVER protested that he has no one to send with such items and depended on people who happened to come through Algeria. NEWTON told him that in the future he was to call and someone would be sent, but CLEAVER did not think this practical in view of the expense. NEWTON responded that CLEAVER was just giving the material away without regard to the funds which could be raised through proper handling of this material.

CLEAVER said he had video tape equipment except for an editor and therefore had had to rely on the people he was able to contact who agreed to handle the editing of his material. He implied he was presently doing a video tape on BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS and had several other thoughts in mind and wanted to produce tapes regularly and did not think it was functional to send someone to Algeria each time one was ready. NEWTON told CLEAVER he had heard CLEAVER had prepared a short video tape which he referred to as the "Madame BINH" tape. CLEAVER denied this and told NEWTON he had it wrong, but said he was covering wide varieties of subjects which he did not identify.

CLEAVER also told NEWTON he needed money and wanted NEWTON to send him \$5000 per month and NEWTON said the Party doesn't get \$500 per month in view of the expenses for maintaining Party facilities. NEWTON told CLEAVER he thought the Koreans were sending him money and this brought a laugh and a vulgar remark from CLEAVER in denial.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON told CLEAVER that [redacted] had to come to the U. S. and said he would send JOHN SEALE to get her, but did not think CLEAVER would let her come. CLEAVER suggested that NEWTON, [redacted]

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[redacted] come to Algeria as they had many things to discuss and this would be the best thing for the Party. He made no commitment regarding [redacted] possible trip. NEWTON claimed he would be arrested if he left the country or applied for a passport but told CLEAVER he would make such an application. CLEAVER said he read where J. EDGAR HOOVER was mad as there were no restrictions on NEWTON's travel. NEWTON said he was as "hot as cayenne pepper" and would be in handcuffs if he attempted to leave. CLEAVER implored NEWTON to come as they had to talk and told NEWTON if he did make the attempt to be sure and bring "The Chiefs". NEWTON told CLEAVER "The Chief" [redacted] [redacted] is "all for you". CLEAVER told NEWTON to send the [redacted] if he did not come.

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CLEAVER inquired about BOBBY SEALE's case and NEWTON said he was getting bad press and that (CHARLES) GARRY (implied in vulgar terms) was mishandling the SEALE case as he had NEWTON's case. NEWTON did not further explain this observation and no comment was made regarding it by CLEAVER.

As to the status of the BPP at this time, NEWTON said that BPP stock is the highest manifestation of Marxism - Leninism and CLEAVER agreed, saying everybody is using inter-communalism all over. NEWTON indicated the Party was in an uproar and was somewhat peculiar, or not peculiar, in that the Party makes its greatest advances in times of contradictions. He said lots of people are frustrated but the contradictions were moving to higher levels. The Party makes its advancement at the height of contradiction. Because of the contradictions the Party program is spreading. Everything looks good to NEWTON. People are frustrated and think things do not look good but they do not look good to them because they

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

don't understand that "The only time you have qualitative transformation is between quantitative chaos". He agreed there was a lot of chaos in the Party but concluded the Party was getting stronger, not weaker. CLEAVER made no response to these observations.

SF T-2
February 23, 1971

Information concerning the conversation between NEWTON and CLEAVER on February 26, 1971, when NEWTON was on JIM DUNBAR's morning television program in San Francisco, in which CLEAVER demanded that [redacted] be expelled from the BPP and to which NEWTON disagreed, is set forth in this report under the section captioned "Personal Appearances", sub-captioned "Completed Appearances".

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On February 26, 1971, NEWTON ordered that BPP Central Distribution Office, 1336 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, be instructed that no more telephone calls are to be accepted from ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the Intercommunal Section in Algeria and that no more materials and information are to be sent to them.

SF T-30
February 26, 1971

The April 3, 1971, issue of "Right On" contained a text of a telephone conversation between NEWTON and CLEAVER which reportedly took place on February 27, 1971, when NEWTON was in Boston, Massachusetts. Following is the text of the conversation as reported in "Right On" :

"Right On" is a newspaper published in New York by BPP members who defected from NEWTON's group and now follow CLEAVER.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

"EC - Hello?

HN - Hello.

EC - Hey man.

HN - ELDRIDGE

EC - What's happening?

HN - Well, you dropped a bombshell this morning

EC - Yeah.

HN - Don't you think so?

EC - I hope so.

HN - Well, it was very embarrassing for me.

EC Well it had to be dealt with, man.

HN - Well I have to deal with it too because I think that it was unfair because when you bring things like that it should be brought to the Central Committee and discussed openly and not outside, you know?

EC - Well the way a lot of stuff has been going down it hasn't been done that way, man.

HN - Hello, you listening? The Intercommunal Section is expelled

EC - ...Right on, if that's what you want to do, brother. But look here, I don't think you should take such actions like that.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

"HN - Well, I'm taking it, brother. You dropped the bombshell all over the country now that there's a fraction, well I want the fraction to be put to work, because I wish I could've devastated it if it exists but I don't think it exists. As far as you're concerned, you can go to hell brother, but you're expelled, all communications will be stopped and that's the end of it.

EC - Say HUEY.

HN - What?..I'm going to write the Koreans, the Chinese, and the Algerians and tell them to kick you out of the, our embassy.

EC - Say HUEY.

HN - And to put you in jail. You're a maniac brother.

EC - Say, HUEY.

HN - Like TIMOTHY LEARY, I think you're full of acid this morning.

EC - Say, HUEY ...

HN - What?

EC - I think you should slow down brother, 'cause that's not going to work, you know.

HN - Well I think it will. We'll see.

EC - O.K., we'll see.

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

HN - And you know, I'd like a battle brother.
We'll battle it out.

EC - Say HUEY, that's not the best way to deal
with that.

HN - Well this is the way I'm going to deal with
it.

EC - Well, then I think you're a madman too
brother.

HN - O.K., we'll battle like two bulls, we'll
lock horns.

