

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1416912-0

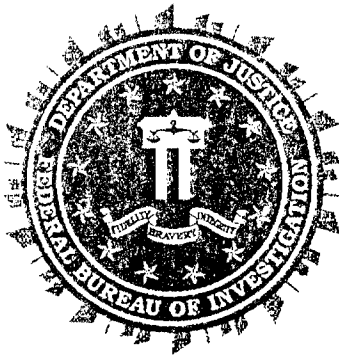
Total Deleted Page(s) = 131

Page 3 ~ b2;  
Page 4 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 5 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 6 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 7 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 8 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 9 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 10 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 13 ~ b2;  
Page 16 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 17 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 18 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 19 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 20 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 21 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 22 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 23 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 24 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 25 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 29 ~ b2;  
Page 30 ~ b2;  
Page 31 ~ b2;  
Page 32 ~ b2;  
Page 33 ~ b2;  
Page 34 ~ b2;  
Page 35 ~ b2;  
Page 36 ~ b2;  
Page 37 ~ b2;  
Page 38 ~ b2;  
Page 39 ~ b2;  
Page 40 ~ b2;  
Page 41 ~ b2;  
Page 42 ~ b2;  
Page 43 ~ b2;  
Page 44 ~ b2;  
Page 45 ~ b2;  
Page 46 ~ b2;  
Page 47 ~ b2;  
Page 48 ~ b2;  
Page 49 ~ b2;  
Page 50 ~ b2;  
Page 51 ~ b2;  
Page 52 ~ b2;  
Page 53 ~ b2;  
Page 54 ~ b2;  
Page 55 ~ b2;  
Page 56 ~ b2;  
Page 57 ~ b2;

Page 58 ~ b2;  
Page 59 ~ b2;  
Page 65 ~ b1;  
Page 66 ~ b1;  
Page 71 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 72 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 81 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 82 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 91 ~ b1;  
Page 92 ~ b1;  
Page 98 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 149 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 150 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 152 ~ b1;  
Page 170 ~ b1;  
Page 171 ~ b1;  
Page 183 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 193 ~ b1;  
Page 194 ~ b1;  
Page 195 ~ b1;  
Page 202 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 204 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 205 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 206 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 207 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 216 ~ b1;  
Page 220 ~ b1;  
Page 221 ~ b1;  
Page 223 ~ b1;  
Page 226 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 227 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 231 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 232 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 237 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 239 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 240 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 241 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 242 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 243 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 244 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 245 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 246 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 247 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 248 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 249 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 250 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 251 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 252 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 253 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 255 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 256 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 257 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 258 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 259 ~ Referral/Direct;

Page 260 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 261 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 262 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 263 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 265 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 266 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 267 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 268 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 269 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 270 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 271 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 272 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 273 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 274 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 278 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 279 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 280 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 281 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 282 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 283 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 284 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 285 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 286 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 287 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 288 ~ b1;  
Page 289 ~ b1;  
Page 291 ~ b1;  
Page 292 ~ b1;  
Page 293 ~ Referral/Direct;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT Eldridge Cleaver



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



Sullivan  
Bishop  
Rosen  
1 - Mr. Gale  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [redacted]

b7C

The Attorney General

December 29, 1970

Director, FBI

*OP*  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/13/00 BY 3901 JAC/9 L  
914394

I thought the enclosed summary of an interview of Eldridge Cleaver by a representative of "Der Spiegel," a Hamburg, West Germany, newspaper, which appeared in the December 14, 1970, issue of the newspaper may be of interest to you.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Henry A. Kissinger at the White House and the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army.

*ck*  
Enclosure

- 1 - Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)  
1 - Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division (Enclosure)

JCT:ljz (13)

*NOTE*  
NOTE:

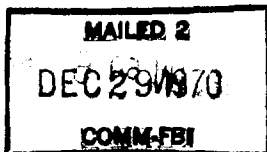
See memorandum [redacted] to C. D. Brennan, dated 12-22-70, captioned "Eldridge Cleaver, Racial Matters - Black Panther Party," prepared by JCT:ljz.

b7C

EX-106

REC-56

100-447257-904



19 DEC 30 1970

RECEIVED

59 DEC 30 1970 TELETYPE UNIT

~~SECRET~~  
~~CODE~~

**CABLEGRAM**

**URGENT**

**TO LEGAT PARIS**

**FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-449169)**

RM - NPP

REBUCAH FEBRUARY TWENTY-FIVE LAST ENTITLED "LEBOY  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;"

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISED [ ] SCHEDULED TO DEPART  
SAN FRANCISCO TODAY ABOARD TRANS WORLD AIRLINES FLIGHT  
SEVEN SIX ZERO TO ARRIVE PARIS, FRANCE, TWELVE TWENTY P.M.,  
FEBRUARY TWENTY-SEVEN NEXT. HE HAS NO CONFIRMED RESERVATIONS  
FROM PARIS BUT HOPES TO LEAVE THAT CITY AT THREE TWENTY P.M.,  
FEBRUARY TWENTY-SEVEN NEXT ON AIR FRANCE FLIGHT TWO THREE  
TWO THREE FOR PURPOSE OF VISITING CLEAVER IN ALGIERS. HIS  
INTENTIONS ARE TO REMAIN WITH CLEAVER IN ALGIERS FROM TWENTY-  
FOUR TO FOURTY-EIGHT HOURS. HIS RETURN TICKET IS OPEN AND  
THERE IS NO INDICATION HE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED.

**ABOVE IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION.**

① - 100-447251 (Eldridge Cleaver)  
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)  
ERS:hls  
(6) SEE NOTE PAGE TWO 100-4

**SEE NOTE PAGE TWO**

NOT RECORDED

184 MAR 2 1961

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED 1970

F 254

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY *MS*  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-44969-40

b7C

b1

CABLEGRAM TO LEGAT PARIS

RE: [REDACTED]

100-449189

~~SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

NOTE:

Cleaver has requested that [REDACTED] visit him and has pointed out the trip is absolutely essential. [REDACTED] is the [REDACTED] of the Black Panther newspaper.

b7C

- 2 -  
~~SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~

RA

- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

b7C

**Date:** December 29, 1970

**To:** Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence  
Department of the Army

**Attention:** Director of Counterintelligence

**From:** John Edgar Hoover, Director

**Subject:** ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/00 BY 5903 [signature]

Enclosed for your information is a summary of an interview of Eldridge Cleaver by a representative of 'Der Spiegel,' a Hamburg, West Germany, newspaper, which appeared in the December 14, 1970, issue of the newspaper.

Enclosure

JCT:ljz (10)

NOTE:

See memorandum [Redacted] to C. D. Brennan, dated 12-22-70, captioned "Eldridge Cleaver, Racial Matters - Black Panther Party," prepared by JCT:ljz.

b7C

REC-71 100-447251-906

EX-106

19 DEC 30 1970

- Tolson
- Sullivan
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Brennan, C.D.
- Callahan
- Casper
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Tavel
- Walters
- Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

MAILED 4  
DEC 30 1970  
COMM-FBI

53 JAN 5 1971 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

VZCZCFB1070

PP RUEHOC

DE RUEHFB 070

ZNY CCCCC ZZH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TELETYPE

858PM 11-18-70 WJM

TO SECRETARY OF STATE

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12/12/00  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/JAR/60267-Derivative  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
904394

*WFMH in Algeria ADO*  
*IO 4239 00:5F*  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

GP-1

BT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EX-113

REC 25

100-447251-907

DEC 29 1970

53 JAN 5 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Gale  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
December 19, 1970

b7C

1 - [redacted]

Honorable Henry A. Kissinger  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/04 BY 346321W/SM/tyk

Dear Dr. Kissinger:

I thought the enclosed summary of an interview  
of Eldridge Cleaver by a representative of "Der Spiegel,"  
a Hamburg, West Germany, newspaper, which appeared in the  
December 14, 1970, issue of the newspaper may be of  
interest to you.

This information is also being furnished to the  
Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

JCT:ljz (10)

NOTE:

See memorandum [redacted] to C. D. Brennan, dated  
12-22-70, captioned "Eldridge Cleaver, Racial Matters - Black  
Panther Party," prepared by JCT:ljz.

ENCLOSURE

DELIVERED BY [redacted]

58 JAN 8 1971

MAIL ROOM [ ] TELETYPE UNIT [ ]

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Tavel  
Walters  
Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

REC-32  
EX-113

100-1147957-909

JAN 5 1971

b7C

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
 1 - Bishop  
 1 - Mr. Rosen  
 1 - Mr. Gale  
 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
 1 -   
 1 -   
 1 -

December 29, 1970

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/13/00 BY SP6BJC/ML/L

**KIDRIDGE CLEAVER  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

The following is a summary of an interview of Eldridge Cleaver by a representative of "Der Spiegel," a Hamburg, West Germany, newspaper, which appeared in the December 14, 1970, issue of the newspaper. Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information, was interviewed in Algiers, Algeria, his place of self-imposed exile.

Cleaver was asked if in establishing the International Section of the BPP in Algiers as an agency competing with the United States State Department, it was his intention to form an opposition government against the United States administration. He responded that revolutionary liberation movements have always borne the seed of future governments within themselves and if the struggle ends with a victory, it is quite natural that they take over authority. He said the BPP is primarily concerned with combating the United States Government wherever it is possible and by all means that are effective, including violence. He continued "we want to join other progressive forces in and outside the United States. We must exert the greatest possible pressure and gain the power which is necessary in order to smash the Government apparatus."

He talked of the plight of the black people in the United States and when reminded of the social advances of the black people since 1960, he said he did not care about changes "in slices." He spoke of the number of Party members "murdered" and said "the Washington Government and the FBI are willfully attempting to eradicate us." He denied that most Panther leaders are now facing trial, are in jail, are living in exile, or have been killed and that the Party has been weakened. He claimed that only a few members of the Party's leadership are known to the public.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JCT: 145 (1)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Copies sent to the Honorable Henry A. Kissinger at the White House, the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, and the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

100-147251-909

*[Handwritten initials]*

**Eldridge Cleaver  
Black Panther Party**

With regard to one of his previous statements as to the great educational value of killing, Cleaver said it is regrettable that weapons are needed to obtain the aims of the blacks but their liberation is involved and in this case it is an inevitable educational method to teach the people to hate their enemy--to hate what is oppressing and killing them. He stated President Nixon is responsible for the situation where the year-long work of the civil rights fighters has been reduced to nothing. "He is being hated by many people. And we believe that it would have been of educational value, that it would have an inspiring effect, if he were eliminated by violence. He is an obstacle on the way to our freedom. For this reason he should be eliminated brutally."

On the question of guerrilla warfare in the towns Cleaver stated he did not share the opinion of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro that such action would be folly. He said that one cannot maintain that actions in the towns are senseless and he could only repeat what Che Guevara (Cuban guerrilla leader) said, "Wherever death may surprise us, it is welcome, if only our war cry has reached a willing ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

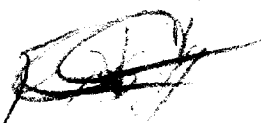
In speaking of prominent black leaders in the United States he described the Reverend Ralph Abernathy as "an Uncle Tom" and said Abernathy's statement made in Sweden that the Black Panthers do not lead anybody was probably a lobbying effort by Abernathy for the Nobel prize which his predecessor Martin Luther King had been awarded.

In response to a question as to what the aims are for the work of the Panthers in West Germany, Cleaver stated there are 50,000 black GI's in that country from which the BPP can try to obtain recruits and that many black soldiers are already cooperating with the Panthers.

NOTE:

- 2 -

See memorandum  to C. D. Brennan, dated 12-22-70, captioned "Eldridge Cleaver, Racial Matters - Black Panther Party," prepared by JCT:ljz.



b7C



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. Rosen

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Walters  
Woyars  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

b7C

DATE: December 22, 1970

1 - Mr. Gale  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]

b7C

b7C

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM :

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

This is to furnish a summary of an interview of Eldridge Cleaver by a representative of Der Spiegel, a Hamburg, West Germany, newspaper, which appeared in the 12-14-70 issue of the newspaper.

b1

Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information, was interviewed in Algiers, Algeria, his place of self-imposed exile. Cleaver was asked if in establishing the International Section of the BPP in Algiers as an agency competing with the United States State Department, it was his intention to form an opposition government against the United States administration. He responded that revolutionary liberation movements have always borne the seed of future governments within themselves and if the struggle ends with a victory, it is quite natural that they take over authority. He said the BPP is primarily concerned with combating the United States Government wherever it is possible and by all means that are effective, including violence. He continued "we want to join other progressive forces in and outside the United States. We must exert the greatest possible pressure and gain the power which is necessary in order to smash the Government apparatus."

He talked of the plight of the black people in the United States and when reminded of the social advances of the black people since 1960, he said he did not care about changes "in slices." He spoke of the number of Party members "murdered" and said "the Washington Government and the FBI are willfully attempting to eradicate us." He denied that most Panther leaders are now facing trial, are in jail, are living in exile, or have been killed and that the Party has been weakened. He claimed that only a few members of the Party's leadership are known to the public.

JCT:ljz

SI-100

REC-52 100-447251-911

CONTINUED - OVER  
15 JAN 6 1971

SENT DIRECTOR

12-22-70

~~SECRET~~

56 JAN 7 1971

ENCLOSURE

See p. 2

lots to be done with each  
CLASSIFIED BY 104394  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X  
104394

~~SECRET~~

b7C

Memorandum   to C. D. Brennan  
RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

With regard to one of his previous statements as to the great educational value of killing, Cleaver said it is regrettable that weapons are needed to obtain the aims of the blacks but their liberation is involved and in this case it is an inevitable educational method to teach the people to hate their enemy--to hate what is oppressing and killing them. He stated President Nixon is responsible for the situation where the year-long work of the civil rights fighters has been reduced to nothing. "He is being hated by many people. And we believe that it would have been of educational value, that it would have an inspiring effect, if he were eliminated by violence. He is an obstacle on the way to our freedom. For this reason he should be eliminated brutally."

On the question of guerrilla warfare in the towns Cleaver stated he did not share the opinion of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro that such action would be folly. He said that one cannot maintain that actions in the towns are senseless and he could only repeat what Che Guevara (Cuban guerrilla leader) said "Wherever death may surprise us, it is welcome, if only our war cry has reached a willing ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

In speaking of prominent black leaders in the United States he described the Reverend Ralph Abernathy as "an Uncle Tom" and said Abernathy's statement made in Sweden that the Black Panthers do not lead anybody was probably a lobbying effort by Abernathy for the Nobel prize which his predecessor Martin Luther King had been awarded.

In response to a question as to what the aims are for the work of the Panthers in West Germany, Cleaver stated there are 50,000 black GI's in that country from which the BPP can try to obtain recruits and that many black soldiers are already cooperating with the Panthers.

ACTION:

For information.

~~SECRET~~

*60/pt - 2 - J*  
*I think we should disseminate above to Dr. King, the M.L.D. & A.G. notwithstanding S.C. and a copy of Dr. Spiegel. H. Mardian.*



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 29, 1970

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The following is a summary of an interview of Eldridge Cleaver by a representative of 'Der Spiegel,' a Hamburg, West Germany, newspaper, which appeared in the December 14, 1970, issue of the newspaper. Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information, was interviewed in Algiers, Algeria, his place of self-imposed exile.

Cleaver was asked if in establishing the International Section of the BPP in Algiers as an agency competing with the United States State Department, it was his intention to form an opposition government against the United States administration. He responded that revolutionary liberation movements have always borne the seed of future governments within themselves and if the struggle ends with a victory, it is quite natural that they take over authority. He said the BPP is primarily concerned with combating the United States Government wherever it is possible and by all means that are effective, including violence. He continued "we want to join other progressive forces in and outside the United States. We must exert the greatest possible pressure and gain the power which is necessary in order to smash the Government apparatus."

He talked of the plight of the black people in the United States and when reminded of the social advances of the black people since 1960, he said he did not care about changes "in slices." He spoke of the number of Party members "murdered" and said "the Washington Government and the FBI are willfully attempting to eradicate us." He denied that most Panther leaders are now facing trial, are in jail, are living in exile, or have been killed and that the Party has been weakened. He claimed that only a few members of the Party's leadership are known to the public.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/00 BY 3903 ESW/bap/ks

100-447251-911  
ENCLOSURE

Eldridge Cleaver.  
Black Panther Party

With regard to one of his previous statements as to the great educational value of killing, Cleaver said it is regrettable that weapons are needed to obtain the aims of the blacks but their liberation is involved and in this case it is an inevitable educational method to teach the people to hate their enemy--to hate what is oppressing and killing them. He stated President Nixon is responsible for the situation where the year-long work of the civil rights fighters has been reduced to nothing. "He is being hated by many people. And we believe that it would have been of educational value, that it would have an inspiring effect, if he were eliminated by violence. He is an obstacle on the way to our freedom. For this reason he should be eliminated brutally."

On the question of guerrilla warfare in the towns Cleaver stated he did not share the opinion of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro that such action would be folly. He said that one cannot maintain that actions in the towns are senseless and he could only repeat what Che Guevara (Cuban guerrilla leader) said, "Wherever death may surprise us, it is welcome, if only our war cry has reached a willing ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

In speaking of prominent black leaders in the United States he described the Reverend Ralph Abernathy as "an Uncle Tom" and said Abernathy's statement made in Sweden that the Black Panthers do not lead anybody was probably a lobbying effort by Abernathy for the Nobel prize which his predecessor Martin Luther King had been awarded.

In response to a question as to what the aims are for the work of the Panthers in West Germany, Cleaver stated there are 50,000 black GI's in that country from which the BPP can try to obtain recruits and that many black soldiers are already cooperating with the Panthers.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: December 21, 1970

FROM : Legat, Rome (88-55) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
FUGITIVE, IO #4239  
WANTED FLYER #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER; Threat against the  
President of the United States  
(oo: San Francisco)

Re Rome airtel 10/30/70.

On December 18, 1970, [redacted]

[redacted] throughout Italy to possible travel by  
subject to Italy remain in effect. To date, no positive  
information in this regard has been developed [redacted]

Legat continues to follow this matter with  
[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/84 BY 3902 ECU/BAE/SL

4 - Bureau (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)  
(1 - San Francisco 88-12329 info)  
1 - Rome  
JCM:MEG  
(5)

2 CC-SF

12-31-70

JRF

JAN 11 1971

ST-109

REC-65

DEC 30

DEC 30 1970

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI

REC-65

[redacted]

b7D

b7C

TRANSLATION FROM GERMAN

"DER SPIEGEL," dated 12/14/70, Hamburg, FRG

"Kill Nixon? -- 'With Pleasure'" ("Spiegel" interview of  
Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver)

Spiegel: Mr. Cleaver, you are the "Information Minister" of the militant American Black Panther Party. In Algerian exile, on the run from the FBI, you have now established an international section of the Panther Party; in your words, a competitor of the State Department in Washington. Do you want to set up a "countergovernment" to the administration in the U.S.A.?

Cleaver: Revolutionary liberation movements always carry a seed of future governments in them. When your struggle ends in victory, it is quite natural that you take over the authority. However, as far as we, the Panther Party, are concerned, the main question is to fight the U.S. government whenever this is possible.

Spiegel: By what methods?

Cleaver: By all the methods that are effective.

Spiegel: And you believe that violence is effective?

Cleaver: Yes. We want to unite with other progressive forces within and outside the U.S.A. We must put <sup>the</sup> on the greatest possible pressure and gain power which is necessary to destroy the government machinery.

Spiegel: A civil rights commission established as far back as 1968 that "two societies," black and white, are developing in America. Will they fight against each other to the death?

Cleaver: The number of blacks murdered by the underlings of the repressive government keeps rising. Blacks have as before high unemployment; they don't get reasonable housing, adequate clothing -- not even enough to eat...

Spiegel: Nevertheless, there is social progress, for blacks as well. For example, their family income has risen 50 per cent since 1960.

TRANSLATED BY:

January 3, 1971

100-447251-915

ENCLOSURE

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/00 BY 306322w/jmc/pj

Cleaver: I'm not interested in piecemeal changes. We cannot be satisfied as long as we don't have what we are entitled to.

Spiegel: Your party had to take some setbacks in this uncompromising fight. The police have taken the offensive.

Cleaver: The killing of Comrade Hampton in Houston raised the number of murdered party members to 31. The Washington government and the FBI are engaged in a deliberate effort to exterminate us.

Spiegel: At any rate, most of the Panther leaders now are on trial, in jail, living, as you, in exile here in Algeria, or have been killed. It proves that your party is weak.

Cleaver: It isn't true. Only a few members of our leadership are known at all to the public. The Panther Party has grown of late.

Spiegel: You complain about the violence used by the police against the Panthers. At the same time you yourself preach the use of force to overthrow the allegedly fascist U.S. government. Isn't this a contradiction?

(Caption under the picture: Cleaver interviewed by Spiegel (Kai Hermann and Bernhard Mueller-Huelsebusch) in Algiers).

Cleaver: Not at all. White racists in the United States don't have any right to deprive us of our human rights. We fight to get back what belongs to us. This doesn't need any justification.

Spiegel: You have said that you would like to teach people how to kill the enemy. You spoke of the "great educational value" of killing.

Cleaver: Objectively it may be regrettable that we need weapons to attain our ends. But at stake is our liberation, our freedom. And here is the indispensable educational method to teach men to hate their enemy, to hate what oppresses and destroys them.

Spiegel: And the call for political murder is one of them?

Cleaver: Well, let's take President Nixon, for example. He has intensified the oppression of blacks and other progressive forces. He is responsible for the fact that many years of work on the part of civil rights activists have been destroyed.

**XXX Legat, Bonn (100-1846)**

**January 6, 1971**

Director, FBI (100-447251)

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -  
Fugitive  
I.O. #4239  
RM - HPP**

**~~CONFIDENTIAL~~**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/11 BY SP2636W/JMK/PL

a portion of

routing slip

Attached is the translation which you requested by ~~XXXX~~  
dated **12/17/70**.

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

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

**Retained until completion of translation.**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 - Mr. Gale (Attn.: Fugitive Section), sent direct with enclosure.  
1 - Special Coordination Unit, sent direct without enclosure.

1- ENCLOSURE

IM:bls  
(5)

Enc (2)

JAN 8 1971

KA IAN

*Handwritten signature/initials*

MAILED 5  
COMM-FBI



He is hated by many. And we believe it would be of an educational value, it would be inspiring if he were done away with by force...

Spiegel: And then?

Cleaver: Then, people would realize that it is not only desirable but also possible to eliminate such individuals as Nixon. He stands in the way of our freedom. Therefore he should be brutally done away with.

Spiegel: He would be replaced by Spiro Agnew.

Cleaver: We have actually experienced how the succeeding Presidents continue to oppress the blacks. We haven't yet had the pleasure and honor of getting rid of one of them ourselves.

Spiegel: At any rate this kind of violence can only constitute the first step toward an armed revolution.

Cleaver: I'm not sure here. In a revolutionary process there may be violence from beginning to end, or maybe only sporadically. It is the function of an act of violence to cross the limits set by the oppressors. When a man rises up in arms against his oppressor, he takes his destiny in his own hands.

Spiegel: You have done it yourself.

Cleaver: I know from my own experience and from experiences of others: one gets a very good feeling from squeezing the trigger of a rifle aimed at the tormentor.

UNCLASSIFIED

Page 1  
Enclosure  
Bonn's A-1330

Translation

of a talk with Eldridge Cleaver which the news magazine Der Spiegel published in its issue of December 14, 1970, under the headline

"Kill Nixon? - It Would be a Pleasure"

Spiegel: Mr. Cleaver, you are the "Minister of Information" of the militant American Black Panther Party. In your Algerian exile, while on the run from the FBI, you have founded an international division of the Panther Party which, as you put it, is to compete with Washington's State Department. Are you going to form a counter-government to the US Administration?

Cleaver: Revolutionary liberation movements always bear in themselves the seed of future governments. When their fight ends victoriously it is quite natural that they take over authority. For the time being, however, we, the Black Panthers, are faced with the task of fighting the US Government wherever possible.

Spiegel: By what means?

Cleaver: By all means that are effective.

Spiegel: And you do believe that force is effective?

Cleaver: Yes, we do. We are going to unite with other progressive forces both inside and outside the United States. We have to exercise a maximum of pressure and gain the power that is required to destroy the government machinery.

Spiegel: A Civil Rights Commission pointed out as early as 1968 that "two societies," a white and a black one, are developing in America. Will both fight each other for life and death?

Cleaver: An increasing number of Blacks are murdered by the henchmen of the repressive government. The Blacks continue to suffer from a high unemployment rate. They are not given acceptable apartments, decent clothing, and not even enough to eat...