EC - We'll see then O.K.?

HN - But I think I have the guns.

EC - I got some guns too, brother.

HN - Alright, you put yours to work and I'll put
mine to work, but I'm not a coward like you
brother, cause you ran off and got Lil BOBBY
HUTTON killed and I stayed here to face the
gas, you see. But you're a coward 'cause you
didn't attack me this morning, you attacked
the Chief. You attacked him but you wanted
to say my name, you see. So you're a coward,
you're a punk, you understand.

EC - Say HUEY...

HN - You're a punk!

EC - I think you've lost your ability to reason
brother.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

"HN - Hey brother, you heard what I called you
and that's what I feel about you now.
You're a punk!

EC - I wouldn't call you that, you see...

HUEY hung up. End of conversation."

On February 28, 1971, NEWTON commented that rumor is that he (NEWTON) has fired ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. He stated, however, he has not yet made it known publicly since he is waiting for the right opportunity to put out the news. He remarked that CLEAVER is crazy and is just putting on a power play to take over the BPP, but that CLEAVER does not have the necessary forces in the United States to do so. NEWTON said he is going to expell CLEAVER and have him placed in jail in Algeria. NEWTON also commented that he has to keep CLEAVER from contacting people in the BPP in the United States since CLEAVER was sending assassins to kill DAVID HILLIARD.

SF T-2
February 28, 1971

On March 1, 1971, NEWTON ordered that BPP National Headquarters and other BPP offices and pads be instructed that no more telephone calls are to be accepted from Algeria because the whole Intercommunal Section has been expelled from the Party. In that connection, it was reported that CLEAVER has been calling various BPP chapters and telling BPP members that NEWTON is irresponsible, that [REDACTED] keeps him shot full of "dope", and that the members should follow him (CLEAVER).

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SF T-4
March 1, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 1, 1971, [] and NEWTON were discussing the recent split between CLEAVER and NEWTON. In that regard, [] advised NEWTON it is his thinking that NEWTON should not write any articles for the BPP newspaper at this time criticizing CLEAVER, but he should let other members write articles criticizing him (CLEAVER). NEWTON agreed with this advice and said he would have ELAINE BROWN write an article for the BPP newspaper. NEWTON commented that by doing this it would not look like an argument between himself and CLEAVER, but an argument between CLEAVER and the BPP.

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SF T-2
March 1, 1971

On March 1, 1971, [] suggested to NEWTON that details concerning the expulsion of CLEAVER and the other members of the Intercommunal Section be printed in a national magazine that is widely read by black people. NEWTON turned down the suggestion, indicating that the matter would be handled by the BPP through its own newspaper and other BPP controlled propaganda material. NEWTON reportedly indicated that a series of six articles would be printed in coming issues of the BPP newspaper, which articles would be prepared by the BPP Central Committee. NEWTON reportedly would not respond to the expulsion personally inasmuch as it was his feeling that any dispute was not personal between himself and CLEAVER but rather between CLEAVER and the BPP. For all practical purposes, NEWTON indicated that the problem would be handled completely for at least the coming three weeks solely by the BPP, following which a determination would be made as to how to follow up the matter.

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SF T-28
March 1, 1971

On March 1, 1971, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria contacted NEWTON in Oakland, California, and both ELDRIDGE and [] spoke with NEWTON. Following is a synopsis of the information discussed at that time:

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JLC/sad

The CLEAVERS, and the Algerian group, made an appeal to NEWTON to come to Algeria and [] attempted to reach NEWTON by references to past activities in which the early Party was successful. NEWTON stated they had destroyed the Party, which [] denied, saying everything they had done was to build the Party and a major problem that existed was the long separation from the U. S. of the CLEAVERS. She implied that NEWTON was receiving a distorted picture of things and could not make proper decisions without personal discussion with the people in Algiers.

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NEWTON inferred they did not have the best interests of the Party at heart and wanted to know why ELDRIDGE tried to have him assassinated in Harlem. [] denied any such attempt was made.

An effort was made to convince NEWTON that everything ELDRIDGE CLEAVER did was for the love of the Party, the people and NEWTON. NEWTON was told he had to come to Algeria as the people there could not come to the U.S. It was implied CLEAVER's recent actions were very necessary because of the fact all avenues for waging the struggle and for self-criticism were closed to Algeria and they had to move in whatever manner was available to them.

NEWTON concluded by these statements that the entire Intercommunal Section was all of one accord and that he would do everything possible to destroy them. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER stated the action he had taken was the only possibility open to him and wanted NEWTON to come to Algeria right away. NEWTON said that if he went to Algeria it would be to kill CLEAVER. CLEAVER told him to come ahead. NEWTON then concluded it would be wrong for him to take such an action since he was very democratic and very fair and therefore felt it necessary for CLEAVER to come here and face court martial.

NEWTON continued, in an obvious attempt to anger CLEAVER, that he "Won't do you like you did RAHIM" (CLINTON SMITH). CLEAVER did not respond and NEWTON continued he would not do CLEAVER like he did little BOBBY (HUTTON) and implied

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JLC/sad

CLEAVER ran out and stripped his clothes and exposed himself and said this was not because CLEAVER was so open but because CLEAVER was a coward.

CLEAVER became angered and told NEWTON he was right there with the dirty (obscene) [redacted] who threw his piece down and ran and hid under a woman's bed and left CLEAVER and HUTTON in a burning house with guns in their hands and told NEWTON he was a (obscene) fool if he didn't know it. NEWTON blamed CLEAVER for the situation and said it had occurred because CLEAVER had gathered too many people together and did it because he was afraid.

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CLEAVER said he could accept the criticism on the April 6, 1968, shootout on the basis of military tactics and strategy and told NEWTON he should also accept criticism for the October 27, 1967, shooting in which NEWTON was involved as it was a "jive" situation that developed which was not under NEWTON's control, but concluded that was another problem. NEWTON said his actions had been a "conscious choice" on his part and that "I did it all for myself". CLEAVER told NEWTON he was a (obscene) liar and NEWTON said he was not and that CLEAVER "Didn't know the decision, it's true".

CLEAVER said a debate about things of this type would not help the current situation. NEWTON said he liked it better this way and that CLEAVER could take his so-called Central Committee and battle it out, to which CLEAVER implied there was no battle and it would do no good. NEWTON said that it had been very destructive as far as he was concerned but that he and BOBBY (SEALE) would try to gather up the pieces.

Continuing, CLEAVER said there was nothing in the pieces except a revisionist dream world constructed by [redacted] and inherited by NEWTON when he came out of prison.

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JLC/sad

NEWTON defended [] and said he did a fine job holding things together and CLEAVER agreed he did the best he could but said nobody was perfect and NEWTON agreed and said mistakes were made. CLEAVER apparently felt NEWTON should listen to more criticism and told NEWTON he refused to listen to his comrades and turned against them like they were his enemies. NEWTON reminded CLEAVER he had turned against NEWTON on the recent television program (DUNBAR show, San Francisco, February 26, 1971) and greatly embarrassed him. CLEAVER reminded NEWTON he had called CLEAVER and NEWTON agreed and said he did it with sincerity and in friendship.

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CLEAVER changed the topic to [] and the New York 21 and said NEWTON should not have allowed the expulsions to happen. NEWTON told CLEAVER he did not know [] or the New York 21 and CLEAVER responded that he got information from various sources which he believed since he did not get it from NEWTON. NEWTON said CLEAVER should not be offended if NEWTON believed his sources and in fact, his own eyes and noted he had received letters from [] and observed the actions of [] [] He told CLEAVER he did not know what he was talking about and said CLEAVER had not done anything but receive his so-called reports.

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After a long pause, CLEAVER remarked "Well, you're not going to come?" NEWTON said he would come after the Koreans use the iron broom and sweep the embassy (Intercommunal Section) clean. He told CLEAVER he would have no place to go except back to babylon (U.S.) but that the comrade Commander (NEWTON) could go any place and was not afraid and yet CLEAVER was afraid to come to Babylon. CLEAVER said he was not afraid of NEWTON but that the "pigs" would get him if he came back and that NEWTON had no fear of them now since his bail was not revoked but might think differently if that happened.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON said he would then go to the penitentiary and that it would make no difference as he could live anywhere and could continue the struggle. CLEAVER did not feel that was the kind of example after JONATHAN JACKSON that should be set before the people. NEWTON told CLEAVER he had not set the example of JACKSON and said CLEAVER ran. CLEAVER again became angered and said "You (obscene), you gave me an order to leave". NEWTON said that was not right, that CLEAVER begged to leave. CLEAVER then told NEWTON he was just out of his mind.

NEWTON then asked "Why did you kill RAHIM?" and repeated the query during a long silence from CLEAVER. CLEAVER then told NEWTON to come over and they could also discuss this matter and said "That ain't no big thing". NEWTON pursued the matter and wanted to know "Why do you live with [redacted] and then kill RAHIM because he was (obscene) your wife?"

There was no response from CLEAVER to these matters. NEWTON then pointedly attempted to anger CLEAVER about his wife [redacted] and told CLEAVER that [redacted] always wanted to have sexual relations with NEWTON and if she had come for the March 5th affair he would have had relations with her. CLEAVER said he was aware of this and agreed with NEWTON that was one of the reasons he had for not sending [redacted] CLEAVER wanted to know if that was what NEWTON called being a Supreme Servant to the people and if it was NEWTON's only interest in CLEAVER and his wife. NEWTON agreed that it was and said that if he came to Algeria he would have sexual relations and would commit a vulgar act on CLEAVER himself. CLEAVER told NEWTON to come on (twice). NEWTON laughed and said, "See you brother, Power to the People" and hung up.

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SF T-2
March 1, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 3, 1971, BPP National Headquarters was preparing an article for the forthcoming issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper setting forth details concerning the killing of CLINTON RAHIM SMITH by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria. This is one of several articles to be prepared by the BPP to belittle, downgrade and embarrass CLEAVER with the intent of neutralizing CLEAVER and his appeal to Party dissidents. These articles are being prepared at NEWTON's direction under the editorship of ELAINE BROWN, now regarded by NEWTON as the editor of the BPP newspaper.

SF T-2
March 3, 1971

The above-mentioned article appeared in the March 6, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

The March 20, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained an article captioned "Intercommunal Section Defects", which reported that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [REDACTED] and all other members of the Intercommunal Section of the BPP have defected from the BPP. The article stated the BPP Central Committee was reporting their defection so that any confusion that may have arisen over their membership in the Party can be cleared.

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2. ELMER "GERONIMO" PRATT AND
MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP

The following article authored by NEWTON concerning the purge of ELMER "GERONIMO" PRATT from the BPP appeared in the January 23, 1971, edition of "The Black Panther" newspaper:

ON THE PURGE OF

GERONIMO FROM

THE BLACK

PANTHER PARTY

The Black Panther Party is informing all Chapters, Branches, N.C.C.F.'s, and the mass of People that we are purging from our ranks Elmer Gerard Pratt, more commonly known as Geronimo or "G".

In addition to committing flagrant violations of our Party's principles, this man ultimately showed that although he claimed allegiance and devotion to the struggle of the People from oppression and to the Black Panther Party, his devotion and allegiance was still to the ways and rules of the Pig Power Structure. When he left the Marine Corps' Special Forces (having trained Green Berets), the armed agency of the CIA, he joined the Black Panther Party. But he has proven beyond a doubt that he is as dedicated today to that Pig Agency as he was when he was in Vietnam, killing innocent Vietnamese women and

children on various "search and destroy" missions.