Spiegel: Nevertheless, there is some social progress among the Blacks. For example, their average family income increased by about fifty percent since 1960.

Cleaver: I don't care for piecemeal changes. We can't be satisfied until we get everything that's due us.

UNCLASSIFIED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/12/00 BY 39013 CLO/CHP/PL  
704374

100-447251-916  
ENCLOSURE

Spiegel: However, in conducting this uncompromising fight your party had to accept reverses. The police have taken the offensive.

Cleaver: The murder of Comrade Hampton in Houston increased the number of murdered party members to 31. The Washington Government and the FBI are making a conscious effort to annihilate us.

Spiegel: There's no denying the fact that most Panther leaders are now awaiting court action, are in prison, live in exile -- as you do here in Algiers -- or were killed. Doesn't this confirm the statement that your party is weakened?

Cleaver: This simply isn't true. After all, only a few of our members are known to the public. The Panther Party actually has grown in the more recent past.

Spiegel: You complain about police violence versus the Panthers while at the same time you proclaim the use of force to overthrow the allegedly fascist US Government. Isn't this a contradiction?

Cleaver: By no means. The white racists in the United States have no right to deprive us of our human rights. We fight for getting back what is ours. This needs no justification.

Spiegel: You said you wanted to teach people to kill their enemy. You spoke of the "great educational value" of killing.

Cleaver: Objectively seen it is perhaps regrettable that we need arms to reach our goals. But what is at stake is our liberation, our freedom. And to this end it is an indispensable educational method to teach people to hate their enemy, to hate what suppresses and kills them.

Spiegel: And this also includes an appeal to political murder?

Cleaver: Well now, take President Nixon, for example. He further intensified the suppression of the Blacks and other progressive forces. He is responsible for the fact that the long work of the Civil Rights advocates was undone. He is hated by many. And we believe that it would be of educational value, that it would have an inspiring effect if he were removed by force...

Spiegel: And then?

Cleaver: Then people would realize that it is not only desirable but also possible to eliminate individuals like Richard Nixon. He is in the way of our freedom, and for this reason he should be brutally removed.

Spiro: He would be replaced by -- Spiro Agnew.

Cleaver: We have had the experience, in fact, that successive presidents continued the suppression of the Blacks. It is only that we haven't had the pleasure of removing one of them ourselves.

Spiro: But this kind of force can at best be the preliminary phase of armed revolution.

Cleaver: I'm not so sure about this. In the revolutionary process there possibly is force from beginning to end, or only sporadically. The function of violence is to transgress the limits laid down by the suppressers. If a man raises in arms against his suppresser he takes his fate into his own hand.

Spiro: This is what you have done, too.

Cleaver: I know from my own experience and from the experience of others that you get a very good feeling if you pull the trigger of a gun that's aimed at your tormentor.

Spiro: And this is of great educational value.

Cleaver: Yes, it is. When people see that another person does that they identify themselves with him, especially so when they share his hatred of the tyrant. Then they fall into wild thinking, can do a bit of daydreaming -- and perhaps picture an exploit of their own.

Spiro: Do you really believe that the individual terror of a small minority can shake the power structures of the USA?

Cleaver: The point is not whether we, with our numbers, can defeat the Government. The point is to create a situation in which other people are forced to start thinking and do something for a solution.

Spiro: Even if the methods you are using in this strategy are suicidal?

Cleaver: If we remained quiet and accepted the fascization of US society without opposition: that would be suicide. We prefer, in the words of Huey Newton, our Defense Minister, to commit revolutionary suicide if we are to die anyhow. Then our death would at least mean something.

Spiegel: What you want is guerilla war in the cities. According to Fidel Castro, this is "not only a stupidity but a crime."

Cleaver: Fidel Castro said that.

Spiegel: And what does Eldridge Cleaver say?

Cleaver: That's quite clear: I don't share this view, because Castro's statement doesn't apply to our situation. The Blacks are crowded into the ghettos of the American cities. Fidel Castro isn't familiar with this. He is concerned with the Cuban situation. As I was in Cuba myself I must say that he hasn't the experience to judge our situation or even to dictate our methods of fighting.

Spiegel: Not only revolutionaries in developing countries like Castro deem it absurd to aim for guerilla warfare in the cities. Also many Marxists in industrialized countries say that violence on the part of minorities in the metropolitan areas of highly developed societies cannot be a means of revolution and would even be counter-revolutionary, as Rudi Dutschke said.

Cleaver: But we can't just sit there and do nothing! Passivity will condemn our people to certain suicide. By the way, Castro and Dutschke are not the only ones who commented on this subject. You are perhaps acquainted with the publications of Carlos Marighela.

Spiegel: Marighela, the leader of the Brazil guerillas, was killed by the police. And the Brazil revolutionaries are returning from the cities to the country.

Cleaver: Nevertheless, you can't claim that actions in the cities are meaningless. I can only repeat what Che Guevara said, "Wherever death may surprise us, he shall be welcome if only our summons to arms has reached a willing ear and another hand reaches out to take up our weapon."

Spiegel: You call your revolutionary theory Marxist-Leninist. Many professed Marxist-Leninists will not accept that. You yourself called Marx and Lenin racists.

Cleaver: And I have very precise information in this respect. One of our comrades is writing a book about this subject. The attitude taken by Marx and Lenin is not surprising if you consider the time in which they lived. I think my assumption is reasonable.

Spiegel: Is your fight a racial fight or a class fight?

Cleaver: We prefer a racial fight. But in view of the racist attitude of the white Americans and in view of the conscious attempts of the Government to instigate the Whites against the Blacks, we have no other choice. It might become necessary that race fights against race because the objective situation requires this.

Spiegel: Would this mean racial fight before class fight? To fight White racism with Black racism?

Cleaver: No, I don't say that. We know from experience that this would be an unsuitable method which wouldn't help us. Therefore, in the fight against racism our party has assumed the leadership among the American revolutionaries.

Spiegel: According to Marxist teaching, revolution is not made by suppressed minorities but by the mass of the workers' class. However, in the US most white workers form one of the most reactionary groups of society.

Cleaver: Difficulties in fact begin when we talk about the workers' class and the proletariat. The Black Americans are members of the workers' class. The Black Panthers are members of the proletariat.

Spiegel: Most of them belong to the "proletariat in rags" which, according to Lenin, can never become the revolutionary avant-garde.

Cleaver: In his judgment on the proletariat in rags, Marx was a bit of a snob. The proletariat is defined as the class that doesn't own any means of production. And we conform to this definition.

Spiegel: How are you going to organize the Whites who don't own any means of production?

Cleaver: To organize the White workers is primarily the job of the White revolutionaries. We are going to conclude alliances with them.

Spiegel: There is a surprising statement by Eldridge Cleaver, namely, that the White middle-class is becoming one of the most revolutionary groups of US society.

Cleaver: I don't think I have to retract this statement. Many people who don't stem from the workers' class have joined the revolution.

They received a better education and are sensitive to the nuances of suppression in the United States. Once they have crossed the line and become revolutionaries, they are extremely revolutionary.

Spiegel: So far you have been much more successful in obtaining support from the Black community than from the White. According to a poll conducted by the Harris institute, the large majority of the Whites feel hostile towards the Panthers, whereas every fourth Black American emphasizes that "the philosophy of the Panthers is mine, too."

Cleaver: We always knew that the Black population appreciates us and what we do -- even if they are afraid to do it themselves.

Spiegel: Nevertheless, various prominent Black leaders spoke against the Panthers. Minister Ralph Abernathy, for example, the successor of Martin Luther King, said that the Black Panthers "do a lot of talking, but they have no program, and they lead no one."

Cleaver: Well, he didn't say that in the US but in Sweden. Perhaps he was lobbying there for a Nobel Prize as was given to his predecessor, Martin Luther King. We see in Abernathy's statement the typical opportunism of certain Black leaders of the middle-class who seek to court the rulers.

Spiegel: Do you hold Abernathy to be an Uncle Tom?

Cleaver: I've always held Brother Abernathy as a shining example of what has become of Uncle Tom in our time.

Spiegel: A Black "Pig?"

Cleaver: I would say Abernathy is an Uncle Tom but no "Pig."

Spiegel: Are there Black "Pigs?"

Cleaver: Yes, among the leaders of the moderate Blacks. There even are "Pigs" who infiltrate the Black revolutionary parties.

Spiegel: This very infiltration is being discussed in the trial of your party chairman Bobby Seale that is being conducted in New Haven. Seale is charged with having ordered the murder of an alleged police spy who had infiltrated the Panther Party.

Cleaver: That trial is a frame-up.

Spiegel: It's a fact, though, that two former Panther members admitted that the party leadership -- probably Bobby Seale -- had ordered them to liquidate the traitor.

Cleaver: The American Government always found it easy to buy denouncers for the witness stand. The Government repeatedly summoned liars to serve as witnesses against our party members in order to manipulate these trials. Proceedings against Bobby Seale were also staged to liquidate the Panther Party.

Spiegel: This trial caused many White radicals to identify themselves with the Panthers. Does your alliance with Whites who are estranged from society include such people as the "LSD prophet" Timothy Leary? A short while ago he, too, came to live in Algiers.

Cleaver: We don't conclude alliances with individuals, although we acknowledge the progressive role which Leary played in the past.

Spiegel: Drugs as a means for obtaining political consciousness?

Cleaver: We acknowledge the importance of people who were dissatisfied with American society and flee reality. They took drugs in line with the slogan, "Turn on, tune in, drop out." For many of them this was a final step to separate themselves from the status quo.

Spiegel: Is it also a step towards revolutionary consciousness?

Cleaver: Many people who began with the Leary method became true revolutionaries. Dr. Leary himself escaped from prison, broke with the American establishment and today advocates revolution by force.

Spiegel: But in the US your party fights the consumption of drugs?

Cleaver: We don't deny this. What we need for our fight are sober people with a clear mind rather than people who flee from reality by going on drug trips.

Spiegel: In 1968 you yourself had to flee the American reality. Subsequently you lived for more than half a year in Fidel Castro's Cuba. You hardly had a chance there to work politically: Are you disappointed with Cuba.

Cleaver: I was very dissatisfied.



Spiegel: Why did you go to Algiers?

Cleaver: The Algerian Government extended generous hospitality to us; it demonstrates solidarity with us.

Spiegel: You now wish to visit the Federal Republic. Do you have concrete goals for the work of the Panthers in West Germany?

Cleaver: There are 50,000 Black GIs in your country, and our party can recruit among them. Already many Black soldiers are cooperating with us. Apart from this I would like to discuss with the anti-imperialist students our common fight.

Spiegel: But in the US problems are of a quite different nature than in the Federal Republic. We have no ghettos...

Cleaver: Certainly, Hitler did away with them! However, suppression and imperialism know no national borders, and this is why we ally ourselves with the revolutionary forces in Germany as well as with the liberation movements in other countries.

Spiegel: The Black Panthers Solidarity Committee vainly urged Minister of the Interior Genscher to grant a free entry. Recently, Bonn denied even your wife Kathleen an entry permit.

Cleaver: Kathleen meant to participate in a solidarity conference on behalf of Bobby Seale and in the Frankfurt demonstration on November 28. Unlike myself she is not wanted by the "pigs" in Washington who give Bonn instructions as to how to deal with us...

Spiegel: ...and this is why you thought they would let your wife enter?

Cleaver: Yes. "Pig" Genscher has no right to prevent Kathleen from entering his neo-Nazi state. It is just that he and the jumping jacks in Bonn succumbed to pressure from Washington. They are flunkies of the American imperialists.

Spiegel: Mr. Cleaver, we thank you for this talk.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251 )

DATE: 12/22/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)

Agitator Index Card Cancelled.

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE

I.O. #4239, W.F. 447

RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

AND RAPE AND **AGITATOR INDEX**

ASSAULT WITH

A DEADLY WEAPON

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"/> 20 MISC (Verify)
<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS	
<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE			
Date of Birth		Place of Birth	
Position in Organization		Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)	
		<div style="text-align: right;"> <b>REC-51</b>  <b>EX-112</b>  <b>DEC 28 1970</b> </div>	
Residence Address			

REGISTERED MAIL

Subject on Security Index, Priority 1

- 2 - Bureau  
1 - San Francisco

FL/jr

(3)

57 JAN 19 1971

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 12/30/70

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

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUG.  
I.O. #4239, W.F. #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
(OO: SF)

Remycab to Bureau 9/24/70.

On 12/24/70, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
Spain, advised that extensive inquiries conducted by their  
District had failed to further identify [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] mentioned in referenced cable.

Our sources in Morocco, Portugal and Spain are  
all aware of our interest in any pertinent information  
regarding the subject and in the event any pertinent data  
is received, the Bureau and San Francisco will be advised.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/13/00 BY 3162/SM/SL

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

ST 117

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
JAN 2 1971

JAN 2 1971

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI

22 JAN 5 1971

61 JAN 26 1971



5010-108-02

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

b7C  
b7D

b7C

**XXX, Legat, Bonn (100-1846)**

**January 18, 1971**

Director, FBI (100-447251)

**472**  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**aka - Fugitive**  
**I.O. 4239**  
**RM - BPP**

**REGISTERED MAIL**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12/12/00 BY 3963/BAH/L

**routing slip**

**a portion of**  
 Attached is the translation which you requested by letter  
 dated **12/17/70**.

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

**REC-73**

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

**21 JAN 20 1971**

**Retained until completion of translation.**

- 1 - Mr. Gale, (Attn.: Fugitive Section), sent direct with enclosure  
 1 - Special Coordination Unit, sent direct without enclosure.

**ENCLOSURE**

Enc. (2) M:kac

(5)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bremer, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**54**

**JAN 27 1971**

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRANSLATION FROM GERMAN

"DER SPIEGEL," dated 12/14/70, Hamburg, FRG

(Continuation)

"Kill Nixon?"--"With Pleasure" ("Spiegel" interview  
of Black Panther Leader Eldridge Cleaver)

Spiegel: And this has great educational value?

Cleaver: Yes. When people see that somebody else is doing it, they begin to identify themselves, with it especially when they share the same hatred of tyrants. Then, they fall into wishful thinking, they can do a little daydreaming...and maybe picture their own act of heroism.

Spiegel: Do you really believe that individual terror by a small minority can shake the power structure of the U.S.A.?

Cleaver: It is not a question of whether we can defeat the government with our numbers; it is a question of creating a situation where other people will be forced to about it and do something about finding a solution.

Spiegel: Even if the methods used by you in this strategy are suicidal?

Cleaver: If we were to remain silent and take the fascistization of the U.S. society lying down, it would be suicide. We prefer to commit a revolutionary suicide--to use the word of our Defense Minister Huey Newton--if we have to die. Then our death would, at least, mean something.

TRANSLATED BY:

January 14, 1971 \*

kac KOC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/13/88 BY 3403 BAW/300 JPL

b7C

100-447257-920  
ENCLOSURE

**Spiegel:** You want guerrilla warfare in the cities. According to Fidel Castro, this is "not only a folly but a crime."

**Cleaver:** That's Fidel Castro.

**Spiegel:** And what is Eldridge Cleaver?

**Cleaver:** It goes without saying--I don't share this view. Castro's statement does not apply to our situation. Blacks are penned up in the ghettos of American cities. Fidel Castro knows nothing about it. He had to deal with a Cuban situation. Since I myself was in Cuba, I must say: he doesn't have the experience to judge our situation or even dictate our methods of fighting to us.

**Spiegel:** Revolutionaries of developing countries such as Castro are not the only ones believing that a city guerrilla is an absurdity. Likewise, many Marxists in industrial countries say that the violence by minorities in metropolitan areas of highly developed societies cannot be the means of a revolution and, according to Rudi Dutschke, it would even be counterrevolutionary.

**Cleaver:** We just can't sit on our hands! Passiveness condemns our people to a certain suicide. Incidentally, Castro and Dutschke are not the only ones who spoke out on this subject. You are maybe familiar with the publications of Comrade Carlos Marighela.

**Spiegel:** Marighela, leader of the Brazilian guerrillas, was killed by the police. And the Brazilian revolutionaries are returning from the cities to the countryside.

**Cleaver:** Nevertheless, one cannot claim that actions in the cities are meaningless. I can only repeat what Che Guevara said: "No matter where death may surprise us, it is welcome if only our battle cry strikes a receptive ear and another hand reaches out to pick up our weapons."

**Spiegel:** You describe your revolutionary theory as Marxist-Leninist. Many professed Marxist-Leninists would not accept it. You yourself have called Marx and Lenin racists.

**Cleaver:** And I have very accurate information about it. One of our comrades wrote a book on this subject. Marx's and Lenin's attitude is not surprising if we consider the time in which they lived. I believe my assumption is reasonable.

**Spiegel:** Is your struggle a race struggle or a class struggle?

**Cleaver:** We would prefer a class struggle. However, in view of the racist attitude on the part of white Americans and faced with the deliberate efforts by the government to incite whites against blacks, we don't have any choice. It could become necessary to have one race fight another race because the objective situation calls for it.

**Spiegel:** This means race struggle before class struggle? To fight white racism with black racism?

**Cleaver:** No, I don't say that. We know from experience that this is a bad method, that it will not help. Our Party has consequently taken the leadership among the American revolutionaries in the struggle against racism.

**Spiegel:** According to the Marxist teaching, revolution is not made by oppressed minorities but by the masses of the working class. In the United States, however, the majority of the white workers are one of the most reactionary groups in the country.

**Cleaver:** The difficulty begins in fact when we start talking about the working class and the proletariat. Black Americans are members of the working class. Black Panthers are members of the proletariat.

Spiegel: Mostly they are members of the "Lumpenproletariat." According to Marx, however, it can never become the revolutionary vanguard.

Cleaver: Well, Marx was a little bit snobbish in his judgment on the "Lumpenproletariat". The proletariat is defined as a class without the means of production. And this applies to us.

Spiegel: How do you propose to organize the whites who don't have the means of production?

Cleaver: It is the task of the white revolutionaries to organize the white workers. We want to form alliances with them.

Spiegel: There is a surprising statement by Eldridge Cleaver; namely, that the white middle class is one of the most revolutionary groups in American society.

Cleaver: I don't think I have to retract it. Many people who don't come from the working class have joined the revolution. They received a better education and are more sensitive to the various shades of oppression in the United States. Once they cross the line and become revolutionaries, they become extreme.

Spiegel: Until now you have had <sup>better</sup> success in getting support from the black than white community. According to the Harris Survey, a great majority of the white people are hostile to the Panthers. However, every fourth black American said: "The Panther philosophy is also my philosophy."

Cleaver: We always knew that the Black people appreciate us and what we are doing, even when they were afraid of doing it themselves.

Spiegel: Nevertheless, various prominent black leaders have spoken out against the Panthers. For example, Martin Luther King's successor, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy said: The Black Panthers "talk a lot but they don't have any program and they don't lead anyone."



it

Cleaver: Yes, he said/in Sweden but not in the U.S.A. Maybe he was lobbying them for a Nobel Prize which his successor, Martin Luther King, had received. We see in Abernathy's statement a typical opportunism by certain black leaders of the middle class who want to ingratiate themselves with the ruling class.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 1/18/71

FROM : <sup>TAK</sup> LEGAT, BEIRUT (88-2) (P)

SUBJECT: <sup>①</sup> ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
Fugitive-UFAP

During conferences with U. S. Embassy officials it was determined that subject visited Beirut on 10/25-26/70.

## Request of Bureau

Since the subject presently resides in Algeria and may visit Lebanon in the future, the Bureau is requested to make available pertinent information concerning the subject which may be disseminated to the Lebanese authorities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/00 BY 3982 JCL/5AR/9L

- ③ - Bureau  
1 - Foreign Liaison  
1 - Beirut (88-2)  
TAK/mlt  
(5)

EX-115

REC-6

100-447251-922X

~~88-52202-2~~

JAN 25 1971

100-447251-927  
Airtel to  
Legat Beirut  
1/24/71

5 FEB 22 1971

1973 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

KEX, Legat, Bonn (100-1846)

January 27, 1971

Director, FBI (100-447251)

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,**  
**AKA - FUGITIVE**  
**I.O. #4239**  
**RM - BPP**

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED**  
**HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**  
**DATE 12/14/00 BY 3902 BAW/bac/yl**

the final portion of

routing slip

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter  
 dated 12/17/70.

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

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

**Retained in Bufile.**

MAILED 5  
 JAN 28 1971  
 COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 - Mr. Gale (Attn.: Fugitive Section), sent direct with enclosure.  
 1 - Special Coordination Unit, sent direct without enclosure.

IM:bls

Enc (2)

60 FEB 11 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

2 FEB 2 1971

TRANSLATION FROM GERMAN

"DER SPIEGEL," dated 12/14/70, Hamburg, FRG

"To Hate is to Love Yourself a Little Less"

("Spiegel" reporter Kai Hermann's visit with Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria.)

Eldridge Cleaver keeps one waiting but not so long that one has to take it as a provoking lack of courtesy. He welcomes one with a kind of "hallo" that creates an atmosphere of aloofness even before the talk starts. An interview with a white representative of the capitalist press is a transaction in reciprocity to him.

Cleaver does not do his partner the favor of becoming emotional. He knows what he wants to tell the liberal and "half-left" public. He doesn't permit solidarity to come up; he lets you feel some of his contempt. After an overcool scene he leaves without a farewell flourish.

Eldridge Cleaver, the Information Minister of the Black Panther Party in Algerian exile and the Ambassador of revolutionary America appointed by his political friends, pays back in small coin for what he owes the whites and their system.

He was born near Little Rock, the symbol of hatred, and learned to shine shoes in Goldwater's State of Arizona. He was a part of the American legend of the poor, little shoeshine boys who become great men, and turned it upside-down.

He left the South with his parents for California and did what a young Negro man could do, to get out of the slums. He played football to become a star; he stole and he sold drugs to have some money.

At 18 he landed in jail. There a prison guard ripped off a picture of a white pin-up girl from the wall in his cell and let him replace it with that of a black girl.

Cleaver learned something. When he was released, he began to rape white women. It gave him satisfaction to "trample upon the white man's laws, upon his system of values, to degrade his women."

TRANSLATED BY:

JOE MYCHALIS:bls

January 22, 1971

100-447251-923

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/14/00 BY 398324w/3me/pch

For the first time in his life he had luck when he was given 15 years in prison instead of landing in an electric chair for rape and attempted murder.

The stations of his education were San Quentin, Folsom and Soledad state penitentiaries. First he read, then he began to write to "save myself." By writing he fought with his desperation and his hatred.

Eldridge Cleaver in Algerian exile is not the subtle essayist who won literary world acclaim with his book "Soul on Ice" written in prison. His life, his experiences with the U.S. society have coagulated into a political theory, into a "Marxism-Leninism" made in U.S.A.

A Marxist gets quite touchy when he is suspected of being a racist. He does not want a race war; and yet he thinks it is unavoidable.

He has green eyes and light brown skin, "the mark of (white) beasts," as one of his fellow prisoners believed to have discovered on him.

Already in prison, he parted company with the radical Black Muslim racists. Today he is also looking all over the world for white allies whom he cannot quite bring himself to trust. He made an ally of LSD prophet Timothy Leary who escaped from an American prison to join him in Algeria. He brought him the theory of the revolutionary effect of drugs on whites.

He remained the same Cleaver who doesn't hate whites, in his essays, but merely suffers because of them. His calls for hatred must be viewed in the realization that "the price of hating other people is to love yourself a little less."

Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria wears neither the Afro-look nor the black Panther uniform. He wears corduroy pants and stylish boots. Neither could one suspect in him the Bohemian who was enjoying freedom for a few weeks after his release from prison.

However, even then, back in 1966, he resisted the temptation to let himself be integrated into the American society as a celebrated writer of the black protest movement.

He joined the Black Panthers and finally let himself be nominated as a presidential candidate of the "Peace and Freedom Party". Thereby he voluntarily chose again an alternative which he seemed to have just escaped: prison or death.

A merciless hunt was launched for the prisoner released on bond who suddenly became a dangerous political opponent. When policemen staged a gun battle with Panthers, among whom Cleaver had found himself, they provided the authorities with a formal justification for putting the presidential candidate back behind the bars. As Cleaver and his friends claim, on this occasion, the person who was shot from behind was an 18-year-old Panther who had been taken for him. Shortly before he was to go back to prison, he disappeared.

His friend, Robert Scheer reports how much Cleaver likes "freedom and women and food and Scotch and Berkeley and Bobby Dylan." One of his former girl friends in San Francisco said "He hates and fights to be able to freely enjoy life in America some day."

The Panther headquarters in Algeria is turned, in the evening, into a Berkeley campus shack. Then Eldridge Cleaver, his wife Kathleen and his aide Larry Mack, who lost an eye in a street fight and escaped from the United States to Cuba by plane, sit on the floor listening to jazz music, cracking nuts and talking about America.