It is certain that we were under an illusion that he had switched allegiances, for his lies (which he admitted he had been trained to tell) were extremely convincing. For the Black Panther Party did everything in our power to allow this man - who can no longer be considered such, for he lacks human compassion and understanding - to remain free from the vicious clutches of the pigs. As a result of our efforts, this jackanape informed the Central Committee of our Party of certain demands he had - namely money. He advised the Party that he had organized some other fools, that they were armed and that if his demands were not met, he would "move on" (assassinate) our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard. This nape further stated that he in fact didn't like the manner in which the Chief of Staff conducted himself or the Party's business, and that he felt he needed to be removed anyway. He also mentioned that once his forces were together, he would also "get rid of" (assassinate) our Assistant Chief of Staff, ~~June~~ Hilliard.

But, the most disgraceful, counter-revolutionary, piggish and dog-like thing this pig has done is to state openly that if the Party would not go along with his ideas, he would

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January 23, 1971 Edition
Page 7

~~Assassinate the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton.~~

As if this were not sufficient, he used money he had obtained through and in the name of the Party to purchase alcohol and narcotics for the purpose of indulging himself and his stupid cohorts in nightly bourgeois, orgiastic revelry. (Without the direct eye of the Party's leadership, he maintained a personally pleasure-seeking life.)

During this period - that is, prior to the arrests in Dallas, Texas on last December 8th and after he left his obvious Party tasks to avoid capture by the pigs - during this period, Geronimo 1) violated many young Black sisters he met while moving from town to town, forcing them to submit to himself and the other fools; 2) left a wide trail for the pigs to follow, thereby, exposing the Party to the pigs, by letting most of the people he met know he was a member of the Black Panther Party; 3) harassed and intimidated many of the people with whom he came into contact, by demanding their aid under the threat of their lives; 4) purchased "Christmas" presents ("Christmas" being the high holiday of the pig capitalists, particularly the avaricious businessmen; and, the period during which the masses of People are exploited in the highest.), to send to his and the others' families and friends. In addition to the counter-revolutionary nature of this particular act, he would have provided

additional exposure of their location - which was to have been clandestine (secret).

Finally, Geronimo and the others who are hereby purged - Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch" Holiday, and George Lloyd - attempted to organize other renegades from our Party and themselves into a counter-revolutionary, little rebel roving band, certainly not adhering to the Party's principles or orders, but also violating the masses of People themselves. They are like snakes who crawled into a baby's crib. And we expel them from our ranks, as we would such snakes. We have no word of good to say for them and have faith that the People will someday let these pigs like all other burn in the Fires of Reaction.

Let it be known, then, that Geronimo (Elmer Gerard Pratt), his wife Sandra Lane Pratt or Sandra Holmes or "Red" (who worked in concert with him), Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch" Holiday and George Lloyd are forever purged and expelled from the Black Panther Party. Any Party member or community worker who attempts to aid them or communicate with them in any form or manner shall be considered part of their conspiracy to undermine and destroy the Black Panther Party. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Huey P. Newton

HUEY P. NEWTON
SUPREME COMMANDER AND
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

3. CONNIE MATTHEWS
AND OTHERS

On February 9, 1971, a statement released to the news media in New York City by NEWTON informed that CONNIE MATTHEWS TABOR, MICHAEL TABOR, RICHARD MOORE, and EDDIE "JAMAL" JOSEPHS are expelled from the BPP for life and that they are enemies of the people.

SF T-10
February 9, 1971



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On February 10, 1971, NEWTON again explained that CONNIE MATTHEWS TABOR, MICHAEL TABOR, RICHARD MOORE and EDDIE JOSEPHS were expelled. At this same time, NEWTON stated that no BPP member was to relate to the New York 21, not to attend the trial, or offer any type of moral or physical assistance to them.

SF T-35
February 10, 1971

The February 13, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained an article on Pages 12 and 13 which announced the expulsion of CONNIE MATTHEWS, MICHAEL TABOR, and RICHARD MOORE at the direction of NEWTON.

The foregoing article also states, "... The New York 21 were expelled from the Black Panther Party for their attacks on the Party in their letter to the Weatherman". A footnote to the article stated that the counter-revolutionary statement of the New York 21 appeared in the "East Village Other Newspaper".

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The February 13, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" also contained an article advising of the expulsions of MARCIA ROBERSON and ROSEMARY NEALY from the BPP in New Haven, Connecticut, apparently at the direction of NEWTON.

On February 13, 1971, it was learned that [redacted] [redacted] the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) in Dallas, Texas, had apparently been purged from their affiliation with the BPP after [redacted] disobeyed orders from NEWTON to come to BPP National Headquarters in Oakland.

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SF T-4
February 13, 1971

[redacted]

The NCCF is an organizing arm of the BPP.

An article appearing in the February 20, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" confirmed the expulsion of CURTIS GAINES.

4. DISBANDING OF THE PORTLAND
OREGON, BPP CHAPTER

On January 22, 1971, on orders of NEWTON, BPP Central Headquarters prepared a letter disbanding the Portland, Oregon, chapter of the BPP. The text of the letter was as follows:

"Because of the refusal to adhere to the rules and principles, as laid down by the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party, and the refusal to communicate with Central Headquarters, the Portland, Oregon, Chapter is hereby disbanded as of today's date by order of the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party."

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The letter was to be signed by NEWTON and forwarded to a representative of the Portland BPP Chapter, but it is not known if this was ever done.

SF T-4
January 23, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

D. CONNECTION WITH STRONGHOLD CONSOLIDATED
PRODUCTIONS, INC. (SCPI)

On January 20, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with JOHN SEALE, stating it is his (NEWTON'S) plan for the BPP to have its own motion picture company. He stated that in this way they could make documentary pictures and also make pictures which would have the Lumpen starring in them. NEWTON said this should make the BPP a million dollars in the next year or so. According to NEWTON, the BPP will start looking for a suitable location for a studio and also start checking on the costs of equipment that they will have to purchase. Subject also commented that possibly the BPP can have its own theatre in the San Francisco Bay Area in which they could show their films.

SF T-31
January 20, 1971

JOHN SEALE has been publicly identified as the Production Manager of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

The Lumpen has been publicly identified as a singing group consisting of four members of the BPP who make public appearances for the benefit of the BPP.

On January 21, 1971, NEWTON was considering having SCPI produce boxes with BPP leaders' profiles on top, BPP knives, and BPP watches.

SF T-4
January 21, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

The January 23, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained the text of NEWTON's speech given at Boston College on November 18, 1970. At the end of the text is the statement "Copyright by Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc., 1970".

On January 25, 1971, [redacted] learned that [redacted] was in jail in New York City for unauthorized use of a rental car. [redacted] instructed a BPP member in New York to contact [redacted] and to arrange his release from jail. Later the same date, [redacted] discussed this matter with NEWTON, who immediately told [redacted] that he should not have given any instructions to [redacted] since all orders for [redacted] are supposed to come from him (NEWTON).

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[redacted] attempted to explain to NEWTON that the car in which [redacted] was arrested had reportedly been leased by [redacted] for the use of [redacted] in New York. To this, NEWTON remarked that apparently [redacted] didn't have anything to do with that, but he (NEWTON) wanted to find out how he was involved because if he was involved, NEWTON would fire him. NEWTON told [redacted] that he (NEWTON) had informed [redacted] before that he would fire him if he ever did anything again that NEWTON had not authorized him to do.

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NEWTON further instructed [redacted] is not to handle any criminal matters for the BPP.

SF T-4
January 25, 1971

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On January 19, 1971, NEWTON stated he had bought a house located about one block from BPP National Headquarters in Oakland. He said this was for BPP members to live in. He also remarked he would pay \$9,000 or \$10,000 for the house, but that he would not make payments and would pay cash.

SF T-2
January 19, 1971

On January 25, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] in New York stating that [redacted] was going to be in and to be sure to take care of him. [redacted] said he would do so. [redacted] stated he will try to patent the watch-band, have a copyright on the picture, but no one has done the photograph. NEWTON said that if you can put a photograph on a button, you can do it on a watch. NEWTON stated the big thing is on the band and if we have it, it will be good. [redacted] asked if this was the bullet band. NEWTON commented he is going to show the face of the watch, but he definitely wants the patent on the band. NEWTON informed [redacted] had made the band and did a good job and looks good. NEWTON then stated the band is where we are going to turn over surplus. NEWTON told [redacted] to draw up an offer on a contract to send ANGELA DAVIS's attorney for SCPI. NEWTON told [redacted] is going to do the actual photo of ANGELA's face on the watch. NEWTON advised [redacted] to offer her 15 or 20 per cent and no more because the CP has enough money and they don't need any more. NEWTON told [redacted] that the CP also was exploiting the Panthers when at the time of ANGELA's arrest and after NEWTON had asked her to state she was not a member of the Panthers and she refused to do it. NEWTON guessed the CP wouldn't do it because of the institution making up the CP. NEWTON informed [redacted] that the Party will now ride on her coattail in an effort to make money on the outstanding publicity given her case. NEWTON advised that the inside of the watch will carry the words "Free Angela Now."

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JLC/sad

NEWTON advised that there would be both American and foreign distribution of the watch and that a statement of her case will be placed inside and he hoped that she would write same. NEWTON advised [] that when he wrote ANGELA DAVIS, advising that Stronghold is interested in her case, not to mention NEWTON or the BPP as such.

[] then informed NEWTON that he knows [] in Atlanta and plans to call him to arrange a deal between Stronghold and SNCC. NEWTON informed [] that his name should not be mentioned nor should the name of the BPP when [] talks with [] NEWTON stated he did not want any connection with the building in Atlanta as far as the BPP is concerned. [] informed NEWTON that [] will probably ask what Stronghold is and then stated that he would tell [] that, "Stronghold is a movement corporation which does a lot of work in the field of printing, in the field of books, in the field of commercial stuff, for various movement groups and we'll leave it sort of vague at this point". NEWTON agreed and said keep it vague.

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A characterization of the SNCC is contained in the appendix.

NEWTON then asked [] about a building in Harlem, New York, and [] advised they have a new lease on it and were negotiating purchase. [] informed NEWTON that he is conducting a search to make sure they can occupy the building. NEWTON asked if it was true they could get it for \$5,000 and [] answered yes. There was then some mention of a printing press in New York being obtained and utilized to print papers out of that area.

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[] then asked NEWTON if they got a permit for the shoe factory and was advised by NEWTON that this had already been done and at the present time they are making a sign for the building.

NEWTON then stated that he had heard that they were having trouble with the money. [] told him that they weren't having any trouble, however, when you get into tax exemptions, Uncle Sam comes in and gives you a hard time.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON asked [] why they just don't forget the tax exemptions and [] said because apparently [] is not willing to. NEWTON asked where he heard this information and [] said that [] original concept, from what he gathered from him, it was important how he gave the money. [] informed NEWTON that he would rather, instead of sending the \$12,000, have [] send the Party \$9,000 non-exempt and place it right into Stronghold and eliminate all the problems and then they could pick up the other \$3,000 coming down the line. [] stated, in other words, all he can save basically on the tax exemption would be about \$3,000. NEWTON then asked if they already had the \$12,000 and [] came back and informed NEWTON that the \$12,000 went out of one foundation because Uncle Sam challenged it and now it's going back into another foundation. NEWTON then questioned whether [] has control of the money and [] told him no, he would have to write out a new check. [] stated that there was no other choice, it was legally required. [] explained that he wrote him and told him what the story was and that he was supposed to sign a new check. [] stated there were no problems involved from what he gathered. NEWTON then said go ahead and send him the \$12,000 and then we'll send him back the \$3,000, if he is interested but NEWTON felt sure he won't want anything back. NEWTON informed [] that he would straighten it out so it would go direct to Stronghold.