Routing Slip  
FD-4 (Rev. 12-22-69)

To: ☒ Director (100-447251)

Date 12-17-70

Att.: \_\_\_\_\_ FILE 100-1846

☐ SAC

Title Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

☐ ASAC

a.k.a. - Fugitive

☐ Supv.

I.O. #4239

☐ Agent

RM - BPP.

☐ SE

☐ IC

RE: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #: \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/11/01 BY 3102 [signature]

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign \_\_\_\_\_ Reassign \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Correct

☐ Return file

☐ Deadline \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Search and return

☐ Deadline passed

☐ See me

☐ Delinquent

☐ Serial # \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Discontinue

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Expedite

☐ Send to \_\_\_\_\_

☐ File

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ For information

☐ Submit report by \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Handle

☐ Type

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

Attached is latest published interview with  
Cleaver. ~~Suggest~~ translation & copy of  
translation to Bonn.

(Enc)

ENCLOSURE

SAC [signature]

See reverse side

Office Bonn

(OVER)

★ GPO : 1970 O - 371-917

447251-  
NOT RECORDED

2 FEB 2 1971

57 FEB 3 1971

Enclosure for Bufile

Re: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver  
aka - Fugitive  
I.O. #4239  
RM - BPP

Bufile: 100-447251

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *09. 4h's*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *12/14/00* BY *3903 ELA/JAN/PL*

F449



100-447251-



# „HASSEN HEISST, SICH SELBST WENIGER ZU LIEBEN“

SPIEGEL-Reporter Kai Hermann bei Eldridge Cleaver in Algier

Eldridge Cleaver läßt warten, nicht so lange, daß man provokative Unhöflichkeit ahnen müßte. Er deutet ein „Hallo“ an, das Distanz schon vor dem Gespräch schafft. Ein Interview mit weißen Vertretern der kapitalistischen Presse ist für ihn ein Geschäft auf Gegenseitigkeit.

Cleaver tut dem Partner nicht den Gefallen, emotional zu werden. Er weiß, was er liberalem und halblinken Publikum sagen will. Er läßt Solidarisierung nicht aufkommen, läßt ein bißchen Verachtung fühlen. Nach dem unterkühlten Auftritt geht er ohne Abschiedsflokel.

Eldridge Cleaver, Informationsminister der Black Panther Party im algerischen Exil und von seinen politischen Freunden ernannter Botschafter des revolutionären Amerika, zählt in kleiner Münze zurück, was er den Weißen und ihrem System schuldig ist.

Bei Little Rock, der Symbolstadt des Hasses, wurde er geboren, im Goldwater-Staat Arizona lernte er, den Weißen die Schuhe zu putzen. Er machte mit in der amerikanischen Legende von den armen kleinen Schuhputzern, die große Männer werden, und stellte sie auf den Kopf.

Er zog aus dem Süden mit seinen Eltern nach Kalifornien und tat, was ein junger Neger tun konnte, um aus dem Slum herauszukommen. Er spielte Football, um ein Star zu werden, er klaubte und handelte mit Dauschgift, um erst mal ein bißchen Geld zu haben.

Mit achtzehn kam er ins Gefängnis. Da riß ihm ein Wärter ein weißes Pin-up-girl von der Zellenwand und erlaubte ihm, es mit dem Bild eines schwarzen Mädchens zu ersetzen.

Cleaver hatte was begriffen. Als man ihn wieder rausließ, begann er, weiße Frauen zu vergewaltigen. Es befriedigte ihn, „auf den Gesetzen des weißen Mannes, auf seinem Wertsystem, herumzut trampeln, seine Frauen zu erniedrigen“.

Er hatte zum erstenmal in seinem Leben Glück, als er wegen Notzucht und Mordversuch nicht auf den elektrischen Stuhl kam, sondern zu 15 Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt wurde.

Die Stationen seiner Ausbildung waren die Staatsgefängnisse St. Quentin, Folsom und Soledad. Erst las er, dann fing er an zu schreiben, „um mich zu retten“. Schreibend kämpfte er mit seiner Verzweiflung und seinem Haß.

Der Eldridge Cleaver im algerischen Exil ist nicht der subtile Essayist, der mit seinem im Gefängnis entstandenen Buch „Seele auf Eis“ literarischen Weltruhm errang. Ihm sind sein Leben, die Erfahrungen mit der nordamerikanischen Gesellschaft zur politischen Theorie geronnen — zu einem „Marxismus-Leninismus“ made in USA.



Cleaver, Cleaver-Steckbrief  
„Das Mal der Bestien“

Der Marxist reagiert empfindlich, wenn man ihn des Rassismus verdächtigt. Er will den Rassenkampf nicht und hält ihn doch für unvermeidlich.

Er hat die grünen Augen und die hellbraune Haut, „das Mal der (weißen) Bestien“, das ein Mitgefangener einst an ihm entdeckt zu haben glaubte.

Schon im Gefängnis trennte er sich von den radikalen Rassisten der

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

"DER SPIEGEL"  
HAMBURG, FRG

Date: 12/14/70

Edition: No. 51

Author:

Editor:

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

aka-FUGITIVE

IO 4239; WF 447

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/14/00 BY 3906 JELW/JMK/PL

machte er einen Verbündeten. Die Theorie von der revolutionierenden Wirkung des Rauschgifts auf Weiße lieferte er mit.

Er blieb der Cleaver, der in seinen Essays die Weißen nicht haßt, sondern an ihnen leidet. Seinen Aufrufen zum Haß steht noch immer die Erkenntnis gegenüber: „Der Preis für den Haß auf andere Menschen ist, sich selbst weniger zu lieben.“

Eldridge Cleaver in Algier trägt weder Afro-Look noch die schwarze Uniform der Panthers, sondern Cordhosen und modische Stiefel. Man könnte in ihm noch den Bohemien vermuten, der für wenige Wochen nach der Entlassung aus dem Gefängnis die Freiheit genoß.

Doch schon damals, im Jahr 1966, widerstand er der Versuchung, sich als gefeierter Literat des schwarzen Protests in die amerikanische Gesellschaft integrieren zu lassen.

Er schloß sich den Schwarzen Partnern an und ließ sich schließlich als Präsidentschaftskandidat der „Peace and Freedom Party“ aufstellen. Freiwillig wählte er damit wieder die Alternative, der er eben entronnen zu sein schien: Gefängnis oder Tod.

Es begann eine erbarmungslose Jagd auf den zur Bewährung entlassenen Sträfling, der plötzlich zu einem gefährlichen politischen Gegner geworden war. Als Polizisten eine Schießerei mit Panthers inszenierten, unter denen Cleaver war, lieferten sie den Behörden die formale Rechtfertigung, den Präsidentschaftskandidaten wieder zu inhaftieren. Wie Cleaver und seine Freunde

meinen, wurde nur versehentlich bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht er, sondern ein 18-jähriger Panther von hinten erschossen. Kurz bevor er ins Gefängnis zurück sollte tauchte er unter.

Sein Freund Robert Scheer berichtet, wie sehr Cleaver „Freiheit und Frauen und Essen und Scotch und Berkeley und Bobby Dylan“ mochte. „Er haßt und kämpft“, sagte in San Francisco eine ehemalige Freundin, „um einmal das Leben in Amerika wirklich frei genießen zu können.“

In Algier wird das Panther-Quartier abends zu einer Campus-Bude von Berkeley. Da hocken Eldridge Cleaver, seine Frau Kathleen und sein Adjutant Larry Mack, der ein Auge im Straßenkampf verlor und im Flugzeug von den USA nach Kuba floh, auf dem Boden. Sie hören Jazzmusik, knacken Erdnüsse und reden über Amerika.



International Herald Tribune

#### Nachschub aus Amerika\*

Black Muslims. Heute sucht er in der ganzen Welt auch weiße Bündnispartner, an die er selbst wohl nicht recht zu glauben vermag. Noch aus dem Propheten des LSD, Timothy Leary, der aus einem amerikanischen Gefängnis zu ihm nach Algier floh,

\* Von links: Cleaver, der Rauschgift-Theoretiker Leary, die radikale Studentin Jennifer Dohrn.

9

100-44 7251-

XXXX, Legat, Bonn (100-~~XXXX~~)

January 25, 1971

Director, FBI (100-447251)

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**aka - FUGITIVE**  
 I.O. #4239  
 RM - BPP

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
REGISTERED MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12/14/00 BY 3902562W/JAE/PL

a portion of

routing slip

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter  
 dated **12/17/70**.

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

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

**Item 1 retained in Bufile. Remaining foreign language  
 material in being retained until completion of translation.**

- 1 - Mr. Gale (Attn.: Fugitive Section), sent direct with enclosure.  
 1 - Special Coordination Unit, sent direct without enclosure.

TM:brw

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURE

Enc.

57 JAN 28 1971

NOT RECORDED

JAN 27 1971

b7C

TRANSLATION FROM GERMAN

"DER SPIEGEL," dated 12/14/70, Hamburg, FRG

(Conclusion)

"Kill Nixon?" -- "With Pleasure" ("Spiegel" interview of  
Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver)

Spiegel: Do you consider Abernathy to be an Uncle Tom?

Cleaver: I have always regarded Brother Abernathy as a shining example of what becomes of an Uncle Tom in our age.

Spiegel: A black "pig"?

Cleaver: I would say, Abernathy is an Uncle Tom but not a "pig".

Spiegel: Are there black "pigs"?

Cleaver: Yes-- among the leaders of the moderate blacks. There are "pigs" who infiltrate the black revolutionary parties.

Spiegel: This infiltration is coming up for discussion at the trial of your Party Chairman Bobby Seale in New Haven. Seale is accused of having ordered the killing of an alleged police informer who had infiltrated the Panther Party.

Cleaver: This trial is a frame-up.

Spiegel: Two former Panther members testified that the party leadership, none else than Bobby Seale, had ordered them to liquidate the traitor.

Cleaver: It has always been easy for the U.S. Government to get paid informers on the witness stand. It has repeatedly used liars as witnesses against our party members in order to manipulate these trials. The trial of Bobby Seale has also been staged to liquidate the Panther Party.

TRANSLATED BY:  
IHOR MYCHALUS:brw  
January 21, 1971 \*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/00 BY SP13200/5000/900

100-447251-  
ENCLOSURE

**Spiegel:** The trial has contributed toward solidarizing many white radicals with the Panthers. Do you ally yourself with such antisocial whites as "LSD prophet" Timothy Leary? He came to live in Algeria not too long ago.

**Cleaver:** We do not ally ourselves with individual persons. We do however recognize the part played by Leary in the past.

(Caption under the picture: Police operation against the Black Panthers (in Philadelphia). "An effort to exterminate us.")

**Spiegel:** Drugs to awaken political consciousness?

**Cleaver:** We recognize the importance of those who were dissatisfied with the American society and fled from reality. They took drugs in accordance with the slogan: "Turn on, turn in, drop out." For many this was the final move to break with the "status quo."

**Spiegel:** Is this also a step toward becoming a revolutionary conscious?

**Cleaver:** Many of those who had begun with Leary methods ended up being real revolutionaries. Dr. Leary himself has fled from prison, has broken with the American establishment and today is for a violent revolution.

**Spiegel:** But in the United States, your Party is combating drug abuse!

**Cleaver:** We make no bones about it. For our struggle we need sober people with clear minds, not people who flee from reality by going on drug trips.

**Spiegel:** You yourself had to flee from American reality in 1968. You lived in Fidel Castro's Cuba for over six months. You could hardly work there politically. Are you disenchanted with Cuba?

**Cleaver:** I was quite dissatisfied.

**Spiegel:** Why did you go to Algeria?

**Cleaver:** The Algerian Government has offered us a magnanimous hospitality; it is in solidarity with us.

**Spiegel:** You want now to visit the Federal Republic of Germany. Do you have any definite plans for the Panther activity in West Germany?

**Cleaver:** There are 50,000 black GIs in your country. Our Party can recruit there. Many black servicemen are already cooperating with us. Anyway I would like to discuss our joint struggle with the anti-imperialists students.

**Spiegel:** The problems in the United States are quite different from those existing in the Federal Republic. We don't have ghettos....

**Cleaver:** Sure, Hitler got rid of them. But oppression and imperialism don't have national boundaries. That's why we ally ourselves with the revolutionary forces in Germany and with the liberation movements of other countries.

**Spiegel:** The Black Panther Solidarity Committee in Frankfurt tried in vain to get an entry visa for you from Minister of the Interior Genscher. Recently, Bonn refused an entry visa to your wife, Kathleen.

**Cleaver:** Kathleen was supposed to take part in a solidarity conference for Bobby Seale and in Frankfurt demonstration held November 28. Unlike me she is not sought by the "pigs" in Washington which gives orders to those in Bonn on how to deal with us...

**Spiegel:** ... and therefore you believed your wife would be allowed to enter the country?

**Cleaver:** Yes. "Pig" Genscher doesn't have any right to prevent Kathleen from entering his neo-Nazi State. But he and the puppets in Bonn have given in under pressure from Washington. They are lackeys of the American imperialists.

Spiegel: Mr. Cleaver, thank you for this interview.

(Caption under the picture: Panther sympathizers demonstrate  
in Frankfurt on November 28. "Alliance with all revolutionaries.")



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *on this*  
*Envelope* ~~HEREIN~~ IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *12/14/00* BY *39063 ELW/jnc/L*

Enclosure for Bufile

Re: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
aka - FUGITIVE  
I.O. #4239  
Bufile <sup>RM BPP</sup> (100-447251)

*F-449*



*100-447251-*  
ENCLOSURE

# "NIXON UMBRINGEN? – MIT VERGNÜGEN!"

SPIEGEL-Gespräch mit dem „Black Panther“-Führer Eldridge Cleaver

**SPIEGEL:** Mr. Cleaver, Sie sind „Informationsminister“ der militanten amerikanischen Black Panther Party. Im algerischen Exil, auf der Flucht vor dem FBI, haben Sie jetzt eine internationale Abteilung der Panther-Partei gegründet — nach Ihren Worten eine Konkurrenz zum Washingtoner Außenministerium. Wollen Sie eine Gegenregierung zur Administration der USA bilden?

**CLEAVER:** Revolutionäre Befreiungsbewegungen tragen immer den Keim künftiger Regierungen in sich. Wenn ihr Kampf siegreich endet, ist es ganz natürlich, daß sie die Autorität übernehmen. Für uns, für die Panther-Partei, geht es allerdings vorerst darum, die US-Regierung zu bekämpfen, wo immer das möglich ist.

keine vernünftigen Wohnungen, keine ordentliche Kleidung — und nicht einmal genug zu essen ...

**SPIEGEL:** Gleichwohl gibt es soziale Fortschritte — auch bei den Schwarzen. Zum Beispiel ist ihr durchschnittliches Familieneinkommen seit 1960 um rund 50 Prozent gestiegen.

**CLEAVER:** Mir sind scheißchenweise Veränderungen egal. Wir können uns nicht zufriedengeben, solange wir nicht alles erreicht haben, was uns zusteht.

**SPIEGEL:** Bei diesem kompromißlosen Kampf mußte Ihre Partei allerdings Rückschläge hinnehmen. Die Polizei hat die Offensive ergriffen.

**CLEAVER:** Durch die Ermordung des Genossen Hampton in Houston

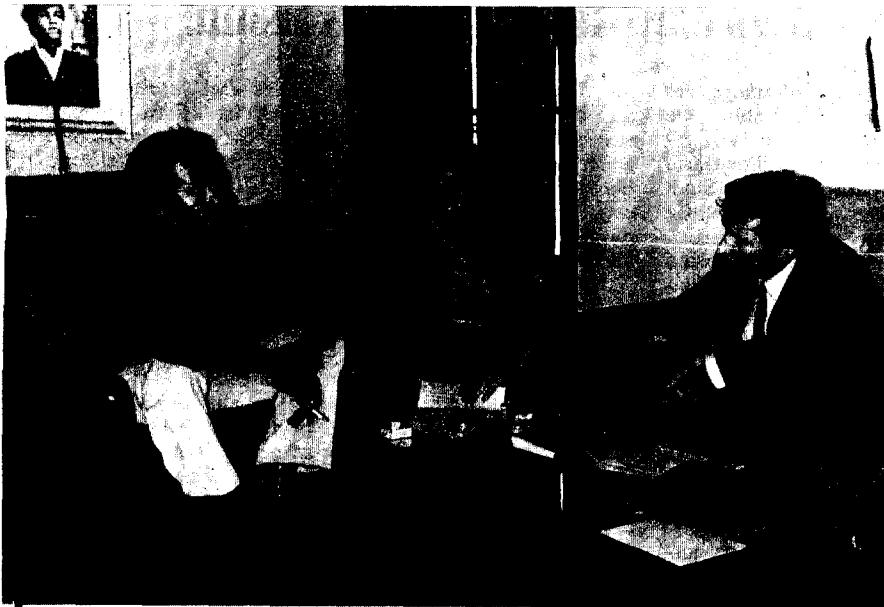
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/14/00 BY 39043 QW/SM/PL

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

"DER SPIEGEL"  
HAMBURG, FRG



Cleaver beim SPIEGEL-Gespräch in Algier\*

**SPIEGEL:** Mit welchen Mitteln?

**CLEAVER:** Mit allen Mitteln, die effektiv sind.

**SPIEGEL:** Und Sie glauben, daß Gewalt effektiv ist?

**CLEAVER:** Ja. Wir wollen uns mit anderen fortschrittlichen Kräften innerhalb und außerhalb der USA zusammenschließen. Wir müssen größtmöglichen Druck ausüben und die Macht erringen, die notwendig ist, um den Regierungsapparat zu zerschlagen.

**SPIEGEL:** Eine Bürgerrechts-Kommission stellte schon 1968 fest: In Amerika entwickeln sich „zwei Gesellschaften“, eine weiß, eine schwarz. Werden sich beide auf Tod und Leben bekämpfen?

**CLEAVER:** Immer mehr Schwarze werden von den Handlangern der repressiven Regierung umgebracht. Die Schwarzen leiden nach wie vor unter hoher Arbeitslosigkeit; sie bekommen

stieg die Zahl der ermordeten Parteimitglieder auf 31. Die Washingtoner Regierung und das FBI unternehmen den bewußten Versuch, uns auszurotten.

**SPIEGEL:** Jedenfalls stehen die meisten Panther-Führer jetzt vor Gericht, sind im Gefängnis, leben — wie Sie hier in Algier — im Exil oder wurden umgebracht. Das bestätigt doch: Ihre Partei ist geschwächt.

**CLEAVER:** Das ist einfach nicht wahr. Nur wenige Mitglieder unserer Führung sind ja der Öffentlichkeit überhaupt bekannt. Die Panther Party ist in jüngster Zeit gewachsen.

**SPIEGEL:** Sie beklagen sich über die Gewalttätigkeit der Polizei gegenüber den Panthers. Gleichzeitig aber proklamieren Sie selber Gewalt, um die angeblich faschistische US-Regierung

\* Mit Kai Hermann und Bernhard Müller-Hülsebusch. Das Bild an der Wand zeigt den Panther-Führer Huey Newton.

Date: 12/14/70

Edition: Issue No. 51

Author:

Editor:

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE

CLEAVER, aka  
Fugitive; IO 4239;

Character: WF 447

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

zu stürzen. Ist das nicht ein Widerspruch?

CLEAVER: Keineswegs. Die weißen Rassisten in den Vereinigten Staaten haben kein Recht, uns unserer Menschenrechte zu berauben. Wir kämpfen dafür, das zurückzubekommen, was uns gehört. Dies braucht keine Rechtfertigung.

SPIEGEL: Sie haben erklärt, daß Sie die Leute lehren möchten, den Feind zu töten. Sie sprachen vom „großen erzieherischen Wert“ des Tötens.

CLEAVER: Objektiv ist es vielleicht bedauerlich, daß wir Waffen brauchen, um unsere Ziele zu erreichen. Aber es geht um unsere Befreiung, unsere Freiheit. Und da ist es unerläßliche erzieherische Methode, den Menschen beizubringen, ihren Feind zu hassen, zu hassen, was sie unterdrückt und umbringt.

SPIEGEL: Und dazu gehört auch der Aufruf zum politischen Mord?

CLEAVER: Nun, nehmen Sie zum Beispiel Präsident Nixon. Er hat die Unterdrückung der Schwarzen und anderer progressiver Kräfte noch verstärkt. Er ist dafür verantwortlich, daß die jahrelange Arbeit der Bürgerrechtler zunichte gemacht wurde. Er wird von vielen gehaßt. Und wir glauben, es wäre von erzieherischem Wert, es würde inspirierend wirken, wenn er gewaltsam beseitigt würde...

SPIEGEL: Und dann?

CLEAVER: Dann würden die Leute begreifen, daß es nicht nur wünschbar, sondern auch möglich ist, Individuen wie Richard Nixon zu eliminieren. Er steht unserer Freiheit im Wege. Deshalb sollte er brutal beseitigt werden.

SPIEGEL: Er würde ersetzt — durch Spiro Agnew.

CLEAVER: Wir haben es in der Tat erlebt, daß aufeinanderfolgende Präsidenten die Unterdrückung der Schwarzen fortsetzten. Nur das Vergnügen und das Verdienst, einen davon selber zu beseitigen, hatten wir noch nicht.

SPIEGEL: Diese Art von Gewalt kann doch allenfalls die Vorstufe zur bewaffneten Revolution sein.

CLEAVER: Da bin ich nicht sicher. Im revolutionären Prozeß gibt es möglicherweise von Anfang bis zum Ende Gewalt, möglicherweise auch nur sporadisch. Die Funktion der Gewalttat ist es, die von Unterdrückern festgelegten Grenzen zu überschreiten. Wenn sich ein Mensch mit der Waffe gegen seinen Unterdrücker erhebt, nimmt er sein Schicksal in die eigene Hand.

SPIEGEL: Das haben Sie auch selber getan.

CLEAVER: Ich weiß aus meiner eigenen Erfahrung und aus der Erfahrung anderer: Man bekommt ein sehr gutes Gefühl, wenn man den Abzug eines Gewehrs durchzieht, das auf den Peiniger gerichtet ist.

SPIEGEL: Und das hat großen erzieherischen Wert?

CLEAVER: Ja. Wenn die Leute sehen, daß ein anderer das macht, dann identifizieren sie sich damit, besonders, wenn sie den Haß auf den Tyrannen teilen. Dann verfallen sie in Wunschdenken, können ein bißchen tagträumen — und sich vielleicht eine eigene Heldentat ausmalen.

SPIEGEL: Glauben Sie wirklich, daß individueller Terror einer kleinen Minderheit die Machtstrukturen der USA erschüttern kann?

CLEAVER: Es geht nicht darum, ob wir mit unserer Zahl die Regierung besiegen können; es geht darum, eine Situation zu schaffen, in der andere Menschen gezwungen sind, nachzudenken und etwas für eine Lösung zu tun.

SPIEGEL: Selbst wenn die Methoden, die Sie bei dieser Strategie anwenden, selbstmörderisch sind?

CLEAVER: Wenn wir ruhig blieben und die Faschisierung der US-Gesellschaft ohne Widerstand hinnähmen — das wäre Selbstmord. Wir ziehen es vor, mit den Worten unseres Verteidigungsministers Huey Newton, revolutionären Selbstmord zu begehen, wenn wir schon sterben müssen. Dann wird unser Tod jedenfalls etwas bedeuten.

SPIEGEL: Sie wollen Guerilla-Krieg in den Städten. Nach Fidel Castro ist das „nicht nur eine Dummheit, sondern ein Verbrechen“.

CLEAVER: Das ist Fidel Castro.

SPIEGEL: Und was ist Eldridge Cleaver?

CLEAVER: Ganz klar — ich teile diese Meinung nicht. Weil Castros Erklärung nicht auf unsere Situation zutrifft. Die Schwarzen sind in den Gettos amerikanischer Städte zusammengepfercht. Damit ist Fidel Castro nicht vertraut. Er hat es mit der kubanischen Situation zu tun. Da ich selbst in Kuba war, muß ich sagen: Er hat nicht die Erfahrung, unsere Lage zu beurteilen oder uns gar unsere Kampfmethoden zu diktieren.

SPIEGEL: Nicht nur Revolutionäre der Entwicklungsländer wie Castro halten Stadtguerilla für absurd. Auch viele Marxisten in industrialisierten Ländern sagen, daß die Gewalttätigkeit von Minderheiten in den Metropolen hochentwickelter Gesellschaften kein Mittel der Revolution sein kann, ja sogar — laut Rudi Dutschke — konterrevolutionär wäre.