[] advised that it is his philosophy concerning tax exemptions that in almost all cases it is not worth the problems that arise. He stated it is not bad if you are not political, but if you are political, it is ridiculous. He again stated it really raises more problems than it solves. NEWTON then told [] that he would straighten it out and to put all the money in Stronghold.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON stated that it is his opinion that [] would give the whole thing up. [] stated that he has not spoken to [] at all and that [] was handling that part of the transaction. [] informed NEWTON that [] said there is an understanding but cannot be put into a firm legal document until [] meets NEWTON because it is an understanding based upon a personal feeling that he would give up his advance. [] continued stating that [] had discussed the matter with [] son) concerning this arrangement and they are apparently just waiting for NEWTON's meeting with [] further advised that Yale is not aware of the money that would be going to [] would be going to NEWTON also. NEWTON stated this sounded dangerous that Yale did not have knowledge of this and [] informed him he was going to see [] and try to work it through. [] stated that the second understanding now is 50 per cent and 50 per cent, \$14,000 as far as Yale University is concerned. (u)

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NEWTON asked [] what arrangements have been made on the royalties and [] informed him that they were as follows: 15 per cent on the hard cover, 10 per cent on the cloudy paperback, on the mat paperback it would be 50-50 per cent between the publishers and the authors based on a 10 per cent royalty.

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[] stated that the above are top dollar figures and were more than what they could get from Random House and probably from 90 per cent of the other publishers. [] felt these were very good figures and that the only problem was working out arrangements with [] as to what he will give them. [] said this was probably a personal question and not a political one. NEWTON told [] that he is not going to ask [] for it and [] told him that this is his and [] responsibility. [] stated that he thought all that [] wanted to do was to meet NEWTON. (u)

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NEWTON told [] that if they can get the southern press which is presently in the Atlanta House, even though it needs repair, and also purchase a press in New York,

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JLC/sad

they could save a lot of money. He stated that the price for the house and the press in Atlanta is \$28,000 and in addition, he wanted to get a community press, cost of which was \$92,000 for New York. He said that this \$92,000 press can print 16,000 papers every four hours and if they could get it they would start saving about \$10,000 a week. NEWTON further advised [] that they already knocked down the cost of the paper in printing in both New York and San Francisco and already saved about \$4,000 a week. He told [] if they could get three presses operating they could really save money.

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SF T-2
January 25, 1971

On January 26, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON and stated that he was in the position of getting the patent for the watchband. [] stated he might only be able to get a designed patent on the band. [] commented to NEWTON that probably only hunters and pigs will be buying it. [] also informed NEWTON that the patent would be done in about six to seven days and the final answer on the patent will be received in about a month.

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[] further informed NEWTON that he had received a video tape from Algiers, a film with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER talking with TIMOTHY LEARY about the drug culture. NEWTON then drops this subject and asks [] about a fund raising film done by OSSIE DAVIS. NEWTON says he did not have permission to do it. NEWTON further identifies this film as one done last month and states that it is presently in the Oakland area.

NEWTON informed [] that he was working with [] on obtaining the film done on FRED HAMPTON's death. NEWTON stated [] is in on this film and has already advised him that the Panthers could have it when it was finished. NEWTON stated that [] had informed him that they needed about \$25,000 to finish it. NEWTON then stated he was offered 30 per cent by a [] individual not further identified.

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON then advised [] that he wants him to send a strong letter to [] about the book, "Free Huey". [] stated that "Ramparts" wants to do a hard cover edition of the book and will share with the BPP 50-50 per cent but the Party has to order a certain number of the books. [] stated "Ramparts" indicated [] was presently getting an advance and royalty on the book. NEWTON told [] that they still have not gotten anything on the soft cover, and six months ago [] stated he would see that the Party would get some of the royalties.

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[]
[] New Left magazine
entitled "Ramparts".

[] advised NEWTON that he had heard through "Ramparts" that [] had told them to share their profits with the BPP and not take any of his profits. NEWTON stated he will take 50 per cent from "Ramparts" and 50 per cent from [] also.

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON then asked [] if the rented car was on the way and [] stated he hopes so and he will check on it again.

[] asked NEWTON if the "Dirty Time" people have been contacted as to the price of the watches being manufactured. NEWTON stated that he wants the price down to \$5.00 per watch and wanted to invest ten, twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars.

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[] informed NEWTON that he did not know the present status of the Atlanta Building for the southern press operation. [] informed NEWTON that he would have to contact [] on the building again and that he had found out that at one time last year the SNCC was supposedly going to give the building away to be used as a black studies library.

SF T-2
January 26, 1971

On January 28, 1971, NEWTON received information that the Revolutionary Time Company in Los Angeles, California, had already come out with watches bearing photographs of BOBBY SEALE and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and planned to come out with one shortly of ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON indicated he plans to initiate a suit against Revolutionary Time Company for producing these watches.

SF T-2
January 28, 1971

On February 11, 1971, [] and NEWTON discussed the progress being made regarding the producing of watches bearing photographs of BPP leaders. [] said that

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

the manufacturer stated that the paper bearing the photographs on the face of the watches will not last, to which NEWTON remarked that people will not know that until they buy one. [] said the watches would cost approximately \$6.00 each to produce, and NEWTON indicated they might have the manufacturer start making watches within the next few days.

SF T-2
February 11, 1971

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On February 15, 1971, [] told NEWTON that she had been in contact with the manufacturer of the watches and they had reached a tentative agreement that the cost would be \$5.25 per watch without boxes or \$5.50 per watch with boxes. They agreed for the BPP to place \$10,000 down for the first 10,000 watches and then appropriate arrangements would be made for payment for the remaining 20,000 watches. NEWTON said the watch sales are going to be under control of SCPI.

SF T-4
February 15, 1971

On March 3, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON concerning the necessary legal work to be done regarding the purchase of a house in Harlem, New York, on 127th Street. NEWTON instructed [] to go through with the closing of the transaction, stating that when the time comes they will evict ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's people who are living there now.

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NEWTON also instructed [] to get \$1,300 or \$1,500 to [] in Chicago for expenses and budget, presumably for BPP operations in that city.

SF T-2
March 3, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

On March 4, 1971, NEWTON said that [] had just about completed the arrangements for the purchase of a car for NEWTON, but that [] thinks NEWTON ought to consider renting a car rather than buying one. At that time NEWTON did not know if he would have [] go ahead and buy or rent one, but NEWTON said that the car he does get should have a telephone, inside locks on the trunk and hood, radio, heater, and leather seats.

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SF T-2
March 4, 1971

On March 28, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON, informing him that he had taken care of that little matter for him. (This matter was concerning a donation made to the BPP), and reportedly wanted to know if he could stop by NEWTON's place and discuss same with him.

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SF T-2
March 28, 1971

[]
[] the St. Augustine Episcopal Church,
Oakland, California, and a sympathizer with
the BPP.

On March 28, 1971, [] was in contact with NEWTON and was advised by NEWTON that he wanted the money turned over in cash. [] reportedly apologized to NEWTON and stated he had not understood it that way. Amounts of \$6000 and \$3000 were mentioned, and [] stated something to the effect that all money the church gets is reported to their national church for tax purposes, but he felt he could handle this transaction by showing that the money went out as

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

Missionary Outreach (phonetic) and that he did not get to keep it. NEWTON reportedly advised [] was supposed to give \$6000 and since he has given only \$3000 he still owes the Party \$3000.

SF T-2
March 28, 1971

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b7C

On March 27, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [] stating that he wants to get a check cashed and needs \$5000 today. NEWTON reportedly told [] that he has a check, but it is made out to Stronghold. NEWTON then advised [] to go out and buy one bottle of Cognac, one bottle of Tangueray and four bottles of Pinot Noir.

SF T-2
March 27, 1971

On March 27, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [] inquiring as to whether [] had received the \$10,000 from [] which was to be used for the "watch." [] advised NEWTON that they have to have a \$7000 down payment, plus another \$800 for the New Haven house.

NEWTON informed [] that he must have \$5000 by this coming Monday and indicated that [] might be the individual designated to bring this money out to him. NEWTON reportedly stated that the Wells Fargo Bank will handle the transaction and the money should be available on the East Coast by 10:00 AM Pacific Time.

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NEWTON reportedly then advised that "another guy" in Los Angeles is supposed to donate \$6000. NEWTON then commented to [] on the film which is being handled by [] in Los Angeles. This film supposedly will net the Party \$30,000.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON spoke of the \$10,000 to be used for the ANGELA DAVIS watch, ANGELA being chosen by NEWTON because he decided ANGELA has a bigger name than BOBBY SEALE.

SF T-2
March 27, 1971

On March 27, 1971, NEWTON reportedly informed [] to go ahead with the purchase of an automobile for him and [] reportedly told NEWTON he is worried about the image. NEWTON told [] not to worry because he does not drive and he does not even have a license. NEWTON reportedly then asked if they could afford the car and [] replied that he is not worried about that, just the image.

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SF T-2
March 27, 1971

On March 29, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [] advising her to pick up some money at the Wells Fargo Bank. [] was later in contact with NEWTON and told him that the money had not arrived yet. NEWTON reportedly told her at this time to contact [] and find out what happened to it.

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SF T-2
March 29, 1971

On March 29, 1971, NEWTON was again in contact with [] informed him that there were more money problems and that he can only send \$1000 instead of \$3000 because some of the checks deposited to that account had not cleared. NEWTON was then in contact with an unidentified individual, advising him that he is sending [] back East tonight with some checks.

SF T-2
March 29, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

[] has been publicly identified as
a community worker for the BPP and the
[]

On March 30, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with []
[] advising him that they were ready to go on the watch
project and that BOBBY's would be first. NEWTON stated the
down payment had been given to the company and told []
that if he needs any more money he should contact either
NEWTON or [] NEWTON reportedly asked []
how soon he would be able to leave to take the materials to
the company and [] advised him he could leave Thursday
or possibly tomorrow after the paper was out.

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SF T-4
March 30, 1971

On April 5, 1971, NEWTON said that he needs \$4000
on April 6, 1971, and then commented that the "watch deal" is
now off because the \$7,000 that was to be used to pay for the
production of the watches was used to purchase a house in New
Haven, Connecticut.

SF T-2
April 5, 1971

On April 12, 1971, NEWTON reportedly asked []
[] what his thoughts were concerning the
purchase of a large complex building which houses three
restaurants on a parcel of land about one acre in size that is
worth about \$15,000. The exact location was not mentioned but
source reported that [] commented, "It would be high up on
a mountain", and then indicated it is probably in the Oakland,
California, area. [] then discussed the possibility

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SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

of building a \$45,000 house on the lot and then selling it for \$60,000 or \$70,000. [] reportedly stated it is his opinion that HUEY should buy the lot since he only needs to pay ten per cent down and that cost would also be a tax write off, to which HUEY remarked, "I don't pay no taxes".

HUEY stated to [] that he had to find a rich woman to marry and [] reportedly told him to marry [] as she has a lot of money. [] then asked about Stronghold, to which HUEY replied that Stronghold is a one man corporation and that [] Stronghold. HUEY reportedly continued [] is the only one who can write checks for the corporation, but that he (HUEY) is the lone stockholder, and that, "I own [] Understand?" HUEY then said that Stronghold is a tax free corporation which is legal and the money goes to free breakfast programs.

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On the same date, HUEY told [] he would try to get \$2,500.00 from the Wells Fargo Bank on April 13, 1971, and he would then contact [] to further discuss the buying of the property.