CLEAVER: Wir können doch nicht die Hände in den Schoß legen! Passivität verurteilt unser Volk zu sicherem Selbstmord. Übrigens sind Castro und Dutschke nicht die einzigen, die sich zu diesem Thema äußerten. Sie kennen vielleicht die Veröffentlichungen des Genossen Carlos Marighela.

SPIEGEL: Marighela, der Anführer der brasilianischen Guerilla, wurde von Polizisten getötet. Und die brasilianischen Revolutionäre kehren von den Städten zurück aufs Land.

CLEAVER: Trotzdem kann man nicht behaupten, daß Aktionen in den Städten sinnlos seien. Ich kann nur wiederholen, was Che Guevara sagte: „Wo immer uns der Tod überraschen mag, er sei willkommen, wenn nur

unser Kriegsruf ein aufnahmebereites Ohr getroffen hat und eine andere Hand sich ausstreckt, unsere Waffen zu ergreifen."

**SPIEGEL:** Sie bezeichnen Ihre revolutionäre Theorie als marxistisch-leninistisch. Viele erklärte Marxisten-Leninisten werden das nicht akzeptieren. Sie selbst haben Marx und Lenin Rassisten genannt.

**CLEAVER:** Und ich habe darüber sehr genaue Informationen. Einer unserer Genossen schreibt ein Buch über dieses Thema. Die Einstellung von Marx und Lenin ist nicht überraschend, wenn man die Zeit bedenkt, in der sie lebten. Ich glaube, meine Annahme ist vernünftig.

**SPIEGEL:** Ist Ihr Kampf ein Rassenkampf oder ein Klassenkampf?

**CLEAVER:** Wir möchten lieber einen Klassenkampf. Aber angesichts der rassistischen Haltung der weißen Amerikaner und angesichts der bewußten Versuche der Regierung, die Weißen gegen die Schwarzen aufzuhetzen, haben wir keine Wahl. Es könnte notwendig werden, daß Rasse gegen Rasse kämpft — weil die objektive Situation es erfordert.

**SPIEGEL:** Das hieße Rassenkampf vor Klassenkampf? Den weißen Rassismus mit schwarzem Rassismus bekämpfen?

**CLEAVER:** Nein, das sage ich nicht. Wir wissen aus Erfahrung, daß dies eine ungeeignete Methode wäre, daß sie nicht weiterhelfen würde. Unsere Partei hat daher im Kampf gegen den Rassismus die Führung innerhalb der amerikanischen Revolutionäre übernommen.

**SPIEGEL:** Nach der marxistischen Lehre wird die Revolution nicht von unterdrückten Minderheiten gemacht, sondern von der Masse der Arbeiterklasse. In den USA jedoch ist die Mehrheit der weißen Arbeiterschaft eine der reaktionärsten Gruppen in der Gesellschaft.

**CLEAVER:** Die Schwierigkeit beginnt in der Tat, wenn wir über die Arbeiterklasse und das Proletariat reden. Die schwarzen Amerikaner sind Mitglieder der Arbeiterklasse. Die Black Panthers sind Mitglieder des Proletariats.

**SPIEGEL:** Zumeist sind sie Mitglieder des „Lumpenproletariats“. Aber nach Marx kann dieses niemals die revolutionäre Avantgarde werden.

**CLEAVER:** Marx war in seinem Urteil über das Lumpenproletariat eben ein bißchen snobistisch. Das Proletariat ist definiert als die Klasse, die keine Produktionsmittel besitzt. Und das trifft auf uns zu.

**SPIEGEL:** Wie wollen Sie denn die Weißen organisieren, die keine Produktionsmittel besitzen?

**CLEAVER:** Die weißen Arbeiter zu organisieren, ist vor allem die Aufgabe der weißen Revolutionäre. Mit ihnen wollen wir Bündnisse schließen.

**SPIEGEL:** Es gibt da eine überraschende Erklärung von Eldridge Cleaver: daß nämlich die weiße Mittel-

klasse eine der revolutionärsten Gruppen in der US-Gesellschaft wird.

**CLEAVER:** Ich glaube nicht, daß ich das zurücknehmen muß. Viele Leute, die nicht aus der Arbeiterklasse stammen, haben sich der Revolution angeschlossen. Sie erhielten eine bessere Erziehung und sind empfindlich für die Nuancen der Unterdrückung in den Vereinigten Staaten. Wenn sie erst einmal die Linie überschritten haben und Revolutionäre werden, dann sind sie extrem revolutionär.

**SPIEGEL:** Bis jetzt hatten Sie wesentlich mehr Erfolg darin, Unterstützung von der schwarzen Gemeinschaft als von der weißen zu erhalten. Nach einer Umfrage des Harris-Instituts ist die große Mehrheit der Weißen den Panthers gegenüber feindlich eingestellt. Jeder vierte schwarze Amerikaner betont jedoch: „Die Philosophie der Panther ist auch die meine.“



Polizei-Einsatz gegen die Schwarzen Panther\*: „Ein Versuch, uns auszurotten“

**CLEAVER:** Wir wußten schon immer, daß die schwarze Bevölkerung uns und das, was wir tun, schätzt — auch wenn sie Angst hatte, es selbst zu tun.

**SPIEGEL:** Gleichwohl haben sich verschiedene prominente schwarze Führer gegen die Panther ausgesprochen. Pastor Ralph Abernathy zum Beispiel, der Nachfolger Martin Luther Kings, hat gesagt: Die Black Panthers „reden zwar viel, aber sie haben kein Programm, und sie führen niemanden“.

**CLEAVER:** Ja, das sagte er nicht in den USA, sondern in Schweden. Vielleicht hat er dort wegen eines Nobelpreises antichambriert, wie ihn sein Vorgänger Martin Luther King erhielt. Wir sehen in Abernathys Erklärung den typischen Opportunismus gewisser schwarzer Führer der Mittelklasse, die sich bei den Herrschenden beliebt machen wollen.

**SPIEGEL:** Halten Sie Abernathy für einen Onkel Tom?

**CLEAVER:** Ich habe Bruder Abernathy immer für ein leuchtendes Beispiel dessen gehalten, was aus Onkel

Tom in unserer heutigen Zeit geworden ist.

**SPIEGEL:** Ein schwarzes „Schwein“?

**CLEAVER:** Ich würde sagen, Abernathy ist ein Onkel Tom, aber kein „Schwein“.

**SPIEGEL:** Gibt es schwarze „Schweine“?

**CLEAVER:** Ja — unter den Führern der gemäßigten Schwarzen. Es gibt sogar „Schweine“, die die schwarzen Revolutionsparteien unterwandern.

**SPIEGEL:** In dem Prozeß, der zur Zeit in New Haven gegen Ihren Parteivorsitzenden Bobby Seale geführt wird, kommt eben diese Infiltration zur Sprache. Seale ist angeklagt, den Mord eines angeblichen Polizeispitzels befohlen zu haben, der sich in die Panther Party eingeschlichen hatte.

**CLEAVER:** Dieser Prozeß ist doch ein abgekartetes Spiel.

**SPIEGEL:** Zwei frühere Panther-Mitglieder sagten immerhin aus, die Parteiführung — also wohl Bobby Seale — habe ihnen befohlen, den Verräter zu liquidieren.

**CLEAVER:** Der amerikanischen Regierung ist es stets leicht gefallen, gekaufte Denunzianten für den Zeugenstand zu gewinnen. Sie hat immer wieder Lügner als Zeugen gegen unsere Parteimitglieder vorgeladen, um diese Prozesse zu manipulieren. Auch das Verfahren gegen Bobby Seale wurde inszeniert, um die Panther-Partei zu liquidieren.

**SPIEGEL:** Das Verfahren hat zur Solidarisierung vieler weißer Radikaler mit den Panthers beigetragen. Schließt Ihr Bündnis mit den von der Gesellschaft entfremdeten Weißen auch Leute wie den „LSD-Propheten“ Timothy Leary ein? Seit kurzem lebt auch er in Algier.

**CLEAVER:** Wir gehen keine Bündnisse mit Einzelpersonen ein. Wir anerkennen allerdings die progressive

\* In Philadelphia.

Rolle, die Leary in der Vergangenheit gespielt hat.

**SPIEGEL:** Rauschgift als Mittel, um politisches Bewußtsein zu erlangen?

**CLEAVER:** Wir anerkennen die Bedeutung derer, die mit der amerikanischen Gesellschaft unzufrieden waren und aus der Wirklichkeit flohen. Sie nahmen Drogen — gemäß dem Slogan: „Turn on, tune in, drop out.“ Für viele war das ein endgültiger Schritt, sich vom Status quo zu lösen.

**SPIEGEL:** Ist es auch ein Schritt zur revolutionären Bewußtwerdung?

**CLEAVER:** Viele, die mit der Leary-Methode begannen, sind wirkliche Revolutionäre geworden. Dr. Leary selbst ist aus dem Gefängnis geflohen, hat mit dem amerikanischen Establishment gebrochen und tritt heute für eine gewaltsame Revolution ein.

**CLEAVER:** Es gibt 50 000 schwarze GIs in Ihrem Land. Da kann unsere Partei rekrutieren. Viele schwarze Soldaten arbeiten schon jetzt mit uns zusammen. Im übrigen würde ich gern mit den anti-imperialistischen Studenten über unseren gemeinsamen Kampf diskutieren.

**SPIEGEL:** In den USA liegen die Probleme aber doch ganz anders als in der Bundesrepublik. Wir haben keine Gettos...

**CLEAVER:** Gewiß, damit hat Hitler aufgeräumt! Aber Unterdrückung und Imperialismus haben keine nationalen Grenzen. Darum verbünden wir uns mit den revolutionären Kräften in Deutschland ebenso wie mit den Befreiungsbewegungen anderer Länder.

**SPIEGEL:** Das Black Panther Solidaritätskomitee in Frankfurt forderte



Panther-Sympathisanten in Frankfurt\*: „Bündnis mit allen Revolutionären“

**SPIEGEL:** Aber in den USA bekämpft Ihre Partei den Rauschgiftkonsum doch.

**CLEAVER:** Daraus machen wir auch kein Hehl. Für unseren Kampf brauchen wir nüchterne Leute mit klarem Verstand, keine Leute, die aus der Wirklichkeit fliehen, indem sie auf Rauschgift-Trips gehen.

**SPIEGEL:** Sie selbst mußten 1968 aus der amerikanischen Wirklichkeit fliehen. Sie lebten dann über ein halbes Jahr im Kuba Fidel Castros. Dort konnten Sie politisch kaum arbeiten — sind Sie von Kuba enttäuscht?

**CLEAVER:** Ich war sehr unzufrieden.

**SPIEGEL:** Warum gingen Sie nach Algier?

**CLEAVER:** Die algerische Regierung hat uns großzügige Gastfreundschaft gewährt; sie zeigt sich solidarisch mit uns.

**SPIEGEL:** Sie möchten nun die Bundesrepublik besuchen. Haben Sie konkrete Ziele für die Arbeit der Panther in Westdeutschland?

Innenminister Genscher vergebens auf, Ihnen freie Einreise zu gewähren. Unlängst hat Bonn sogar Ihrer Frau Kathleen die Einreise verweigert.

**CLEAVER:** Kathleen sollte an einer Solidaritätskonferenz für Bobby Seale und an der Frankfurter Demonstration am 28. November teilnehmen. Sie wird im Gegensatz zu mir von den „Schweinen“ in Washington, die den Bonnern die Order für den Umgang mit uns geben, nicht gesucht...

**SPIEGEL:** ... und deshalb glaubten Sie, man würde Ihre Frau hereinlassen?

**CLEAVER:** Ja. „Schwein“ Genscher hat gar kein Recht, Kathleen daran zu hindern, seinen neonazistischen Staat zu betreten. Aber er und die Bonner Hampelmänner haben sich eben dem Druck aus Washington gebeugt. Sie sind Lakaien der amerikanischen Imperialisten.

**SPIEGEL:** Mr. Cleaver, wir danken Ihnen für dieses Gespräch.

\* Am 28. November; das Plakat links zeigt den Black-Panther-Vorsitzenden Bobby Seale.

100-497251-

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251)

DATE: 12/29/70

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE  
I.O. #4239, W.F. 447RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY  
WEAPONCards UTD  
Cards Sent OO

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"/> ANA <input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST <input type="checkbox"/> NOI <input type="checkbox"/> PPA <input type="checkbox"/> RAM <input type="checkbox"/> SNC <input type="checkbox"/> AWC <input type="checkbox"/> JFG <input type="checkbox"/> PLP <input type="checkbox"/> PRN <input type="checkbox"/> SDS <input type="checkbox"/> SPL <input type="checkbox"/> BNT <input type="checkbox"/> MIN <input type="checkbox"/> POC <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify)	
Date of Birth	Place of Birth Race Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.	Residence Address
Minister of Information Black Panther Party (BPP) 4 Chemin Viviani Algiers, Algeria	4 Chemin Viviani Algiers, Algeria  ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12/14/00 BY 39163 JMA/PL
Key Facility Data	
Geographical Reference Number	

REGISTERED MAIL

NOT RECORDED

15 DEC 31 1970

 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2)  
 1 - San Francisco  
 516 JAN 19 1971  
 - (3)

ENCLOSURE

FUG. SUP.  
RESEARCH SECTION

RACIAL INCL. SENT.

b7C



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

December 29, 1970

SUBJECT: **LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

CHARACTER: **RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; UNLAWFUL  
FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT  
WITH A DEADLY WEAPON**

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

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: **4 Chemin Viviani  
Algiers, Algeria**

Employment: **Minister of Information  
Black Panther Party  
4 Chemin Viviani  
Algiers, Algeria**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/00 BY SP4 JEL/jmr

Copy to SS  
by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action  
date 1/5/71  
by Wpd/mrd

100 - 447251 -

ENCLOSURE



~~SECRET~~

1/5/71

CODE

TELETYPE ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

URGENT

b7C

1 - Foreign Liaison Desk

1 -  
1 -  
1 -

TO: DIRECTOR, CIA

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-381638)

12/14/00  
CLASSIFIED BY: 100-381638-43 Derivative  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 7  
904374

~~SECRET~~

[ ] (S)

[ ] RACIAL MATTERS

b7C

b1

100-381638-43

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b7C

BASED ON INFORMATION AVAILABLE, RECORDS THIS BUREAU

CONTAIN NO INFORMATION IDENTIFIABLE WITH HOWARD MORRIS.

YOUR REQUEST REGARDING ANY AVAILABLE INFORMATION CONCERNING

CONTENTS OF A MESSAGE FROM [ ] REPORTEDLY TO BE

DELIVERED TO ELDRIDGE CLEAVER BY [ ] HAS BEEN REFERRED

TO OUR APPROPRIATE FIELD OFFICE FOR ACTION AND RESULTS WILL

BE FURNISHED TO YOU. THIS BUREAU WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFOR-

MATION YOU MAY DEVELOP IN THIS MATTER.

GP-1  
END

DISSEMINATED TO  
WHICH IS NOT

SEE NOTE FOR SAC, SAN FRANCISCO, PAGE 2

1 - LEGAT, PARIS (100-2864) (BY MAIL)

1 - SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-52235) (BY MAIL) (ENCLOSURE)

1 - 100-447251 (Eldridge Cleaver)

JFM:drl (8)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

NOT RECORDED

170 JAN 15 1971

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, CIA

RE: [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b7C

NOTE FOR SAC, SAN FRANCISCO:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

NOTE:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

(S)

~~TOP SECRET~~

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 1-19-71

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS (88-256)(P)

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

12/14/00  
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/PA/92 L  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
914394

- (C)
- 4 - Bureau (Enclosures - 7 ENCLOSURE  
(1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)  
(1 - San Francisco)
  - 1 - Paris (88-256)
  - 1 - Paris (157-45)
- NWP:jmw  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ST, CIA, IRS 1-SF  
AGENCY: ~~STATE, DEPT.~~ SEC. SERV.,  
DEPT: ISD, ~~COMMUN.~~ IDIU, ~~CR~~  
HOW FORM: PLS  
DATE FORM: 2/3/71  
BY: RNB/mo

1-806 SI-114

REC 8 100-447251-924

2-4  
6 JAN 26 1971

348  
FEB 10 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL

b1

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

January 19, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[Redacted]  
[Redacted] (c) not oc

b1

[Redacted]  
[Redacted] (c)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12/14/06  
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/SNA/PL  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
904394

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-1\*-

~~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.

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-924

DO-6 OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

January 28, 1971

*ELdridge CLEaver*  
The attached clipping was sent to the Director from an anonymous source in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

The following is noted across the top of the clipping:

"Believe most of American Citizens are supporting the F.B.I. Hope you find this evil man."

nm

MR. TOLSON ✓  
MR. SULLIVAN ✓  
MR. MOHR ✓  
MR. BISHOP ✓  
MR. BRENNAN, C.D. ✓  
MR. CALLAHAN  
MR. CASPER  
MR. CONRAD  
MR. FELT ✓  
MR. GALT ✓  
MR. ROSEN ✓  
MR. TAVEL  
MR. WALTERS  
MR. SOYARS  
MR. JONES  
TELE. ROOM  
MISS HOLMES  
MR. METCALF  
SANDY

*No ack possible - anonymous source*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/00 BY 3962 [signature]

ST-100

REC-6

100-447251-925

FEB 3 1971

ENCLOSURE

58 FEB 10 1971

# CLAYTON L. LARRE SAYS MISSING KOP BROWN IS ALIVE AND ACTIVE IN U.S.

The Sunday Bulletin  
PHILADELPHIA, Sunday, Dec. 13, 1970

Clayton L. Larre is a columnist and social commentator who has joined the Bulletin staff after working on a TV newsmagazine and as a reporter for the New York Herald Tribune and Newsweek magazine.

He has received many awards for his work and is currently teaching a course at Drexel University on the new media.

A fellow on New York City will appear in Monday's Evening Bulletin.

Larre recently visited West Germany, where he says there are 100,000 American soldiers, 12 percent of whom are black.

"Inside the ranks of these soldiers," he said, "we have a large contingent of very strong advocates of the Black Panther Party, who would be members of the Black Panther Party if they were in a position to join."

"These soldiers, in the military and in the prison, really constitute the backbone of the black army we need that will be able to unite with the white army, the white people's army that will unite with the black army (America) and carry out the revolution in this country."

"I don't think there is anything the American government can do to stop the revolution," he said. "They can reward it, they can murder people, but they can't stop it."

Says Newton Leeds, "I asked about his work in the leadership of the Panthers. Larre said: 'I joined the party because I was attracted to the very strong and correct leadership of Huey P. Newton (Black Panther military of defense). A lot of the leadership fell away because they were in jail and was not free and able to give leadership to the Black Panther Party, and I tried to carry out the responsibility to the best of my ability.'"

But Huey P. Newton is the leader of the Black Panther Party and I fully accept and support, enthusiastically, his leadership. I don't make a move without Huey's approval. I talk with him by telephone regularly and we are in constant contact."

Newton's conviction in the slaying of a policeman was mentioned by a California court. He is scheduled to be retried Jan. 11.

Newton continued:

Clayton, asked about his opinion of the Nixon Administration, replied:

"I think people are put very upright by their press. People are able to see more clearly why the Black Panther Party does such things as guerrilla, terrorism, sabotage, and so on. These things have come out openly and blatantly, and I think that in the long run it will turn out to be a good thing for the people's revolution."

He said that he has received many awards for his work and is currently teaching a course at Drexel University on the new media.

A fellow on New York City will appear in Monday's Evening Bulletin.

Larre recently visited West Germany, where he says there are 100,000 American soldiers, 12 percent of whom are black.

"Inside the ranks of these soldiers," he said, "we have a large contingent of very strong advocates of the Black Panther Party, who would be members of the Black Panther Party if they were in a position to join."

"These soldiers, in the military and in the prison, really constitute the backbone of the black army we need that will be able to unite with the white army, the white people's army that will unite with the black army (America) and carry out the revolution in this country."

"I don't think there is anything the American government can do to stop the revolution," he said. "They can reward it, they can murder people, but they can't stop it."

Says Newton Leeds, "I asked about his work in the leadership of the Panthers. Larre said: 'I joined the party because I was attracted to the very strong and correct leadership of Huey P. Newton (Black Panther military of defense). A lot of the leadership fell away because they were in jail and was not free and able to give leadership to the Black Panther Party, and I tried to carry out the responsibility to the best of my ability.'"

But Huey P. Newton is the leader of the Black Panther Party and I fully accept and support, enthusiastically, his leadership. I don't make a move without Huey's approval. I talk with him by telephone regularly and we are in constant contact."

Newton's conviction in the slaying of a policeman was mentioned by a California court. He is scheduled to be retried Jan. 11.

Newton continued:

Clayton, asked about his opinion of the Nixon Administration, replied:

"I think people are put very upright by their press. People are able to see more clearly why the Black Panther Party does such things as guerrilla, terrorism, sabotage, and so on. These things have come out openly and blatantly, and I think that in the long run it will turn out to be a good thing for the people's revolution."

He said that he has received many awards for his work and is currently teaching a course at Drexel University on the new media.

A fellow on New York City will appear in Monday's Evening Bulletin.

Larre recently visited West Germany, where he says there are 100,000 American soldiers, 12 percent of whom are black.

"Inside the ranks of these soldiers," he said, "we have a large contingent of very strong advocates of the Black Panther Party, who would be members of the Black Panther Party if they were in a position to join."

"These soldiers, in the military and in the prison, really constitute the backbone of the black army we need that will be able to unite with the white army, the white people's army that will unite with the black army (America) and carry out the revolution in this country."

"I don't think there is anything the American government can do to stop the revolution," he said. "They can reward it, they can murder people, but they can't stop it."

Says Newton Leeds, "I asked about his work in the leadership of the Panthers. Larre said: 'I joined the party because I was attracted to the very strong and correct leadership of Huey P. Newton (Black Panther military of defense). A lot of the leadership fell away because they were in jail and was not free and able to give leadership to the Black Panther Party, and I tried to carry out the responsibility to the best of my ability.'"

But Huey P. Newton is the leader of the Black Panther Party and I fully accept and support, enthusiastically, his leadership. I don't make a move without Huey's approval. I talk with him by telephone regularly and we are in constant contact."

Newton's conviction in the slaying of a policeman was mentioned by a California court. He is scheduled to be retried Jan. 11.

Newton continued:

Clayton, asked about his opinion of the Nixon Administration, replied:

"I think people are put very upright by their press. People are able to see more clearly why the Black Panther Party does such things as guerrilla, terrorism, sabotage, and so on. These things have come out openly and blatantly, and I think that in the long run it will turn out to be a good thing for the people's revolution."

He said that he has received many awards for his work and is currently teaching a course at Drexel University on the new media.

A fellow on New York City will appear in Monday's Evening Bulletin.

Larre recently visited West Germany, where he says there are 100,000 American soldiers, 12 percent of whom are black.

"Inside the ranks of these soldiers," he said, "we have a large contingent of very strong advocates of the Black Panther Party, who would be members of the Black Panther Party if they were in a position to join."

"These soldiers, in the military and in the prison, really constitute the backbone of the black army we need that will be able to unite with the white army, the white people's army that will unite with the black army (America) and carry out the revolution in this country."

"I don't think there is anything the American government can do to stop the revolution," he said. "They can reward it, they can murder people, but they can't stop it."

Says Newton Leeds, "I asked about his work in the leadership of the Panthers. Larre said: 'I joined the party because I was attracted to the very strong and correct leadership of Huey P. Newton (Black Panther military of defense). A lot of the leadership fell away because they were in jail and was not free and able to give leadership to the Black Panther Party, and I tried to carry out the responsibility to the best of my ability.'"

But Huey P. Newton is the leader of the Black Panther Party and I fully accept and support, enthusiastically, his leadership. I don't make a move without Huey's approval. I talk with him by telephone regularly and we are in constant contact."

Newton's conviction in the slaying of a policeman was mentioned by a California court. He is scheduled to be retried Jan. 11.

Newton continued:

Clayton, asked about his opinion of the Nixon Administration, replied:

"I think people are put very upright by their press. People are able to see more clearly why the Black Panther Party does such things as guerrilla, terrorism, sabotage, and so on. These things have come out openly and blatantly, and I think that in the long run it will turn out to be a good thing for the people's revolution."

He said that he has received many awards for his work and is currently teaching a course at Drexel University on the new media.

A fellow on New York City will appear in Monday's Evening Bulletin.

Larre recently visited West Germany, where he says there are 100,000 American soldiers, 12 percent of whom are black.

"Inside the ranks of these soldiers," he said, "we have a large contingent of very strong advocates of the Black Panther Party, who would be members of the Black Panther Party if they were in a position to join."

"These soldiers, in the military and in the prison, really constitute the backbone of the black army we need that will be able to unite with the white army, the white people's army that will unite with the black army (America) and carry out the revolution in this country."