SF T-31
April 12, 1971

On April 14, 1971, HUEY NEWTON was in contact with [] advising her that he needs about \$1000. [] reportedly informed NEWTON that they did not have any money and that the \$2500 that [] had sent to them had to go for overdrafts at the bank. [] informed NEWTON that she had sent [] checks, totalling \$2500 and he then sent her the check for the same amount. She stated that the account had \$2,800 in it to begin with so now it remains at \$2,800. NEWTON could not believe that the money given to them in the amount of \$18,000 had already been spent and he instructed [] to contact [] and get an accounting from him on all the recent receipts and disbursements. NEWTON then advised [] to get \$1200 for him and [] reportedly informed NEWTON she will check with []

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SF T-2
April 14, 1971

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

On April 14, 1971, [] was in contact with [] informing her that HUEY NEWTON wanted her to check out a house at 2608 Grant Street in Berkeley, telephone number 845-3348. [] stated that this house is the one that [] knew about and it is a five-bedroom house, listed for \$18,000 to \$22,000.

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SF T-4

April 14, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

E. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

On March 4, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with []
[] in Cuba. NEWTON discussed with her the recent split
between NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and he requested that she
make the information public in Cuba. In that regard, he
instructed that the information be put out in such a way that
he (NEWTON) will look favorable with the people in Cuba.

SF T-2
March 4, 1971

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[]
publicly supported the BPP and its leadership.

On March 16, 1971, [] was in contact
with NEWTON at Oakland, California, and at that time NEWTON
requested that [] make a trip to Europe on the weekend of
March 20-21, 1971, in order to appear at meetings of the
Northern European BPP Solidarity Committees scheduled on those
dates in Copenhagen, Denmark.

[] requested a letter from NEWTON and also
cassette recordings of comments by NEWTON to be played for
individuals with whom he would come in contact, specifically
for some North Vietnamese group at an unknown location, but
possibly in Paris, France, or Stockholm, Sweden, or some other
location where the North Vietnamese Government presently main-
tains delegations.

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NEWTON was to prepare the materials requested by
[] and forward them to a BPP Office in New York City,
where [] would pick them up.

SF T-4
March 16, 1971

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

As of March 19, 1971, NEWTON had not prepared the letter and recordings to be taken to Europe by [redacted] NEWTON was supposed to do so as soon as possible and forward them to an individual in New York City who in turn would forward them to [redacted]

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In connection with his present travel, in addition to serving as a representative of the BPP at the European Solidarity Committee meeting in Copenhagen, [redacted] planned to contact embassies or delegations in Paris representing Cuba, Communist China, North Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Albania, and would present NEWTON's letter to officials at these establishments.

On March 19, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [redacted] [redacted] and furnished him with a brief message for presentation at the Solidarity Committee Meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark.

NEWTON reportedly said that his greatest concern about the contradictions between ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the Central Committee of the BPP was that people had lost the attention they had previously placed upon the most important thing at this time, which, in NEWTON's mind, was the freedom of all political prisoners in general, and BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE and [redacted] in particular, and also [redacted] in spite of recent statements by her against NEWTON. In this regard, NEWTON said that he realized [redacted] had spoken through coercion and duress when she recently attacked him.

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NEWTON continued that he felt that all political prisoners should be free, whether from male chauvinism, from the steel gates of maximum security, or free from oppressive society, but that they should only be freed through the power of the people as otherwise their freedom would be insignificant.

SF 157-1203
JLC/sad

NEWTON also felt that the freedom of political prisoners had to be based on mobilization of the people so that the people themselves would realize their power and the subsequent act of freeing the prisoners would then be a political act and not an individual act.

NEWTON then reportedly called for a solidarity of all the progressive people of the world and indicated they should band together to free all of the people.

It is not known if the comments furnished by NEWTON to [] in this instance were also included in the letters to be forwarded to [] for his utilization in his contacts with various foreign delegations in Europe on his current visit, however, it is speculated that the context of NEWTON's message to those delegations would be somewhat similar to his views which were furnished to []

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b7C

SF T-2
March 19, 1971

On March 23, 1971, NEWTON received a report from [] This report by [] was made from Copenhagen, Denmark, where he had attended the Northern European Solidarity Committee Meeting held on the weekend of March 20-21, 1971. Reportedly, [] had submitted details regarding the conference and contacts made by him with individuals attending the conference, by letter to NEWTON, and had also prepared and received recorded tape cassettes in the form of reports, which would be submitted to NEWTON at a later date, possibly after [] return to the United States.

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[] had reported that, in his opinion, all of the European Solidarity groups were solidly behind NEWTON in the dispute between NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, except for the group functioning in Germany. [] felt that the opposition of the individuals in Germany was due mainly to the influence of [] the "Red Panthers", who continued to support and identify with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

SF 157-1203.
JLC/sad

[] further reported that the Black GIs associated with the "Voice of The Lumpen", in Frankfurt, Germany, apparently leaned toward NEWTON but related primarily to spontaneity and were caught up in the pronouncements of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and, in effect, had not taken a positive side in the dispute.

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[] planned to travel to Germany on or about March 23, 1971, and indicated he would speak to the GI organizers in Frankfurt to seek the support of that group and of other German black activists for NEWTON rather than CLEAVER. [] said that he had been in contact with representatives of this group and had made elaborate security arrangements for his trip, however, was afraid to use bodyguards offered to him by the GI group.

[] believed one of the best assets he had to work with in cultivating the Germans was the fact that [] who had had dealings with the Germans, was one of the most hated persons who had represented the BPP in the past. Reportedly, [] had blocked more things in Europe than anyone could imagine and many of the people with whom [] had been in contact actually hated []. He felt that this hate of [] was one of the strongest things presently available to him in NEWTON's favor for soliciting support of these German groups for NEWTON.

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[] was reportedly pleased with the statement issued for his use by NEWTON regarding his (NEWTON'S) dispute with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and felt that the statement by NEWTON had cleared up several things for BPP supporters in Europe, who had been extremely anxious to receive such information.

SF T-2
March 23, 1971