"I don't think there is anything the American government can do to stop the revolution," he said. "They can reward it, they can murder people, but they can't stop it."

Says Newton Leeds, "I asked about his work in the leadership of the Panthers. Larre said: 'I joined the party because I was attracted to the very strong and correct leadership of Huey P. Newton (Black Panther military of defense). A lot of the leadership fell away because they were in jail and was not free and able to give leadership to the Black Panther Party, and I tried to carry out the responsibility to the best of my ability.'"

But Huey P. Newton is the leader of the Black Panther Party and I fully accept and support, enthusiastically, his leadership. I don't make a move without Huey's approval. I talk with him by telephone regularly and we are in constant contact."

Newton's conviction in the slaying of a policeman was mentioned by a California court. He is scheduled to be retried Jan. 11.

Newton continued:

Clayton, asked about his opinion of the Nixon Administration, replied:

"I think people are put very upright by their press. People are able to see more clearly why the Black Panther Party does such things as guerrilla, terrorism, sabotage, and so on. These things have come out openly and blatantly, and I think that in the long run it will turn out to be a good thing for the people's revolution."

He said that he has received many awards for his work and is currently teaching a course at Drexel University on the new media.

A fellow on New York City will appear in Monday's Evening Bulletin.

Larre recently visited West Germany, where he says there are 100,000 American soldiers, 12 percent of whom are black.

"Inside the ranks of these soldiers," he said, "we have a large contingent of very strong advocates of the Black Panther Party, who would be members of the Black Panther Party if they were in a position to join."

"These soldiers, in the military and in the prison, really constitute the backbone of the black army we need that will be able to unite with the white army, the white people's army that will unite with the black army (America) and carry out the revolution in this country."

"I don't think there is anything the American government can do to stop the revolution," he said. "They can reward it, they can murder people, but they can't stop it."

Says Newton Leeds, "I asked about his work in the leadership of the Panthers. Larre said: 'I joined the party because I was attracted to the very strong and correct leadership of Huey P. Newton (Black Panther military of defense). A lot of the leadership fell away because they were in jail and was not free and able to give leadership to the Black Panther Party, and I tried to carry out the responsibility to the best of my ability.'"

But Huey P. Newton is the leader of the Black Panther Party and I fully accept and support, enthusiastically, his leadership. I don't make a move without Huey's approval. I talk with him by telephone regularly and we are in constant contact."

Newton's conviction in the slaying of a policeman was mentioned by a California court. He is scheduled to be retried Jan. 11.

Newton continued:

Clayton, asked about his opinion of the Nixon Administration, replied:

"I think people are put very upright by their press. People are able to see more clearly why the Black Panther Party does such things as guerrilla, terrorism, sabotage, and so on. These things have come out openly and blatantly, and I think that in the long run it will turn out to be a good thing for the people's revolution."

Enclosure  
100-447251-925

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE
		24 Nov 70
TO: <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></span>		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	
2035	HQS	
REMARKS:		
<p>Interviews with Hakim Janial and Eldridge Cleaver published in the Polish-language weekly PERSPEKTIVA.</p>		

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/00 BY 3700 *en/smb*

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED

47 FEB 5 1971

Eldridge Cleaver

5- *JH*

Letter Los Angeles (Re: )  
San Francisco (Re: Eldridge Cleaver)

1/15/71  
*JH*

329

ENCLOSURE

57 FEB 11 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b7C

100-447251-001

Source: Perspektywy, 2 October 1970, pp 10-13

THE BLACK AMERICANS SPEAK (UP)

BY

TOMASZ POBOG-MALINOWSKI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/80 BY 3106 ELM/ma/kt

The release of Huey Newton, prisoner No. B17121 of the St. Luis Obispo Prison, one of the founders and leaders of the Black Panthers, revived the interest of the press in this most radical black party. The Black Panthers, who lost during the last 3 years, thirty of their leaders in street gun battles with the police, and had three hundred members arrested, emerged as a main political group of black America. The Chief of the FBI, Hoover, calls them the "most dangerous organization of the U.S. new left."

Below we are giving two interviews held with negro leaders living outside the U.S. The interviews were taped.

JAMAL  
Hakim Janial, member of several black organizations, one of the leaders of the Black Panthers who presently lives in London and is writing a book on Malcolm X.

Q. Why did you leave the Black Muslims?

A. The Black Muslims attract Black Americans because they have rejected the "white master's" religion -- Christianity. Of course, the practice of Islam in the U.S. is very different from the orthodox Eastern Islam because religious want to religion and the Eastern leaders do not preach to us poor negroes. When they come to the States, they go to Florida and Hollywood and we are not there.

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-



Why did I leave the Muslims? Maybe because after a while I understood that they didn't differ much from the Ku Klux Klan. For instance, they can not marry a person of a different race. They are not allowed to even meet people of other races. Due to this, the Black Muslims are losing many of their followers. They also insist that they will not fight unless attacked. But, a month ago a group of Black Muslims moved from New Oakland to Georgia and bought a farm where they planned to raise cattle. A few days later a group of KKK men came from Alabama and set the farm on fire. And, what did the Black Muslim leader <sup>Elijah Muhammad</sup> do? Did he fight? No! He just gave up the farm and everybody went back to live in cities. This kind of attitude is to us not acceptable anymore.

And the Black Nationalists? They preach that each nation should have its own country. The Chinese have China, the French, France, the Jews, Israel and the Black American, therefore, should have their own country. But where? In the Southern part of the U.S. But, this is unobtainable <sup>views</sup> and besides, the political ideas of the Black Nationalists are <sup>vague</sup> foggy and <sup>constantly change</sup> changeable.

Q. Many people consider Martin Luther King the greatest leader Black America had. What do you feel about this?

A. King ended in a very sad way. He was naive <sup>in thinking</sup> and thought that he could obtain in the U.S. what Gandhi succeeded in India. But, he forgot that he did not have the large following (army) that Gandhi had at his disposal. Five million <sup>Hindus</sup> Indians were ready to fight the one hundred thousand British soldiers who opposed them. Gandhi was a peaceful elephant sitting

on a belligerent mouse. King did not realize that he instead was a very belligerent mouse sitting on an elephant.

*Nevertheless,*  
Q. And, therefore, you consider Malcolm X to be the most prominent leader?

A. Yes. Even I personally owe him a great deal. I met him in Boston when I was 14 years old and already a heroin addict. At this age many black boys are ~~alcoholics~~ *alcoholics*. I was also one. I met Malcolm while I was getting heroin; at the time he was also a heroin addict. We spent that night talking which is customary for drug addicts. Our roads parted soon after. Malcolm went to prison and I was drafted. But, being an addict, I was released soon after. A few years later I met Malcolm again in California. He was already a Muslim leader and several times I listened to his sermons. You won't believe me, but a month later I was off the drugs with no medical help whatsoever. Malcolm had such a strong influence on his followers that the Health Department in New York was sending him addicts to be cured. People had great faith in him and they were ready to follow him blindly. He felt that education had a great importance and he must have been the first black man who spent all his free time reading. He told us about the books we should read and many of us followed his advice. I was one of them. He also taught us to be proud of our race and he spoke about the old African culture, about Egypt, Mali and Ghana. Also about civilizations which were at their peak <sup>of development</sup> while the Europeans were still living in trees. Malcolm was the first one to tell us "you're somebody, and if you want to become somebody you have to know about your own values. If you continue thinking that you aren't worth anything, you won't be worth anything."

Remember not to forget about the achievements of our ancestors." Nobody before him spoke that way to Black Americans.

I remember very well the day Malcolm was killed. It was the 22nd of February, 1964, and he was at the time 39 years old. Fourteen bullets hit him in the face. He was killed by fanatic Black Muslims, followers of Elijah Muhammad. But, I'm sure that it was a conspiracy organized by the CIA and the U.S. Government. They convinced Muhammad that Malcolm is trying to take over the leadership of the Black Muslims. Muhammad was already very jealous of Malcolm, especially after his triumphant trip to Mecca, Middle East Countries and Africa.

The day Malcolm was killed he was speaking to about 500 Black Muslims and while doing so was approached by four men who shot him fourteen times without outside interference. Where were the police? Where were the plain-clothesmen who always shadowed Malcolm looking for a pretext to arrest him? The police did not find the killers! They were found by Malcolm's friends.

America is a country of murderers. America loves to kill. She kills her own negroes and kills Vietnamese in Viet Nam. Do you know that the negroes <sup>comprise</sup> are 11% of the population, but the U.S. Army in Viet Nam consists of 16% negro and that 20% of the American soldiers killed are negro? America sends black men to Viet Nam so that people of that area start hating them. America tells the black man to fight and he does. Orders him to die and he does. I'm sure that <sup>in</sup> at the end the Vietnamese people will win this war. They will because they are right. They have not <sup>did</sup> invited <sup>the</sup> Americans to their country. America would like the whole world to love her and she is puzzled why nobody does. It is because she perpetrates rape on other countries. She digs out gold from the soil, leaving behind empty holes. She poisons the air, water and atmosphere. She would like to

have slaves, not only in her own country, but all over the world. America is perverted. It's a cancer on the world's body. The only solution is a bomb that would wipe her off our globe. <sup>How</sup> <sup>Q.</sup> How did the Black Panther Party start? <sup>P.A.</sup> The complete name is Black Panther Party for Self Defense. The Black Panther symbol was first used in local elections in Mississippi in 1964. The party was founded by Huey Newton who, having studied American law, was able to prove that the Constitution gives every citizen the right to bear arms in his self defense. The first members of the Black Panther party were: Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Bobby Hutton and David Hilliard. They were <sup>ed</sup> patrolling the black ghetto streets with their pistols at their side. As soon as a policeman would stop a black man, they would stand by him. If a policeman would draw his gun, they would do the same. And so, the police found out that they wouldn't be free to kill black people. There are many examples of policy brutality that I could give you. One of the most well known was the case of a 35 year old black deaf man. He left one morning with his dog for a walk and was stopped by a policeman. He tried to reach into his pocket for a sign stating "I am deaf," but the policeman shot him on sight and explained later that he thought the man was reaching for his gun. But, <sup>no</sup> no gun was found on him. Do you think that anything happened to the policeman? Of course not! And another example: a California negro by the name of Leonard Deadwyler was bringing his wife to a hospital with labor pains. He attached to his car antennae <sup>a</sup> a white scarf which means emergency in America. He was driving fast with his lights on and blowing his horn. After a few minutes he noticed a few police cars following him. He thought they were escorting him to the hospital. But, at an intersection

one of the police cars blocked him and the policeman, John <sup>B</sup>Nova, approached Deadyler's car and killed him in front of his wife. I could give you many more examples of this kind. America is a country where murder is committed every few minutes and it is legalized by law.

The first confrontation of Black Panthers with the police took place in San Francisco in front of the editorial building of the <sup>radical</sup> magazine, <sup>to be</sup> Ramparts. A meeting of several black organizations was held in the building. The police surrounded it because they knew we were armed. Huey Newton came out of the building and confronted a police officer in the middle of the street. The police officer was standing with Huey who had his gun at his side and they were talking in front of the other policemen. For us it was a great moment when we realized our fight had a purpose. Now we understand why Huey Newton is in prison (the interview was held before Newton's release). He had to end up there sooner or later. This episode changed the feeling of the black masses. We started to crawl ~~from~~ out of our holes into the daylight. We understood that <sup>a</sup>the period of lawlessness had begun. In time the Black Panther Party became a clearly defined political organization, highly disciplined and well organized. The Black Panther Party is the party of the lowest and poorest black population and, therefore, its ideology is based on Marxism. The American ruling class, and especially the police, are doing their utmost to liquidate the organization. The police have a free hand in killing Black Panthers. You must have heard about the Chicago murder when Fred Hampton was killed by the police while asleep. Those are facts. The hunting season on the Panthers is still on and you have to realize that one recognizes a Black Panther by the color of

his skin

and not his uniform and, therefore, any black man is killed in America and labeled a Black Panther member.

It is clear that our organization is a military one. Our aim is self defense. We are living in a country where in order to survive one has to be ready to shoot at all times in self defense. <sup>The one</sup> Who shoots first wins. This is America, brother. But <sup>the</sup> Black Panthers have also other aims. Recently they started in the black ghettos free distribution of milk. The members of the Black Panthers are collecting money and buying milk for the hungry black children. We have also a free clinic. Anyone who needs help is accepted to it, white or black. Of course, only the very poor and the very needy, including addicts and alcohols, are accepted. The clinic is manned by volunteer doctors. The Black Panther party <sup>is</sup> also publishing <sup>as</sup> its own magazine. Yes, self defense is our main purpose, but it certainly is not the only one.

Q. Could you tell me something about your experiences ~~while you were~~ <sup>as a</sup> an active member of the Black Panthers?

A. I worked in the Editorial Department of the Los Angeles Sentinel, <sup>a</sup> black <sup>which</sup> publication, which has a large circulation. My job was to inform the readers about the activities of the Black Panthers because not many black people knew about us. I was also in charge of getting in contact with people who were financing our organization. Among those I was in contact with was Marlo Brando who was helping us a great deal. As I have mentioned before, at this point the Panthers were mainly engaged in acts of self-defense, and <sup>have</sup> several times I was battling the police myself. For the first time ever I was shot at in Los Angeles. This was a few years ago during a meeting at which James Baldwin, <sup>novelist</sup> a writer, <sup>I spoke.</sup> and myself were addressing.

The police penetrated the building and I was wounded. At the same time a young woman was also hit. The most dramatic experience I had was last year in Detroit. I was addressing a meeting of the para-military organization called the Republic of New Africa. At the end of the meeting which was held in <sup>a</sup>the negro church, a shot was fired. It was a signal for the waiting police nearby to attack. The shot must have been triggered off by an undercover policeman. Immediately about fifty policemen rushed in and started shooting at random. At this point in the church there were only women and children because the men managed to escape. There were about one hundred people left. The police threw tear gas and continued to shoot. Luckily the church had heavy wooden pews and everybody lay on the floor and escaped injury. I was still standing on the podium and, therefore, I could observe the whole scene very well. Next to me was one of the leaders of the Republic of New Africa. We noticed some policemen running in our direction. I had just enough time to hide under the altar where I was covered by a large cloth. But my friend was hit in the thigh. The policeman ran to him and started tearing his uniform of the Republic of New Africa which he was wearing. This was when they noticed me under the altar and one of them shot at me with his <sup>Sub-</sup>machine gun. The shots missed my head by a few inches. We were all taken by force and lined up next to the wall. We were forced to disrobe almost completely and we had to take off our shoes. We were searched and arrested. After this was all over we found out that only one person on our side was wounded while two policemen were killed and a few wounded. You see this is what I mean by

" intelligent self-defense. The police held us all through the night in a garage because they were lacking space in the police station. We were all given paraffin tests. Such a test is made on the index finger and it shows whether <sup>or not</sup> the finger has been used ~~or not~~ to trigger a gun. (A mark from the trigger would be seen) One hundred and twenty-two of us were tested and some, <sup>including myself,</sup> and I among them showed a positive result. Therefore, we were brought to court for trial but the negro judge, Judge Crocker, freed us after <sup>ed</sup> ruling that the tests were not admissible because they were taken too late and so we were freed. From then on Crocker <sup>d</sup> has to watchout for himself and be guarded closely because he ~~has~~ received many <sup>threats</sup> ~~letters of warning~~ from white extremists.

America is a police state and the police can do whatever they please.

Have you heard about the arrest of Eldridge Cleaver?

<sup>Seven</sup>  
Black Power leaders were defending themselves in the California headquarters. The police used all its means, including tear gas and dynamite. <sup>Finally</sup> When the building was filled with gas, Eldridge Cleaver decided to surrender. He <sup>told</sup> wanted everybody to undress and step outside. This way the police could see that they did not carry guns with them. The first one to run out was Bobby Hutton, the seventeen-year old treasurer of the Black Power party. As soon as he ran out of the gate he fell to the ground. The policeman ordered, through a megaphone, for him to get up and to run toward the police car. As soon as he arose seven bullets hit him in the chest. Eldridge was arrested and later had to leave the United States.

Can you blame us for not using Martin Luther King's methods? We will take revenge for the injustices, old and new. If anybody <sup>tries</sup> is trying to shoot me I have to kill him first in order not to be killed myself.



26  
There are twenty million black Americans no one is defending and therefore we have to defend ourselves. America is a mentally deranged country. No arguments of logic would convince her. She has to be spoken to in her own language and that language is bombs and guns. She is now scared after the ~~series of~~ <sup>a</sup> few bombings in her cities. There is no other solution for America than the huge bomb which would destroy her completely. America knows well the language of ~~the~~ bombs and it is using them freely. She invented the saturation bombings of civilian cities. She invented the napalm bomb as well as the atomic <sup>and</sup> hydrogen bombs. America loves bombs because no one has as yet answered her in her own language.

<sup>Panthers</sup>  
Eldridge Cleaver, one of the main leaders of the Black Power and author of the well-known and regarded book, "Soul On Ice"<sup>by</sup> The book tells about his experiences in prison.

Q. Eldridge, you have left the U.S.A. a few years ago. Was that a forced <sup>deportation</sup> ~~immigration~~?

A. Yes, the 6th of April, 1968 I took part in a fight with the police. <sup>at</sup> <sup>Panthers</sup> <sup>shot</sup> at the time the treasurer of the Black Power, Bobby Hutton, was called and the rest of us were arrested. <sup>However</sup> <sup>before the trial started</sup> I was released though because the police could not prove that I was guilty of any crime. My case was then transferred to another court. In the meantime the court's attitude towards the Black <sup>Panthers</sup> Power had changed radically and, therefore, I decided not to wait for the beginning of the trial....

<sup>Panthers</sup>  
Q. How did you become involved with the Black Power?

A. My youth was no different from any other teenager of a black ghetto: Narcotics, confrontation with the law and sentences. The conditions in prisons <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ bad and I was considered a potential revolutionist

and, therefore, I was sent from one prison to another. This was meant to keep me from influencing other prisoners. I heard that there are ~~some~~ prisons in the States where a prisoner is allowed to play golf, use swimming pools and work in gardens, but I was not in any of those. The worst prison I remember is the California Men's Colony in which Huey Newton is being held now. TV cameras ~~are following you~~ every step, strong lights are beaming from the ceilings, ~~and in every corner photo cells are activating mechanical gates, etc.~~ <sup>doors</sup> ~~I was using none~~ <sup>Since I used every opportunity to inter-</sup> ~~I had to indoctrinate~~ my fellow <sup>black</sup> prisoners ~~and~~ therefore, the so-called special privilege ID card was taken away from me. Without this card I did not have access to the library, I could not <sup>watch</sup> ~~have a~~ TV and I was not <sup>permitted</sup> ~~able~~ to leave the block. I was left with only my regular ID card which I needed in order to leave my cell. My stay in prison left a permanent mark on me. A man can be let out of prison but it will always remain <sup>with</sup> ~~in~~ him... I was freed a month after the <sup>Panther</sup> Black Power party was founded and in January, 196<sup>7</sup> I became a member and I <sup>am</sup> ~~remained~~ a member <sup>to this day.</sup> I remember that day very vividly. It was in San Francisco and the Black <sup>Panthers were</sup> Power Party ~~was~~ making preparations to commemorate the anniversary of Malcolm X's death which is on the 22nd of February. <sup>They were to be the armed guards</sup> ~~Armed guards were to be present~~ at the ceremonies. I have ~~never~~ <sup>Panther</sup> seen anything like it before. The Black Power members came to the meeting in uniforms and bearing arms. This impressed me tremendously. <sup>This was also my first contact with</sup> ~~I finally met directly with~~ teachings of Malcolm X. In the prisons I heard a great deal about <sup>him</sup> ~~them~~ but only Seale and Newton were able to convert his words into deeds.

Q. You were <sup>formerly associated with</sup> ~~a member of~~ the Black Muslims. Why did you break up with them?

A. The Black Muslims is a very unimportant movement and <sup>is based on</sup> ~~mixes~~ a mixture of <sup>views</sup> religious and political ideals ~~together~~. Their leader, Elijah Muhammed,

preaches that 6,300 years ago all people were primitive blacks, but on the island Patmos, away from <sup>the</sup> continents, lived a deranged scientist called Yakub, who decided to create the white race <sup>and</sup> by <sup>rd</sup> permitting marriages only between partners of slightly <sup>lighter</sup> whiter skin. In this way, after one hundred <sup>thousand</sup> years the blue-eyed white race <sup>appeared on Patmos.</sup> came about.

Malcolm X worked for closer ties to the religion of the followers of Islam. After Malcolm X was killed I left the party.

Q. <sup>Do</sup> <sup>maintain any</sup> Are you remaining in close contact with Stokely Carmichael?

A. No. In my opinion, Stokely became apolitical. I do not believe in his <sup>young</sup> foggy pan-African <sup>theories</sup> ideals, nor do I think that anybody <sup>understands them.</sup> else does.

I tried once to mend our differences but he said: "You are now on top.

I will wait on the side and see how well you can do in your America."

After I heard this I lost interest in further discussion. Stokely insists that for our fight in the States we need a strong African base and he would like to move many black Americans to Africa. We do not believe in such a theory. Our people are in America and I do not think it is a good idea to leave them to their own destiny and go somewhere else and participate in a revolution of a continent whose history one doesn't understand well. I do not think that Stokely will ever achieve the goals he is talking so much about.

Q. You have often spoken about the Marxist <sup>orientation of</sup> influence on the Black Panthers. Power Party. Do you consider yourself a Marxist?

A. <sup>Of course.</sup> Almost certainly. Our party is a political party and Marxism is the most appealing social theory we have found. We do not agree though with those who would like to implement the kind of socialism that is to

be found in other socialist countries. We read books published in the U.S.S.R., in Cuba and in China. We do not see how the methods used in those countries could be instilled in America. We agree with <sup>their principles</sup> the general premises but we have to use our own methods <sup>to make them work</sup>.

Am I a true Marxist? To a certain degree yes because I believe it to be true that the <sup>struggle</sup> war between classes will change capitalism into socialism and as <sup>then</sup> a final result a classless society will emerge. But our party cannot be called strictly a Marxist party. You must understand that at the moment the class <sup>division</sup> structure of America is <sup>more</sup> just as important to us as <sup>then</sup> its racial <sup>division</sup> structure. We have our own black bourgeoisie which is working hand in hand with the white <sup>power</sup> Government classes. But we need <sup>them</sup> ~~it~~ now because they finance us. ~~At the moment we are telling them:~~ <sup>Give</sup> "Now you ~~us the money now~~ have to give your money and about the rest we will talk later." We cannot dismiss ~~the~~ black capitalism without which our revolution would not make sense.

Q. The Black Panthers have been accused <sup>misusing violence</sup> ~~(often)~~ of abuses and the use <sup>and</sup> of force. Is that true?

A. We feel that the <sup>assume a tyrant</sup> trend is always wrong. If you <sup>encounter</sup> came into your house for instance and you find there a bandit, what do you do? If somebody tries to strangle you or kill you, you have to defend yourself. In doing so you may have to burn the wall down <sup>or</sup> Kill everyone who is trying to annihilate you. This is <sup>the attitude of</sup> how the Black Panthers are feeling. Malcolm X said that <sup>the necessary at a particular moment</sup> all means are good in our circumstances, and they are justifiable. Our only means at the present are guns. You <sup>say that</sup> are asking if we use force and <sup>violence</sup> terror. Yes, we do but it is force and <sup>violence</sup> terror directed at a tyrant and oppressor of our revolution.

Q. Have you talked about other means to reach your goals?

A. You know what? Imagine yourself standing in the middle of San Francisco eye to eye with a policeman who is aiming a gun at you. Now tell me, what method would you use to take his gun away from him so he could not kill you? When I <sup>speak</sup> spoke of injustices perpetrated against us I not only <sup>speak</sup> spoke of the few dozen of the Black Panthers shot by the police, I <sup>speak</sup> spoke of black ghettos where rats are crawling over children's beds, where the plaster peels from the walls. I <sup>speak</sup> spoke of the lack of schools, jobs, and food as well as of prices which exceed five times the value of articles for sale.

Q. But the Black Panthers also have other aims don't they?

A. Oh, of course. Like for instance our free breakfasts for hungry children. You see <sup>before</sup> until our revolution wins, we have to <sup>use half-measures.</sup> pay for methods. We have to fight with the inheritance of a four hundred year period of slavery; we have to fight against the exploitation of women and to give them equal rights.

Another problem is ~~the~~ narcotics which are so widely used by the inhabitants of black ghettos. They are used because they let us forget the miseries of our every day existence but you can not allow them to destroy us. Narcotics <sup>duff</sup> soften our minds and <sup>reduce the effectiveness of</sup> they influence our actions. They also give another <sup>trump card</sup> arm to the police. They can <sup>arrest us</sup> search your house under any pretext, and they are known to plant narcotics as evidence. <sup>It is true that</sup> ~~premises and, therefore,~~ although narcotics help us to forget our miseries. <sup>But I am a</sup> ~~and be revolutionary~~ <sup>and</sup> I would not be truthful to myself <sup>if</sup> as I did not fight against them. My obligation is to give people their freedom and not <sup>the most colorful</sup> illusions.

Q. What do you think about the <sup>significant</sup> increase in numbers of black students at American universities?

A. I am very pleased with this, and I am especially pleased that

*It is*  
~~I know~~ politically they are ~~very~~ active. ~~its~~ very important for us to have well educated people. The black students are demanding that subjects related to their culture and history be taught. They also find out many things about the white population of the States. *They learn,* ~~Like~~ *that* for instance, that the U.S. flag was never really a symbol ~~for~~ *of* freedom, ~~it is~~ *that* today *it is* the symbol of the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the American Nazi Party, the Conservative Republicans and many others. The fact that is very important is that black students are in close contact with white radical <sup>3/</sup>activists because the white radicals are the ones who can help us best of all by calling the attention of the society to our problem.

I will say even more, the white radicals of American universities have *accomplished a great feat.* ~~done even more.~~ They *have* earned the esteem ~~and recognition~~ of black people. They have the same aims as we do: To end the war and the ~~oppression~~ *exploitation of black people.* ~~overcome the conviction~~ If the black U.S. citizens can ~~convince themselves~~ that in every white man is a devil, there is some hope left for America. The black and the white ~~do not have to kill each other although ones are the sons of the masters and the other is of the slaves.~~ *even though is descendant*

#### FOOTNOTES TO THE INTERVIEW

Page 11.

	Blacks	Whites
Average Yearly Family Income	\$5,399	\$8,336
Below the minimum income (poverty)	29%	8%
Below \$5,000 a year	46.9%	19.9%
\$8,000 and more	29.5%	57.8%
\$25,000 and above	0.4%	2.8%
Income Per Person	\$1,348	\$2,616
Unemployed as of February, 1970	7%	3.8%
Unemployed heads of families	2.5%	1.4%
Unemployed minors	25.5%	11.7%
Those On welfare rolls	16%	3%

Footnotes continued.

Page 11.  
(Picture Legend)

1. White wall of a Chicago store.
2. Malcolm X
3. Hakim Janial

Page 12 [of original]

The black population of Atlanta reaches 36%, 27% in Chicago, 39% in Detroit, 40% in Newark and 63% in Washington, D.C. While the percentage of black policemen in the same cities is 10%, 17%, 5%, 10%, and 21% respectively.

Black people are 11% of the <sup>Comprise</sup> <sup>total</sup> population of the United States, <sup>but</sup> while the number of addicts among white and black is almost identical (31,784 and 32,624). Among white women with illegitimate children the percentage is 4.9%, while among black women it is 9.29%. 4% of white families do not have a head of the household while among the black families the percentage is 29%. The percentage of black people in mental institutions is twice as high as white people. Among black men living in ghettos in the age range of 30 to 40, the suicide rate is twice as high <sup>age group</sup> among men in the <sup>the same</sup> age-bracket of 30 to 40 than white men living in similar conditions.

Page 13  
(Picture Legend)

Picture by Dan Chandler commemorating the killing of Fred Hampton, member of the Black Panther Party, by the Chicago police.

Only 53% of black students finished elementary school compared to 78% of the white students. In the high schools the percentage is 40% and 62%. and 6.4% of black students in American colleges. In southern states the percentage is only 3%. Only 1% of the blacks obtain a Ph.d. In the south, at the present, about 40% of the schools are integrated but even so three-fourths of the black children are attending schools which are 95% black.

→ The percentage of black students in American colleges is 6.4%.

There are four times as many arrests among black people. <sup>One</sup> The main reason for this is that they are more often stopped and searched by the police than the whites.

Footnotes continued.

Page 13

---

*Off to*  
Among 479 occupants of death row more than half are black. Many lawyers are saying that this is due to the fact that black people cannot afford to hire either qualified or good lawyers.

---



UNITED STATES

VERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 1/29/71

FROM : LEGAT, BONN (100-1846) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ~~BRIDGE~~ CLEAVER, aka -  
FUGITIVE  
I.O. #4239  
W.F. #447  
RM - BPP;  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER;  
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
OO: SF

12/14/60  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/TAC/60267-0000  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C

The LHM is classified "Confidential" in accordance with the source's classification.

Copy of the CLEAVER interview was furnished the Bureau for translation and will be reported in LHM form under instant caption when completed translation is received.

b1

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 5)  
(1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)  
(1 - San Francisco, 88-12329)

1 - Bonn 2cc SF  
GAV:mas  
(6)

ENCLOSURE

REC-57

100-447251-926

18 FEB 8 1971

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES  
RECORD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEB 24 1971

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

REC-57  
RACIAL  
SECT.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

January 29, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

GER {

[Redacted Block]

(c)

[Redacted Block]

(c)

[Redacted Block]

(c)

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.

12/14/00  
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/GMR/PL  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
914394

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1\* 100-447251-926  
ENCLOSURE

1 - Foreign Liaison Desk  
2/4/71

Airtel

To: LEGAT, Beirut (88-2) - Enc. (17)  
Sac, San Francisco

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
FUGITIVE  
I.O. #4239  
W.F. #447  
RM - RPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/10 BY 58062 R2W/JAR/pul

Beurlet dated 1/18/71, concerning background  
information on captioned fugitive.

Enclosed, herewith, are the original and five  
copies of the letterhead memorandum prepared by the  
San Francisco office under date of 11/8/70, containing  
data which you may provide Lebanese authorities.

Also enclosed, herewith, are six copies each  
of the Identification Order and Wanted Flyer pertaining  
to captioned subject.

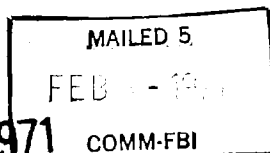
EX-114

REC- 45

100-447251-927

2 FEB 10 1971

JRF:cal:lad  
(7)



54 FEB 22 1971

54 FEB 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson  
Sullivan  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Brennan, C.D.  
Callahan  
Casper  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Tavel  
Wick  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ST-114

The Attorney General

REC-6

100-447251-928

Director, FBI

February 8, 1971

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Gale

1 -

b7C

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID  
CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE**

This is to advise that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, who is being sought for unlawful flight to avoid confinement after revocation of his parole in the State of California, visited the United States Consulate at Algiers, Algeria, on February 3, 1971. Cleaver has been residing in Algeria since June, 1969.



b1

(C)

This information has been furnished to Honorable Henry A. Kissinger at the White House.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division
- 1 - Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

NOTE: The Attorney General and Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, White House, being advised in accordance with notation placed on Washington Field teletype dated 2/4/71.

JRF:cg  
(10)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

67 FEB 12 1971

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 2  
FEB 3 1971  
COMM-FBI

12/14/00  
CLASSIFIED BY NUS/KAR/0217  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X  
404374

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 4 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
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	_____

NR009 WF CODE

650PM 2-4-71 DLE NITEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO DIRECTOR, (ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

DIVISION)

CLASSIFIED BY NLS/JME/60267-1000

SAN FRANCISCO

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (88-7549) 2P

Identification Order

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE I.O. NUMBER

FOUR TWO THREE NINE, <sup>Wanted Flyer</sup> ~~HP~~ NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN-

RACIAL MATTERS - ~~BPP~~ <sup>Black Panther Party</sup>; UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID

CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;

OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO.

b7C

b1

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 64-1000

STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ARE AWAITING URGENT (C)

END PAGE ONE

ENCLOSURE  
JEF:cy  
2/10/71

let to Hon Kissinger

JEF:cy  
2/10/71  
CONFIDENTIAL

XEROX  
FEB 10 1971

74-7251-928

FEB 10 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 88-7549

PAGE TWO

b1

(c)

ADMINISTRATIVE

REFERENCE WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE AIRTEL AND  
LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM SEPTEMBER FOUR SEVENTY.

ABOVE INFORMATION GIVEN TO SPECIAL AGENT HARRY  
G. ERVIN ON CONFIDENTIAL BASIS AS THIS INFORMATION  
NOT BEING MADE PUBLIC. SUBJECT ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

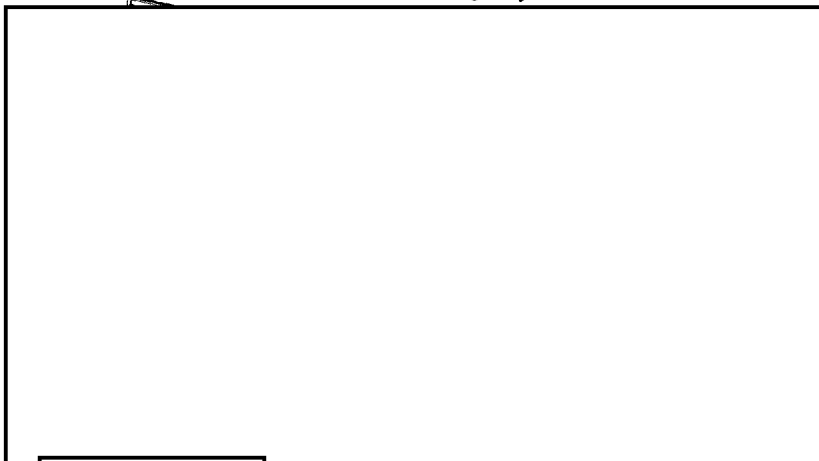
DEB WA DC FBI CLR

cc - Mr Breckner

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 5, 1971



b1

(c)

(c)

JRF:cs

*Advised C.Y.  
+ Kissinger*

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

12/14/00  
CLASSIFIED BY *NLS/JAR/60267-Derivative*  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X *904394*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

100-447251-928  
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 8, 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

BY LIAISON

b7C

Honorable Henry A. Kissinger  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. Gale

1 - 

12/14/00  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/JAR/60267  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
914394

Dear Dr. Kissinger:

This is to advise that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver,  
Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, who is being  
sought for unlawful flight to avoid confinement after  
revocation of his parole in the State of California, visited  
the United States Consulate at Algiers, Algeria, on February 3,  
1971. Cleaver has been residing in Algeria since June, 1969.

b1

(c)  
EX-117

REC-57

Sincerely yours,

FEB 10 1971

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: The Attorney General and Dr. Kissinger, White House, being  
advised in accordance with notation placed on Washington Field  
teletype dated 2/4/71.

DELIVERED BY LIAISON  
ON 2/9/71

JRF:cg  
(8)

FEB 24 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: February 12, 1971

FROM : Legat, Rome (88-55) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
FUGITIVE, IO #4239  
WANTED FLYER #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
(OO: San Francisco)

ReRomlet 12/21/70.

On February 11, 1971

[redacted] throughout Italy to the possible travel of subject remain in effect. As of this date, no positive information relating to subject's presence in Italy has been developed [redacted]

Legat continues to follow this matter with Italian and Greek sources and will also alert [redacted] during Legat's scheduled road trip to those countries in the latter part of February, 1971.

The Bureau will be kept advised of any information developed.

4 - Bureau (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)  
(1 - San Francisco 88-12329 info)

1 - Rome

TJB:MEG

(5)

REC-63

100-442251-930

15 FEB 17 1971

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI

RECEIVED  
FEB 17 1971

b7D

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

2-13-71

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(c)

[REDACTED]

(c)

Information concerning missing Seal has  
been furnished to the Attorney General and  
Mr. Kissinger, White House.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(c) w/

JRF:rdm DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1/2

904394

OKS

WLA

QUS  
8/22

b1

**CONFIDENTIAL**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 12 1971

NR005 WF CODED

615PM 2-12-71 NITEL EDR

TO DIRECTOR  
SAN FRANCISCO

12/14/00  
**TELETYPE**  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/JAR/60267-1000  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
909394

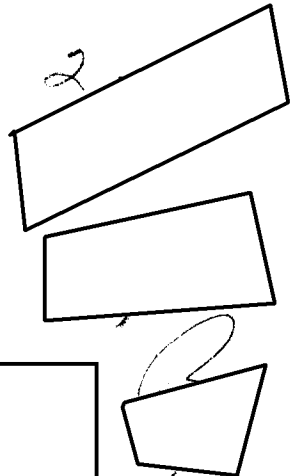
FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (88-7549) 3P

*Wright*  
*Mc*  
*John*  
*103*

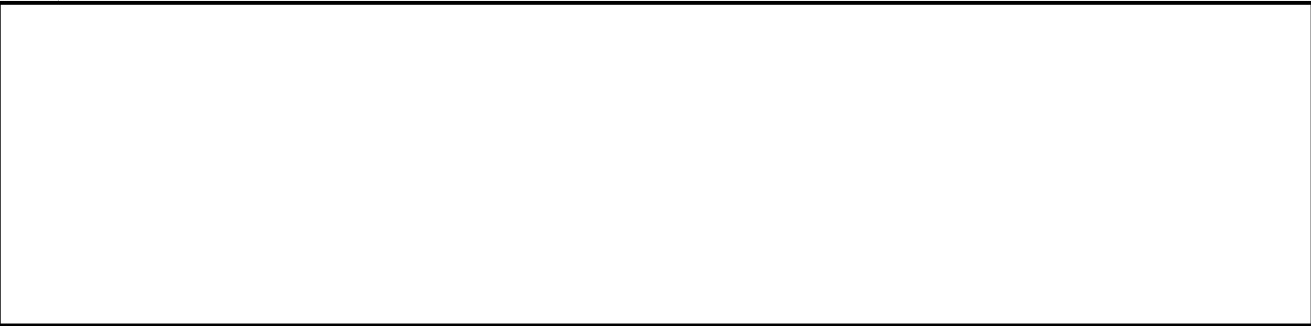
Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

*for Rome, for Algeria*  
IDENTIFICATION ORDER  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE ~~W.~~ O. NUMBER FOUR  
WANTED FLYER

TWO THREE NINE, ~~W.~~ NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN - RACIAL MATTERS -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
BPP; UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO.



b7C



(c)

EX-100

REC-65

100-447251-932



ED 22 1971

b1

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

51 MAR 2 1971

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

**CONFIDENTIAL**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(c)

(c)

b1

(c)

(c)

(c)

END PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 88-7549

PAGE THREE

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REFERENCE WFO NITEL FEBRUARY FOUR LAST. ABOVE INFORMATION  
GIVEN TO SPECIAL AGENT  ON CONFIDENTIAL BASIS AS  
THIS INFORMATION NOT BEING MADE PUBLIC. TELETYPE CLASSIFIED  
"CONFIDENTIAL" SINCE INFORMATION IN STATE DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM  
SO CLASSIFIED.

SUBJECT ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

EJF FBI WASH DC

cc: MR. GALE & Mr. Brennan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 2/18/71

FROM : LEGAT, BONN (100-1846) (RJC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -  
FUGITIVE  
I.O. #4239  
W.F. #447  
RM - BPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER;  
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
OO: SF ReBONlet 1/29/71.

Enclosed are five copies of a self-explanatory LHM regarding the subject.

The translation therein is that which was furnished by the Bureau.

5-Bureau (Enc.5)  
(1-Foreign Liaison Desk)  
(2-San Francisco) (88-12329)  
1-Bonn  
GAV:enm  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/00 BY 3906302W/mek/L

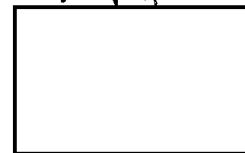
EX-114

REC-47

100-447251-933

FEB 24 1971

FUGITIVE



11 DIRECTOR



5010-108-02

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

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

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	✓

b7C

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

February 18, 1971

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

X "Spiegel"  
The December 14, 1970, issue of the news magazine  
X "Der Spiegel," published in Hamburg, Federal Republic of  
Germany, contained a report of an interview with Leroy  
Eldridge Cleaver which had been conducted in Algiers by  
two reporters from "Der Spiegel." A translation of that  
article follows:

X "KILL NIXON? - WITH PLEASURE"

("Spiegel" interview of Black Panther Leader  
Eldridge Cleaver)

Article published in

Algiers  
E. G. R.

Spiegel: Mr. Cleaver, you are the "Information Minister" of  
the militant American Black Panther Party. In Algerian  
exile, on the run from the FBI, you have now established an  
international section of the Panther Party; in your words,  
a competitor of the State Department in Washington. Do you  
want to set up a "countergovernment" to the administration  
in the U.S.A.?

Cleaver: Revolutionary liberation movements always carry  
a seed of future governments in them. When your struggle  
ends in victory, it is quite natural that you take over  
the authority. However, as far as we, the Panther Party,  
are concerned, the main question is to fight the U.S.  
government whenever this is possible.

Spiegel: By what methods?

Cleaver: By all the methods that are effective.

Spiegel: And you believe that violence is effective?

Cleaver: Yes. We want to unite with other progressive  
forces within and outside the U.S.A. We must put on the  
greatest possible pressure and gain the power which is necessary  
to destroy the government machinery.

100-447251-933  
ENCLOSURE  
1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/14/00 BY 394322/6me/pt

Spiegel: A civil rights commission established as far back as 1968 that "two societies," black and white, are developing in America. Will they fight against each other to the death?

Cleaver: The number of blacks murdered by the underlings of the repressive government keeps rising. Blacks have as before high unemployment; they don't get reasonable housing, adequate clothing -- not even enough to eat...

Spiegel: Nevertheless, there is social progress, for blacks as well. For example, their family income has risen 50 per cent since 1960.

Cleaver: I'm not interested in piecemeal changes. We cannot be satisfied as long as we don't have what we are entitled to.

Spiegel: Your party had to take some setbacks in this uncompromising fight. The police have taken the offensive.

Cleaver: The killing of Comrade Hampton in Houston raised the number of murdered party members to 31. The Washington government and the FBI are engaged in a deliberate effort to exterminate us.

Spiegel: At any rate, most of the Panther leaders now are on trial, in jail, living, as you, in exile here in Algeria, or have been killed. It proves that your party is weak.

Cleaver: It isn't true. Only a few members of our leadership are known at all to the public. The Panther Party has grown of late.

Spiegel: You complain about the violence used by the police against the Panthers. At the same time you yourself preach the use of force to overthrow the allegedly fascist U.S. government. Isn't this a contradiction?

(Caption under the picture: Cleaver interviewed by Spiegel (Kai Hermann and Bernhard Mueller-Huelsebusch) in Algiers).

Cleaver: Not at all. White racists in the United States don't have any right to deprive us of our human rights. We fight to get back what belongs to us. This doesn't need any justification.

Spiegel: You have said that you would like to teach people how to kill the enemy. You spoke of the "great educational value" of killing.



Cleaver: Objectively it may be regrettable that we need weapons to attain our ends. But at stake is our liberation, our freedom. And here is the indispensable educational method to teach men to hate their enemy, to hate what oppresses and destroys them.

Spiegel: And the call for political murder is one of them?

Cleaver: Well, let's take President Nixon, for example. He has intensified the oppression of blacks and other progressive forces. He is responsible for the fact that many years of work on the part of civil rights activists has been destroyed. He is hated by many. And we believe it would be of an educational value, it would be inspiring if he were done away with by force...

Spiegel: And then?

Cleaver: Then, people would realize that it is not only desirable but also possible to eliminate such individuals as Nixon. He stands in the way of our freedom. Therefore he should be brutally done away with.

Spiegel: He would be replaced by Spiro Agnew.

Cleaver: We have actually experienced how the succeeding Presidents continue to oppress the blacks. We haven't yet had the pleasure and honor of getting rid of one of them ourselves.

Spiegel: At any rate this kind of violence can only constitute the first step toward an armed revolution.

Cleaver: I'm not sure here. In a revolutionary process there may be violence from beginning to end, or maybe only sporadically. It is the function of an act of violence to cross the limits set by the oppressors. When a man rises up in arms against his oppressor, he takes his destiny in his own hands.

Spiegel: You have done it yourself.

Cleaver: I know from my own experience and from experiences of others: one gets a very good feeling from squeezing the trigger of a rifle aimed at the tormentor.

Spiegel: And this has great educational value?

Cleaver: Yes. When people see that somebody else is doing it, they begin to identify themselves with it especially when they share the same hatred of tyrants. Then, they fall into wishful thinking, they can do a little daydreaming...and maybe picture their own act of heroism.

Spiegel: Do you really believe that individual terror by a small minority can shake the power structure of the U.S.A.?

Cleaver: It is not a question of whether we can defeat the government with our numbers; it is a question of creating a situation where other people will be forced to think about it and do something about finding a solution.

Spiegel: Even if the methods used by you in this strategy are suicidal?

Cleaver: If we were to remain silent and take the fascistization of the U.S. society lying down, it would be suicide. We prefer to commit a revolutionary suicide--to use the word of our Defense Minister Huey Newton--if we have to die. Then our death would, at least, mean something.

Spiegel: You want guerrilla warfare in the cities. According to Fidel Castro, this is "not only a folly but a crime."

Cleaver: That's Fidel Castro.

Spiegel: And what is Eldridge Cleaver?

Cleaver: It goes without saying--I don't share this view. Castro's statement does not apply to our situation. Blacks are penned up in the ghettos of American cities. Fidel Castro knows nothing about it. He had to deal with a Cuban situation. Since I myself was in Cuba, I must say: he doesn't have the experience to judge our situation or even dictate our methods of fighting to us.

Spiegel: Revolutionaries of developing countries such as Castro are not the only ones believing that a city guerrilla is an absurdity. Likewise, many Marxists in industrial countries say that the violence by minorities in metropolitan areas of highly developed societies cannot be the means of a revolution and, according to Rudi Dutschke, it would even be counterrevolutionary

Cleaver: We just can't sit on our hands! Passiveness condemns our people to a certain suicide. Incidentally, Castro and Dutschke are not the only ones who spoke out on this subject. You are maybe familiar with the publications of Comrade Carlos Marighela.

Spiegel: Marighela, leader of the Brazilian guerrillas, was killed by the police. And the Brazilian revolutionaries are returning from the cities to the countryside.

Cleaver: Nevertheless, one cannot claim that actions in the cities are meaningless. I can only repeat what Che Guevara said: "No matter where death may surprise us, it is welcome if only our battle cry strikes a receptive ear and another hand reaches out to pick up our weapons."

Spiegel: You describe your revolutionary theory as Marxist-Leninist. Many professed Marxist-Leninists would not accept it. You yourself have called Marx and Lenin racists.

Cleaver: And I have very accurate information about it. One of our comrades wrote a book on this subject. Marx's and Lenin's attitude is not surprising if we consider the time in which they lived. I believe my assumption is reasonable.

Spiegel: Is your struggle a race struggle or a class struggle?

Cleaver: We would prefer a class struggle. However, in view of the racist attitude on the part of white Americans and faced with the deliberate efforts by the government to incite whites against blacks, we don't have any choice. It could become necessary to have one race fight another race because the objective situation calls for it.

Spiegel: This means race struggle before class struggle? To fight white racism with black racism?

Cleaver: No, I don't say that. We know from experience that this is a bad method, that it will not help. Our Party has consequently taken the leadership among the American revolutionaries in the struggle against racism.

Spiegel: According to the Marxist teaching, revolution is not made by oppressed minorities but by the masses of the working class. In the United States, however, the majority of the white workers are one of the most reactionary groups in the country.

Cleaver: The difficulty begins in fact when we start talking about the working class and the proletariat. Black Americans are members of the working class. Black Panthers are members of the proletariat.

Spiegel: Mostly they are members of the "Lumpenproletariat." According to Marx, however, it can never become the revolutionary vanguard.

Cleaver: Well, Marx was a little bit snobbish in his judgment on the "Lumpenproletariat". The proletariat is defined as a class without the means of production. And this applies to us.

Spiegel: How do you propose to organize the whites who don't have the means of production?

Cleaver: It is the task of the white revolutionaries to organize the white workers. We want to form alliances with them.

Spiegel: There is a surprising statement by Eldridge Cleaver; namely, that the white middle class is one of the most revolutionary groups in American society.

Cleaver: I don't think I have to retract it. Many people who don't come from the working class have joined the revolution. They received a better education and are more sensitive to the various shades of oppression in the United States. Once they cross the line and become revolutionaries, they become extreme.

Spiegel: Until now you have had <sup>better</sup> success in getting support from the black than white community. According to the Harris Survey, a great majority of the white people is hostile to the Panthers. However, every fourth black American said: "The Panther philosophy is also my philosophy."

Cleaver: We always knew that the Black people appreciate us and what we are doing, even when they were afraid of doing it themselves.

Spiegel: Nevertheless, various prominent black leaders have spoken out against the Panthers. For example, Martin Luther King's successor, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy said: The Black Panthers "talk a lot but they don't have any program and they don't lead anyone."

Cleaver: Yes, he said it in Sweden but not in the U.S.A. Maybe he was lobbying there for a Nobel Prize which his successor, Martin Luther King, had received. We see in Abernathy's statement a typical opportunism by certain black leaders of the middle class who want to ingratiate themselves with the ruling class.

Spiegel: Do you consider Abernathy to be an Uncle Tom?

Cleaver: I have always regarded Brother Abernathy as a shining example of what becomes of an Uncle Tom in our age.

Spiegel: A black "pig"?

Cleaver: I would say, Abernathy is an Uncle Tom but not a "pig".

Spiegel: Are there black "pigs"?

Cleaver: Yes -- among the leaders of the moderate blacks. There are "pigs" who infiltrate the black revolutionary parties.

Spiegel: This infiltration is coming up for discussion at the trial of your Party Chairman Bobby Seale in New Haven. Seale is accused of having ordered the killing of an alleged police informer who had infiltrated the Panther Party.

Cleaver: This trial is a frame-up.

Spiegel: Two former Panther members testified that the party leadership, none else than Bobby Seale, had ordered them to liquidate the traitor.

Cleaver: It has always been easy for the U.S. Government to get paid informers on the witness stand. It has repeatedly used liars as witnesses against our party members in order to manipulate these trials. The trial of Bobby Seale has also been staged to liquidate the Panther Party.

Spiegel: Mr. Cleaver, thank you for this interview.

(Caption under the picture: Panther sympathizers demonstrate in Frankfurt on November 28. "Alliance with all revolutionaries.")

\* \* \* \*

printed by

E.G.R.

Along with the above interview "Der Spiegel" printed an article dealing with the meeting of CLEAVER. A translation of that article follows:

"TO HATE IS TO LOVE YOURSELF A LITTLE LESS"

(" Spiegel" reporter KAI HERMANN'S visit with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algeria.)

L.G.R. Algeria

Eldridge Cleaver keeps one waiting but not so long that one has to take it as a provoking lack of courtesy. He welcomes one with a kind of "hallo" that creates an atmosphere of aloofness even before the talk starts. An interview with a white representative of the capitalist press is a transaction in reciprocity to him.

Cleaver does not do his partner the favor of becoming emotional. He knows what he wants to tell the liberal and "half-left" public. He doesn't permit solidarity to come up; he lets you feel some of his contempt. After an overcool scene he leaves without a farewell flourish.

Eldridge Cleaver, the Information Minister of the Black Panther Party in Algerian exile and the Ambassador of revolutionary America appointed by his political friends, pays back in small coin for what he owes the whites and their system.

He was born near Little Rock, the symbol of hatred, and learned to shine shoes in Goldwater's State of Arizona. He was a part of the American legend of the poor, little shoeshine boys who become great men, and turned it upside-down.

He left the South with his parents for California and did what a young Negro man could do to get out of the slums. He played football to become a star; he stole and he sold drugs to have some money.

At 18 he landed in jail. There a prison guard ripped off a picture of a white pin-up girl from the wall in his cell and let him replace it with that of a black girl.

Cleaver learned something. When he was released, he began to rape white women. It gave him satisfaction to "trample upon the white man's laws, upon his system of values, to degrade his women."

For the first time in his life he had luck when he was given 15 years in prison instead of landing in an electric chair for rape and attempted murder.

The stations of his education were San Quentin, Folsom and Soledad state penitentiaries. First he read, then he began to write to "save myself." By writing he fought with his desperation and his hatred.

Eldridge Cleaver in Algerian exile is not the subtle essayist who won literary world acclaim with his book "Soul on Ice" written in prison. His life, his experiences with the U.S. society have coagulated into a political theory, into a "Marxism-Leninism" made in U.S.A.

A Marxist gets quite touchy when he is suspected of being a racist. He does not want a race war; and yet he thinks it is unavoidable.

He has green eyes and light brown skin, "the mark of (white) beasts," as one of his fellow prisoners believed to have discovered on him.

Already in prison, he parted company with the radical Black Muslim racists. Today he is also looking all over the world for white allies whom he cannot quite bring himself to trust. He made an ally of LSD prophet Timothy Leary who escaped from an American prison to join him in Algeria. He brought him the theory of the revolutionary effect of drugs on whites.

He remained the same Cleaver who doesn't hate whites, in his essays, but merely suffers because of them. His calls for hatred must be viewed in the realization that "the price of hating other people is to love yourself a little less."



Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria wears neither the Afro-look nor the black Panther uniform. He wears corduroy pants and stylish boots. Neither could one suspect in him the Bohemian who was enjoying freedom for a few weeks after his release from prison.

However, even then, back in 1966, he resisted the temptation to let himself be integrated into the American society as a celebrated writer of the black protest movement.

He joined the Black Panthers and finally let himself be nominated as a presidential candidate of the "Peace and Freedom Party". Thereby he voluntarily chose again an alternative which he seemed to have just escaped: prison or death.

A merciless hunt was launched for the prisoner released on bond who suddenly became a dangerous political opponent. When policemen staged a gun battle with Panthers, among whom Cleaver had found himself, they provided the authorities with a formal justification for putting the presidential candidate back behind the bars. As Cleaver and his friends claim, on this occasion, the person who was shot from behind was an 18-year-old Panther who had been taken for him. Shortly before he was to go back to prison, he disappeared.

His friend, Robert Scheer reports how much Cleaver likes "freedom and women and food and Scotch and Berkeley and Bobby Dylan." One of his former girl friends in San Francisco said "He hates and fights to be able to freely enjoy life in America some day."

The Panther headquarters in Algeria is turned, in the evening, into a Berkeley campus shack. Then Eldridge Cleaver, his wife Kathleen and his aide Larry Mack, who lost an eye in a street fight and escaped from the United States to Cuba by plane, sit on the floor listening to jazz music, cracking nuts and talking about America.

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.

SAC, Los Angeles (157-2323)

2/26/71

b7C

Director, FBI (100-447251)

1  
1

**ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

Reurairtel and LHM 2/3/71 captioned "Black Panther Party, Los Angeles Division, Racial Matters."


Bureau is desirous in obtaining tape of Eldridge Cleaver played over Radio Station KPFK. Contact established sources in Radio Station KPFK to obtain a copy of tape and submit it to the Bureau.

1 - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/18/00 BY 39065

CI:fb  
(6)

NOTE:

 advised that Radio Station KPFK played a tape recording of Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party Minister of Information, who is currently residing in Algeria, wherein Cleaver was critical of drug advocate Dr. Timothy Leary and spoke of disciplinary action against Leary. Los Angeles being instructed to obtain a copy of tape.

REC-11 100-447251-934

MAR 3 1971

EX-114

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

60 MAR 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

March 11, 1971

EX-103

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

1 -  
1 - [REDACTED]

Income tax returns for years 1966 through 1969 are desired for Leroy Eldridge Cleaver.

Cleaver and his wife, Justie Kathleen Cleaver, have resided at 9 Rue Du Traite El Biar Section, Algiers, Algeria, since early 1969. He formerly resided at 2777 Pine Street; 2500 Filbert Street; and 880 Oak Street, Apartment 11; all San Francisco, California.

Mr. Cleaver has been an editor on the staff of "Ramparts" magazine since his release from prison in 1968. He is author of the book "Soul on Ice" from which he reportedly received considerable income. He is not known to have been otherwise gainfully employed.

His Social Security number is unknown. His date of birth is August 31, 1935.

It is requested that no active investigation be conducted based solely on this request.

RNB:cal  
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/15/00 BY 39063 ELW/BAR/STV

NOTE:

See memorandum [REDACTED] to Mr. C. D. Brennan, dated 3/10/71, captioned "Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, RM - MPP; UFAC - Assault with Intent to Commit Murder, Rape, and Assault with a Deadly Weapon; Key Black Extremist," prepared by RNB:cal.

51 APR 6 1971

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM :

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP);  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, RAPE, AND ASSAULT  
WITH A DEADLY WEAPON; KEY BLACK EXTREMIST

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [redacted]

DATE: 3/10/71

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## PURPOSE:

To recommend we send attached memorandum to Internal Revenue Service requesting income tax returns for Cleaver for the years 1966 through 1969.

## BACKGROUND:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/15/00 BY 39063 [signature]

Cleaver was paroled from prison in 1966 where he became affiliated with Nation of Islam. Since his release he has traveled the "civil rights circuit" with Stokely Carmichael, wrote for "Ramparts" magazine in San Francisco, and became Minister of Information of Black Panther Party (BPP) in 1968. He was an active, violent BPP representative involved in one shoot-out with police and fled to Cuba and Algeria when faced with arrest.

Subject resides in Algiers, Algeria, and has traveled to Red China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Russia, representing BPP. Cleaver recently declared himself the leader of the BPP and completely repudiated BPP National Headquarters in Oakland, California, along with the current leaders.

As a Key Black Extremist (KBE), subject warrants investigation to determine his sources of income and assets. If you approve, attached memorandum should be returned to Domestic Intelligence Division so that income tax returns can be obtained and reviewed.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That attached memorandum be approved requesting subject's income tax returns for period 1966 through 1969.

Enclosure

RNB:cal  
(6)

AAC Mardian's sig nature  
secured & request forwarded  
to IRS by 0-14, 3/10/71, GAO's st

DEM/4 [signature]  
WEL [signature]  
WBS [signature]

17 MAR 17 1971

FBI

Date: 3/5/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-84)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2871)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
FACTIONALISM  
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/15/00 BY 3906321/pml/gk

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM), pertaining to the factional split between ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and HUEY NEWTON. Los Angeles is being furnished three (3) copies of this LHM.

Source [REDACTED]

Copies are being submitted to Los Angeles since that office is origin in the cases on CLINTON SMITH, [REDACTED]

- 14 - Bureau (RM) 2-17-71 134 100-447251  
(4 - [REDACTED])  
(2 - 100-44725) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)  
(2 - [REDACTED])  
(2 - [REDACTED])  
(2 - [REDACTED])  
3 - Los Angeles (RM)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - 164-174) (CLINTON SMITH)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
6 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - 157-1581) (FILMS & PUBLICATIONS)

KFM/nmh  
(23)

CARBON COPY

NOT RECORDED  
44 MAR 25 1971

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

63 MAR 29 1971  
6232

ENCLOSURE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1969 O - 346-090 (11)

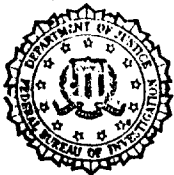
ORIGINAL FILE IN 105-165-84-878  
b2  
b7D  
b7C

OF 157-2871

KIM/nmh

The Bureau may wish to disseminate the Letterhead Memorandum to the U.S. State Department inasmuch as the LHM contains an allegation that CLINTON SMITH, a United States citizen, was murdered in Algiers.

The LHM is being classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains information from a confidential source, disclosure of which would be detrimental to the nation defense.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California  
March 5, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
FACTIONALISM

b2  
b7D

[redacted] advised on [redacted] that [redacted]  
[redacted] Black Panther Party, made the statement  
on that date that Clinton (Rahim) Smith and Byron Booth, both  
escapees from the California State Penitentiary, Chino, Calif-  
ornia, had hijacked an airplane from the United States to Cuba  
in 1969. According to [redacted] they met Eldridge Cleaver, the  
Black Panther Party Minister of Information and a fugitive  
from the United States, in Cuba. Cleaver later arranged for  
them to come to Algiers after he had made his way there. Ac-  
cording to source, [redacted] stated that Rahim had been sexual-  
ly intimate with Cleaver's wife, Kathleen, and Eldridge Cleaver  
had killed Rahim in Algiers sometime between February and April  
of 1970.

b7C  
b7D

Kathleen Cleaver has been Black Panther  
Party Minister of Communications.

The same source advised on [redacted] Eldridge  
Cleaver had been living with an [redacted]  
reported to be [redacted] According to source, the March  
6, 1971 issue of the "Black Panther" would carry an account  
of the killing of Smith and would include photographs of  
principals. The story was to be written by Elaine Brown,  
Deputy Minister of Information and editor of "Black Panther".

b7C  
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~GROUP 1~~

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

This document contains neither recommendation 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.

100-447251  
100-44725-  
ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 EDW/ME/PL  
ON 12/15/00

404394

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FACTIONALISM

The following is a complete text of the article as it appears in the March 6, 1971 issue of the "Black Panther".

The "Black Panther" newspaper is the official organ of the Black Panther Party.

For a characterization of the Black Panther Party, see appendix.



## FREE KATHLEEN CLEAVER

Kathleen Cleaver, the Communications Secretary of the Black Panther Party, is unable to come to the U.S. to speak on March 5th at the Oakland Auditorium in behalf of our incarcerated Chairman, Bobby Seale and in behalf of Ericka Huggins, who are on trial for their lives. Some months ago, she had agreed to return to the Empire, having been away for quite a while, to speak on that Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity for Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins. But we did not hear from Kathleen again. We would call and her husband, Eldridge Cleaver, would always talk for her, indicating and finally saying that she would not come to speak for the Chairman. He would tell us that he was not going to send her. Kathleen is a member of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party, yet we were told that beyond all else her husband would not let her out of the house. In other words, she was "his woman" first, and if that conflicted with her work as a revolutionary, then his chauvinist rule would take a primary position over that. Even to the point of stopping the progress of our glorious struggle.

I was not surprised, however, for it was not so long ago that I spoke with Kathleen in person, and, began to get a complete picture of what kind of terror under which she had been living and suffering during the past two years that she has been away from the U.S.

During July and August of last year, I was in the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, as a member of a group which came to be known as the Anti-Imperialist Delegation. (I should point out that of the eleven delegation members Eldridge Cleaver chose, I was the only black woman.) While in the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK), Kathleen and I had whispered conversations regarding the dilemma in which she had found herself over these years.

In listening to it all, the main point Kathleen made was that although Eldridge Cleaver publicly stated opposition to male chauvinism, her life with him had been a testimony of the contradictory nature of this statement. What it all amounted to was that Eldridge wanted her as his woman -- wife, mother, maybe secretary -- wanted her support, but did not want her to either be another man's woman, nor a revolutionary. In these clandestine (secret) meetings,

Kathleen - most of the time literally in tears - would, in the relief of being able to finally tell it, tell me anecdotes of what he had done to keep her his virtual prisoner.

I remember one incident she described, in particular, that occurred right after she first arrived in Algiers, and had just had their first baby (Antonio Maceo). She had just gotten back from the hospital and asked where Eldridge was. (They were living in a small hotel at the time.) She found he was in another room of the hotel with another woman. She managed to get up and go downstairs to that room. After knocking on the door for a while, Eldridge answered - speaking through the closed door. He asked what she wanted. She told him she wanted him to get something for the baby. He beligerently told her to go away - which she did. Later on that day, while she was in the process of breast-feeding their newborn son, he stormed into the room and knocked her around severely for having interfered with what he had been doing.

This kind of incident became more and more common over the months that followed, causing her anxieties and fear of him to intensify to the severe degree they had reached when I finally saw Kathleen in Korea.

Their life together personified the double-standard, manifested to the highest degree: A man can run from woman to woman; but a woman must be his and his alone. Every progressive and thinking person knows the ridiculousness of this attitude, particularly in the context of the revolutionary struggle to which we are all supposed to be committed. And because of the practical example of living with the Champion of Male Chauvinism, Kathleen began to respond by more clearly understanding and speaking out on the particular issue of liberation of women as an important part of the revolutionary struggle. She wrote several articles for our Party paper. And she would give these articles to Eldridge to mail for her. When none of the articles appeared, Eldridge explained, lied that the staff of the Party's paper just had not decided to print them. Later she found all of these articles in one of his desk drawers, having never been mailed.

Even when I was there, she was still soliciting him to mail her articles. He would only laugh. One evening, while I was in Korea, Kathleen sent me a rare copy of Kim Song Ae's (the wife of Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved leader of the Korean People) book regarding the woman's struggle in

Korea. (She and I were living in separate quarters.) When I received the book, it was wrapped up. When Eldridge found Kathleen had sent such a book to me, he grabbed the book and refused to let me have it. He explained that Kathleen was going crazy and that I shouldn't let her influence me.

So we held our conversation to whispers and clandestine discussion. Kathleen explained at another time that although Eldridge said he had sent her to Korea to maintain our solidarity with the courageous Korean people and because they would take good care of her during her second pregnancy, that, in fact, Eldridge saw himself as using the Korean People to get rid of Kathleen for a while, so he could have his new "woman" without interference. This new woman, an 18-year old girl named Malika (see picture), had threatened to leave Eldridge as long as Kathleen was around. So he manipulated as many people as possible, and Kathleen stayed in Korea for several months.

When he did finally join her in Korea (during the Delegation tour), he constantly harassed her with the statement that the baby she was carrying was not his. In her pregnant state, and with everything else, this remark had a devastating effect. And finally, the day after Kathleen had the baby, we (Eldridge and myself) went to the hospital to visit her. And, at that time he repeated somewhat what he had done when she had had their first baby. He slapped her there in the hospital bed, told her he was leaving her, that she was no longer his wife and that he was returning to Algiers and Malika, and leaving her in Korea indefinitely. I again watched Kathleen suffer through another torment. However, because of her devotion to the Party, she refused to make any overt attempts to leave and return to the U.S. to bring charges against him to the Party's Central Committee.

About a month after I returned to the U.S., Kathleen did finally get to Algiers. But since that time, she has not been able to make any moves. I spoke with her for the last time in October of 1970. She had called to say that she wanted to send a message about Ericka Huggins to the People for a November 3rd rally in New Haven. I asked her to try and come back for that rally, for the People would like to see her. She told me that was "easier said than done". For, she said, "that man will never let me to." That was the last time I spoke with her.

And now she is locked up there in Algiers with him. Forced to stay there and accept whatever is meted out to her, for fear of her very life. In fact, when I last saw Eldridge, he was laughing about how "we bury people here" (Algiers). He was referring to a brother he had in fact murdered in Algiers. As many beatings and as much suffering that Kathleen endured from Eldridge, she had finally been able to break away, steal away, and make contact with another man. She had wanted to do this all along. She had never been narrow in her approach, for just as Eldridge had had many women with whom he had relationships, she, like him, also wanted relationships with other men. This is only natural, reasonable. Only she was always blocked in this area. That is, what was all right for him was not all right for her. But she finally did manage to slip in a moment in which she too could have freedom of choice.

She began relating to a brother who had just - at that time - come to Algiers. His name was Rahim (Clinton Smith). He and a brother named Byron Booth had escaped from the California State Penitentiary at Chino. They had hijacked a plane to Cuba, where they had met Eldridge. All of them went to Algiers. And there Kathleen and Rahim met.

In an act exemplifying the true nature of a chauvinist, a combination of cowardly terror and an inferiority complex, Eldridge snatched even this from Kathleen. He killed - which act he could never seem to be able to commit against any of the People's oppressors - killed this brother, Rahim. He murdered him and buried his body right in Algiers, because Kathleen had done only once what he had made an integral part of their relationship.

Of course, the chauvinist behavior he exhibited and the resulting murder of Rahim was endorsed by the Algerian government of Houari Boumedienne, who himself being an extreme chauvinist and opportunist, gave Eldridge the plot of ground in which to bury Rahim; and Boumedienne kept it quiet for him. Yasir Arafat and Al Fatah might accept this, but we know that Dr. George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine would never accept this. The Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of China would never have tolerated this kind of behavior. And the government of Albania will not tolerate this, although Eldridge Cleaver has intentions and has made plans to leave Algiers in the near future to try to establish himself there. And the Cubans did not tolerate his infantile

leftism and reactionary chauvinism, for they put him out of the country for which they had fought so hard, shortly after he arrived.

Because of what I witnessed, I am truly afraid for Kathleen Cleaver's life. Eldridge has sent out statements about his and the other two "Central Committee" members', in Algeria, decisions. But no one has heard directly from Kathleen. We know her to be imprisoned there in Algeria, held against her will. Even though, if Kathleen is allowed to speak for herself, she will probably support the ravings of her personal, mad oppressor, we know that to speak otherwise at this time would be a death warrant for her. So we will understand.

SO I WANT TO SAY TO YOU, DEAR KATHLEEN, IF YOU CAN READ THIS, PLEASE BE STRONG, FOR THE PEOPLE WILL SET YOU FREE!

FREE KATHLEEN AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

ELAINE BROWN  
DEP. MIN. OF INFORMATION  
SO. CALIF. CHAPTER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-84)

DATE: 1/14/71

FROM : LEGAT, BONN (105-7048) (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
RM - BPP

Re Bonn cables dated 11/20 and 11/25/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM captioned as above, and dated January 13, 1971.

The second U.S. Government Agency source mentioned in the LHM is the Security Office, American Embassy Bonn, whose information was obtained by [redacted]

There is also enclosed 11 copies of a second LHM captioned as above and dated January 14, 1971.

- 11-Bureau (Enc. 22)  
(1-Foreign Liaison Desk)  
(1-100-447251) (CLEAVER)  
(1-[redacted])  
(2-San Francisco) (1-157-2871) (BPP - INTNATL REL)  
(1-88-12329) (CLEAVER)

- (1-New York [redacted])  
1-Legat, Bonn (Enc. 2) (Info.) (Sent Direct)  
3-Bonn

- (1-105-7048)  
(1-100-184) (CLEAVER)  
(1-[redacted])

GAV:edm (14)



57 MAR 17 1971

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C  
b7D

b7C

b1

b1

b1

b7C

b7C

b2

BON 105-7048

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

Reference is also made to the information in LHM of 1/13/71 regarding the "Der Spiegel" interview with CLEAVER. A copy of that interview as published was furnished to the Bureau by routing slip on 12/18/70 and is being translated by the Bureau in the CLEAVER case. [REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

2-  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 13, 1971

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -  
WEST GERMANY

b1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

(c)

I. ABORTIVE VISIT OF KATHLEEN CLEAVER TO  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (FRG)

(c)

(c)

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-447251-

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

12/15/00  
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELM/BAE/194  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1, 2  
904344



RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - WEST GERMANY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

b1

Number One

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

Number Two

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - WEST GERMANY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - WEST GERMANY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (c)

b1

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (c)

II. OCCURRENCES FOLLOWING CLEAVER'S ATTEMPTED VISIT

[REDACTED] (c)

A characterization of the G-SDS is included in the  
Appendix hereto.

[REDACTED] (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - WEST GERMANY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (C)

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED] (C)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (C)

III. MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS CONCERNING BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED] (C)

The November 21, 1970, edition of the weekly newspaper "UNSERE ZEIT" (U Z - OUR TIME), which is the organ of the West German Communist Party, published an appeal for a "Save ANGELA DAVIS Solidarity Action." The paper said that DAVIS was being detained under "especially intolerable conditions in a New York jail and was engaged in a desperate fight against the racist justice" of California Governor REAGAN. The article continued saying that by means of trumped up and infamous charges the Federal Bureau of Investigation and California race fanatics were trying to send the active fighter for the rights of the colored people to the gas chamber. The article said that in firm solidarity with the Communist Party of the United States and in close alliance with all progressive forces in the United States, the Communist Party of Germany was appealing to the trade unionists, and social

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - WEST GERMANY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

democrats, youth and student organizations and to the works councillors and shop stewards to help through solidarity actions to prevent the plot against freedom and the life of ANGELA DAVIS and to protest against attacks on the freedom of action of the Communist Party of the United States to prevent the emergence of a new fascism in the United States. The article ended with appeals for statements and resolutions, demonstrations and other manifestations in support of DAVIS. These were supposed to be addressed to the United States Embassy in Bad Godesberg in Federal Republic of Germany, as well as to American Consulates General in the FRG.

b1

IV. "DER SPIEGEL" INTERVIEW WITH ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Late in October 1970, the prominent West German news magazine "Der Spiegel" entered into negotiations with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER to arrange for an interview with CLEAVER in Algeria. The negotiations were carried on through HANNES WEINRICH in Frankfurt/Main, FRG. "Der Spiegel" originally offered CLEAVER one thousand marks (about \$300) for the interview. CLEAVER refused the offer and demanded ten thousand marks. Subsequently the figure of five thousand marks was agreed upon. The interviewer was to be KAI HERMANN and another reporter from "Der Spiegel." CLEAVER was to make arrangements with Algerian authorities for HERMANN's entry into Algeria. The interview was carried out in Algeria and appeared in the December 14, 1970, issue of "Der Spiegel", which is published in Hamburg, FRG. Shortly after the publication of the interview WEINRICH was informed that the five thousand marks payment had been made by the magazine to CLEAVER's account in a bank in Switzerland.

b1

V. BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROPAGANDA MATERIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - WEST GERMANY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST GERMAN STUDENTS FEDERATION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

(11)

CONFIDENTIAL

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] (c)

[Redacted]

[Redacted] (c)

b1

[Redacted]

[Redacted] (c)

[Redacted]

[Redacted] (c)

(2)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

January 14, 1971

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -  
WEST GERMANY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY 39063ELW/DA/pak  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X L  
904394

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

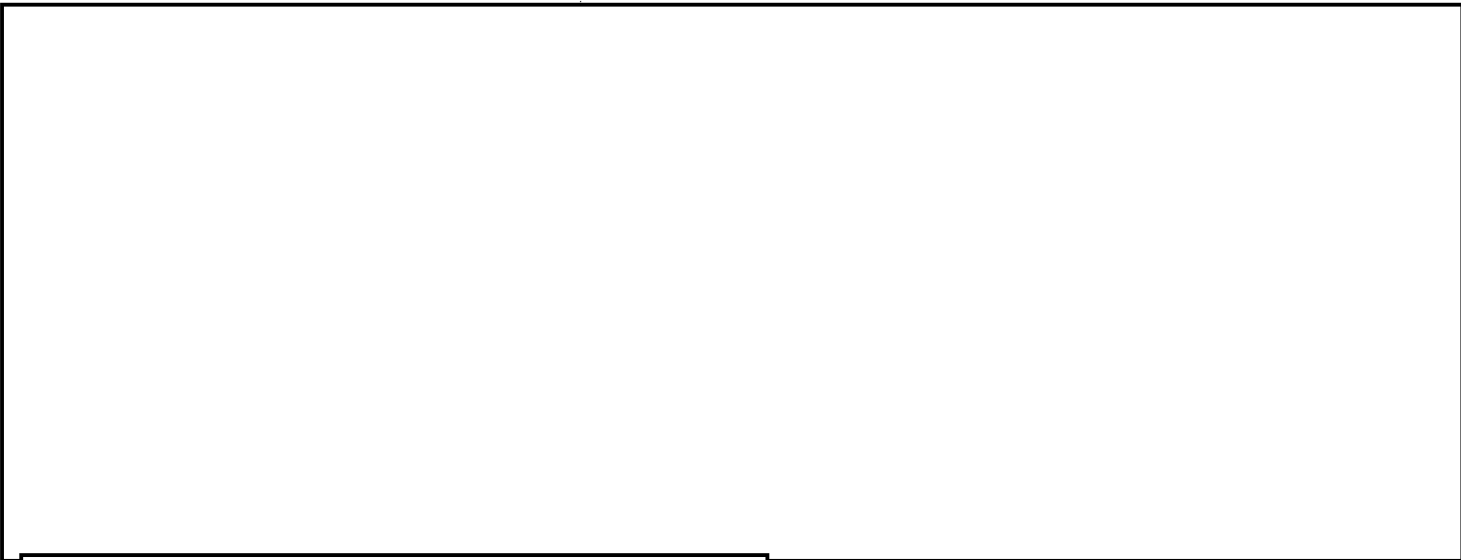
GROUP 2  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-447257-

ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - WEST GERMANY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~



(c)

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.

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM :

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 3/16/71

- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b7C

b7C

To recommend that the attached letter be sent to the State Department requesting it to furnish to the Algerian Government data concerning the allegation by the BPP that Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers murdered a former Panther who is a fugitive from justice.

Based on the recent split between BPP leaders Huey P. Newton in Oakland, California, and fugitive Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers, Algeria, our special coverage developed information that Cleaver in Algiers killed a former Panther named Clinton Robert Smith between February and April, 1970, because he was having an affair with Cleaver's wife Kathleen. The 3/6/71 issue of the BPP newspaper contains a lengthy article condemning Cleaver and this murder charge is publicly set forth in detail. The article further accuses the Algerian Government of endorsing the murder, covering it up and providing Cleaver with the plot of ground Smith was buried in. Smith is a fugitive who escaped from a California prison in January, 1969; hijacked a plane to Cuba where he associated with Cleaver, and accompanied him to Algiers in June, 1969, as part of Cleaver's international BPP operation. In March, 1970, Smith was expelled from the BPP by Cleaver and was last known to be in Africa during Spring, 1970.

The attached letter requests State to advise the Algerian Government of the allegation and furnish it a copy of the BPP paper which is enclosed with the letter. State is also asked to request the Algerian Government for any information regarding the fate of Smith and to determine any investigative or prosecutive action taken by the Algerian Government based on the allegation. The ultimate purpose behind this request is to officially confirm if possible the death of fugitive Smith.

Enclosure 3-17-71

105-165789

54 APR 5 1971

FBI

1971

CONTINUED - OVER

REC-15

NOT H

14C

13 MAR 24 1971

b7C

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)  
105-165706

and, if the murder charge is true, to goad the Algerian Government into investigating it. If the charge is true Cleaver could be completely neutralized if the Algerian Government, which is looked on by all radicals as a revolutionary Government, implicates Cleaver in the murder and arrests and prosecutes him for same.

ACTION:

If you approve, the attached letter in line with the above will be sent to the Department of State.

*A*  
*WCH* *OS* *OS* *✓* *WSS*  
*CPH*  
*h*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*A* TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
*WJZ* FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323) (C)  
*RB* SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE: 3/15/71

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/15/00 BY 39013 ELW/AC/L

Re Bureau let to LA, 2/26/71 and LA airtel and LHM to Bureau, 2/3/71, captioned, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, LOS ANGELES DIVISION, RACIAL MATTERS".

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is a tape recording of an interview with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, which was played over KCET TV, Channel 28, in February 1971. INFORMANT

[redacted] who made available this tape on [redacted] advised that [redacted] believed it was identical with the tape played over Radio Station KPFK on 2/2/71.

b7C  
b7D

For the information of the Bureau, some portions of the enclosed tape contain "overrecordings", and should be played in its entirety in order not to miss pertinent parts of CLEAVER's interview.

Los Angeles does not have a source at KPFK-FM Radio Station, as it is operated by the Pacifica Foundation, Inc., which has been publicly identified as a station which features "politically left wing programs".

ST-115  
REC-65

100-447251-938

ENCLOSURE

MAR 18 1971

- ② - Bureau (Encl 1) (RM)  
1 - Los Angeles

LWS/lme  
(3)

*FBI* *f181cc det and*  
*enclosure detached*  
*1018 94D*  
APR 6 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan *ab*

FROM :

[Redacted]

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
CLEAVER FACTION  
RACIAL INFORMANT MATTER

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 3-19-71

1 - Mr. W. M. Felt  
1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

1 - [Redacted]  
1 - [Redacted]  
1 - [Redacted]  
1 - [Redacted]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The purpose of this memorandum is to secure approval of an airtel to all offices having an interest in Black Panther Party (BPP) investigations alerting them to the necessity of obtaining informant coverage in the Cleaver faction of the BPP.

There has been a recent split between Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, BPP leaders. Some BPP branches have already broken off from the original BPP structure to align themselves with Cleaver and other realignments may occur in the future. Further, BPP branches which had been expelled in the past or which broke off from the BPP may be reactivated as part of the Cleaver faction.

Attached airtel instructs recipient offices to evaluate existing informant coverage in both factions of the BPP, to make plans for appropriate coverage if a split occurs in a branch in the future, and to review prior informant coverage of branches which may reactivate as part of the Cleaver faction in order to provide coverage if these branches reactivate.

## ACTION:

That attached airtel in line with above be approved.

Enclosure

*sent 3-23-71*

105-165706

HEH:sem/bad (10)

*bad F, 78*  
60 MAR 30 1971

100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED  
14C MAR 23 1971

23 MAR 24 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-1018

4-3

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: March 22, 1971

FROM : Legat, Rome (88-55) *BEF A + D*

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/19/00 BY 5906302/BAR/yc

ReRomlet 2/12/71.

As of March 19, 1971, alerted sources in Italy, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus have not developed any information that CLEAVER has been in any of these countries.

Inasmuch as CLEAVER is presently in Algeria and stops are in effect with Rome office sources, this matter is being closed subject to being reopened upon receipt of any pertinent information.

- 4 - Bureau (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)
- (1 - San Francisco 88-12329 info)
- 1 - Rome

TJB:MEG *acc SF*

(5) by 0-7 3/30/71

JRF:cm

EX-103

REC 98

100-447251-944

6 MAR 29 1971

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI

55 APR 12 1971

*RECEIVED*  
*APR 1 1971*  
*APR 1 1971*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 30

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

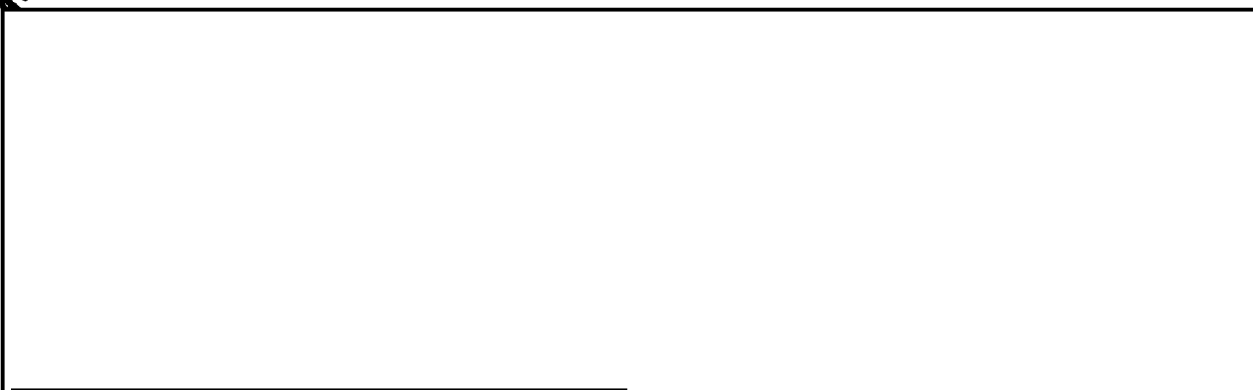
DATE: 4/2/71

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

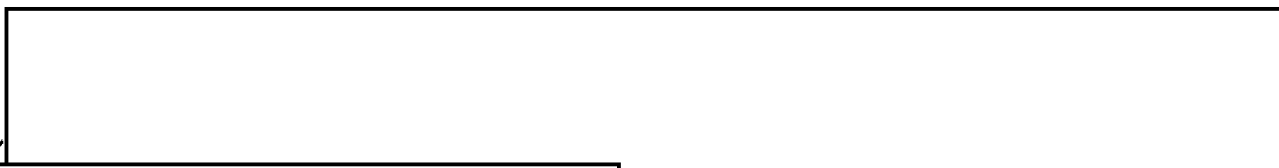
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUG.  
I.O. #4239, W.F. #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
(OO: SF)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Remylet to Bureau 12/30/70.



(c)



(c)

The above is for information of the Bureau and San Francisco only. In the event the Bureau has not previously been advised by the Department of State regarding the disappearance or theft of this seal, it is requested that no inquiries be made regarding this in order to protect the source of the information.

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

54 APR 14 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-447251-942

APR 6 1971

REC-41  
EX-104  
EX-105  
EX-106  
EX-107  
EX-108  
EX-109  
EX-110  
EX-111  
EX-112  
EX-113  
EX-114  
EX-115  
EX-116  
EX-117  
EX-118  
EX-119  
EX-120  
EX-121  
EX-122  
EX-123  
EX-124  
EX-125  
EX-126  
EX-127  
EX-128  
EX-129  
EX-130  
EX-131  
EX-132  
EX-133  
EX-134  
EX-135  
EX-136  
EX-137  
EX-138  
EX-139  
EX-140  
EX-141  
EX-142  
EX-143  
EX-144  
EX-145  
EX-146  
EX-147  
EX-148  
EX-149  
EX-150  
EX-151  
EX-152  
EX-153  
EX-154  
EX-155  
EX-156  
EX-157  
EX-158  
EX-159  
EX-160  
EX-161  
EX-162  
EX-163  
EX-164  
EX-165  
EX-166  
EX-167  
EX-168  
EX-169  
EX-170  
EX-171  
EX-172  
EX-173  
EX-174  
EX-175  
EX-176  
EX-177  
EX-178  
EX-179  
EX-180  
EX-181  
EX-182  
EX-183  
EX-184  
EX-185  
EX-186  
EX-187  
EX-188  
EX-189  
EX-190  
EX-191  
EX-192  
EX-193  
EX-194  
EX-195  
EX-196  
EX-197  
EX-198  
EX-199  
EX-200

524





ROCKFORD COLLEGE / OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT / ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/19/00 BY 39063 ELW/bmp/L

March 26, 1971

Mr. Brennan ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☐  
Mr. Casper ☐  
Mr. Conrad ☐  
Mr. Dalbey ☐  
Mr. Felt ☐  
Mr. Gale ☐  
Mr. Rosen ☐  
Mr. Tavel ☐  
Mr. Walters ☐  
Mr. Soyars ☐ b7C  
Tele. Room ☐  
Miss Holmes ☐  
Miss Gandy ☐

The Hon. Raymond Shafer  
Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse  
801 19th Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gov. Shafer:

I enclose an excerpt from TUPART Monthly Reports, which sets forth the basis of the argument between Eldridge Cleaver and Timothy Leary about whether to endorse or discourage drug usage.

It seems to me that most of the analysis of the spreading use of drugs fails to take cognizance of the fact that those who would destroy our society have been prime agents in the spread of the use of illegal drugs in order to make outcasts of an increasing number of people. This has been a particularly effective thrust because the recommended action turns out to be either gratifying to the senses or pleasurable in bringing on an escape from the problems of the world.

I believe those who would try to maintain an open and liveable society must help all citizens and particularly the young, to commit themselves to a system of law--not to keeping all laws as they are--but insisting that laws must be obeyed until they are changed.

I enclose a copy of a statement I made to students at Valparaiso University in which I tried to get this point across.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

JAH:rk  
Enc.

BCC! Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

53 APR 9 1971

EXP. PROC.  
35 MAR 29 1971 ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-60933-7

NOT RECORDED

100 APR 6 1971

III. John A. Howard  
President

of subject college

MAR 30 1971

no auto copy CORRESPONDENCE

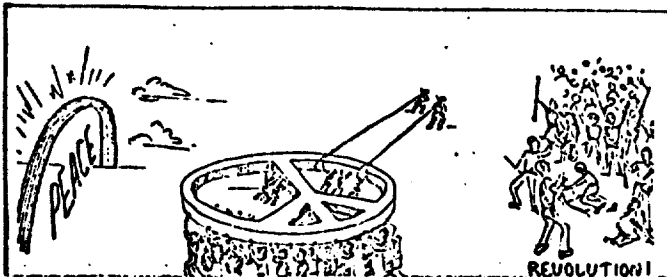
# TUPART Monthly Reports

## On the Underground Press

P.O. BOX 3676

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

MARCH, 1971



October period our analyses showed a decline in the amount of attention given to revolutionary tactics and actions—every sample since October 1970 has suggested the July-October period was one of re-evaluation of tactics and re-alignment of strategy. At precisely the same point in time—October 1970—the topics SOUTHEAST ASIA WAR and REVOLUTION! reversed their downward trends, the SOUTHEAST ASIA attention shooting upward in a curve all out of proportion to anything going on in the war—well

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/19/00 BY 39063ELW/SAR/HK

America with North Vietnamese officials and to involve an

AMERICAN

### VOL.2 NO.3

VOLUME 2. NO. 13. 16 MARCH, 1971

Tupart Monthly Reports are published by National Media Analysis, Inc., Washington, D.C.  
Editor—Francis M. Watson, Jr.  
Subscription rate—\$10 per year.  
©Copyright 1971 by National Media Analysis, Inc.  
All rights reserved.

TUPART provides both objectively derived data as to which topics are given the most emphasis in the underground press and studied commentaries on their meaning as seen in the context of the history of underground movements and publications. Commentaries are always in *italics*. Although there is no space for printing them, letters to the editor are welcome and will be read and considered. P.O. Box 3676, Washington, D.C. 20007.

the goals of the other—thus leaving open the possibility for the government to satisfy one by simply granting its

Vietnam. Included in even the earliest statements by the Dohrn sisters are hopes that enough disaffection can be encouraged among U.S. troops in Vietnam for them to refuse to fight to defend the Saigon government when it is attacked, but the latest versions hedge this bet by picking a time after U.S. troops are scheduled to have stopped participating in ground fighting—in order to go to the assistance of the Saigon government after that time the President would have to order the troops back into combat, at great cost in morale—and in the face of what are being planned as massive anti-war demonstrations at home—or use air power in the city of Saigon—again, in the face of massive anti-war demonstrations at home.

Further attempts to affect U.S. troop behavior in Vietnam are evidenced in *Fusion* and the *East Village Other* where appeals are made for support for New York "radio station WPAX" in its project to tape and mail to Hanoi for broadcast "daily programs to fill the gap left in the programming fed to GI's by the Armed Forces Network." Readers are asked to furnish material from their own areas

ENCLOSURE

100-457251

Below the top ten, HOMOSEXUALITY and POLLUTION/ECOLOGY showed the greatest increase in emphasis. Each climbed 6 positions in the period and now stand at 18th and 15th respectively. NIXON/POWER climbed five positions and now ranks 16th. LABOR climbed 3 to 9th. BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY climbed to 11th after falling to 12th in the previous period. CAMPUS ACTIVITIES continued to hold 14th position—it had fallen 6 in December after gaining 9 in November. PRISONS slipped 1 position to 20th. MILITARY/DRAFT fell 4 positions. RELIGION/THE OCCULT fell 9. THE COURTS dropped 10 and FEDERAL AGENCIES dropped 13. The last five topics have a tendency to fluctuate and are simply displaced when other fluctuating topics, such as DRUGS and MINORITY GROUPS command so much of the attention.

### THE DRUG ISSUE

The topic DRUGS was catapulted into prominence in the current period by a public argument in Algeria between former college professor Dr. Timothy Leary and Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver over the appropriateness of drugs in "the revolution." Leary, with his "Turn on, tune in, drop out" slogan, has contended drugs are essential in the revolution and Cleaver stands his ground that drug usage has served its purpose in bringing large numbers of White youths into the revolutionary camp, but now must be regarded as counter-revolutionary. Not only have the underground papers given wide publication to the separate and joint statements of the two men on this matter, but they have also carried numerous articles and letters expressing the views of supporters of each side as the argument has been followed by radicals and revolutionists in the United States in the press, on radio, and finally on television.

A study of the basic positions of the two men, the comments of their separate supporters, and an examination of the treatment of drugs and drug usage by the underground press appear to us to offer a great amount of information on drug usage in the United States today and perhaps some clues as to the reason for its spread through such a large portion of the youth population. The story of Leary and Cleaver also reveals a great deal about Black-White relations in the revolutionary movement and involves several of the key organizations and people in that movement. We therefore will try to piece the story together, as it can be gleaned from the underground papers, and provide some information on how the underground papers handle drugs in general.

We suspect this last might have more broad relevance than is immediately apparent. We note that in a survey conducted by a panel of nationally recognized experts, in an East Coast school system, high school and junior high students gave four sources of information as influencing them to use drugs: television, magazines, friends, and underground newspapers. Of these four, the students overwhelmingly named friends as most influential, with underground newspapers second.

The Leary-Cleaver dispute is not only a matter carried in the underground press, it is actually an argument concerning how the underground press should portray drug usage as part of the revolution—for, by its own repeated admission, the underground press is the primary means for dissemination

of the "party lines" of the various revolutionist organizations. The conventional media and conventional drug authorities have a tendency to categorize drugs as to whether they are "physically addictive" or "psychologically addictive." The underground publications and authorities categorize them according to political values. The majority of the underground papers encourage the usage of certain drugs with an amount of discouragement toward the usage of others. Cleaver's party encourages no usage! We believe the reasoning from both sides to be significant.

In an interview of Cleaver and Leary by Michael Zwerin, for New York's *Village Voice*, it becomes quite clear as to how and why Timothy and Rosemary Leary happened to be accepted under the protectorate of the Black Panthers "in exile," or as Cleaver prefers, "the Inter-Communal Section of the Black Panther Party." Leary says: "Rosemary and I saw ourselves as being the first white Americans to say that we would rather be under the protection of Huey Newton's guns than J. Edgar Hoover's guns." And Cleaver says "You and Rosemary coming here and placing yourselves within the framework of our activity here, does result in some political leverage."

This interview took place a few days after Cleaver had placed the Learys under house arrest because of what he considered Timothy's continued advocacy of the "drug culture" and his reception of a continual flow of "hippies" and "drug freaks" coming to Algeria to "worship at the feet of the high priest of drugs."

And herein lies the paradox of the situation in which Cleaver and the Learys found themselves at the time this discussion was taking place. Leary had long been the self-styled high priest of the "drug culture," the advocate of LSD and marijuana who gave up his professorship and eventually went to prison over his insistence on their use. In truth, Leary had just about worn out his attractiveness to young drug enthusiasts when he was sent to prison. But he went to prison over drugs! And the underground press said he was a "political prisoner" and that if the drug laws were to be seriously challenged Timothy had to be freed. "Free Timothy! Contribute to the Timothy Leary Defense Fund!" went the cries on the pages of the underground papers. Leary was suddenly a "cause" and not only did people contribute to the defense fund to "free Timothy" and challenge the drug laws, but he caught the eye of the Weatherman organization and became a possibility for them to demonstrate their prowess in helping him to escape from prison and spiriting him to Algeria as Cleaver's Panther associates had spirited him some weeks earlier.

Thus, however and whenever Cleaver was talked into taking Timothy and his wife under the wings of the Panthers in Algeria he must have believed he was accepting the comradeship of the "chosen one" of the elite of the White revolutionist organizations in the United States—the FBI-sluding, hard-bombing Weathermen. As he says quite plainly in the interview cited, he was looking "toward unity in the American revolutionary movement. He was not expecting, nor did he intend to accept, the 'silly, psychedelic drug culture . . . which we allied ourselves with in the past because it was our judgment at that time . . . what we had to work with from white America.'"

Jennifer Dohrn apparently foresaw trouble between Leary and Cleaver when she visited Algeria last fall. As we reported previously, she seemed overly apologetic about

Leary's drug philosophy and kept repeating in her interview with the underground press how the Panthers understood Timothy and how Timothy "underst— and was into the revolution." And this, perhaps, is the way Cleaver would have had it.

He said "Several years ago, what Timothy was doing was very progressive, it had an uprooting effect, a jarring effect, and it was part of the long process of" young White people turning away and rejecting the values of their society. "But that has passed," he added, "Things have changed since then. We want people to gather their wits, to sober up, and to get down to the serious business of destroying the Babylonian empire" (Cleaver's habitual reference to the United States). "We need," he continued, "sober, stone-cold revolutionaries, motivated by revolutionary love, men and women who fit the description given by Comrade Che Guevara: 'cool, calculating killing machines to be turned against the enemy,' people who have a firm ideological foundation, who know how to implement their ideology for the purpose of carrying out this revolution."

Apparently Leary was not his man. Cleaver told him quite directly that he wanted an announcement of denunciation of drug usage—specifically LSD—to be broadcast to Leary's political "constituency" in the United States.

Cleaver told him he needed "the active support of those people who are waiting on you. Those people comprise sufficient numbers to liberate political prisoners, and to construct the revolutionary weapon we need to overthrow the government . . . the way they are dealing with it now is ultimately passive. It's not actively dismantling the System. It rejects the System, it condemns the System, but it does not physically demolish the System." Later, Cleaver told Leary: "Using acid, using drugs is a form of escape from confrontation of something that CAN be dealt with. If the System could NOT be dealt with, if it was utterly impossible to deal with that System, then I would advocate the next best thing. Tripping out."

Here perhaps lies another paradox in the opposite views of Leary and Cleaver on drug usage. Cleaver quickly thinks of drugs as an out for complete frustration—when something simply can NOT be dealt with. This is the common reason we hear for drug usage in the ghetto culture from which the Panthers try to recruit. Extreme frustration and futility are natural parts of that environment. The world is ugly and appears depraved and oppressive from the ghetto.

Some weeks later, when he was not, as he put it, "arguing with his parole officer," Leary expressed his views on revolution and drugs: "My tensions with the Panthers have stemmed directly from my philosophy of revolution. Many revolutionaries today—not just the Panthers—feel that if you're a real revolutionary, you'll go out there full time with a gun. I don't agree with that. You've got to have Internal Peace of Mind . . . then you move into the political arena . . . I think if my philosophy is understood, we might find a way out of this boring, repetitious cycle of one armed group overthrowing another and becoming just as bad . . . In order to break this cycle you must free people's nervous systems. Free their nervous systems and the rest follows. That is my philosophy. . ."

Cleaver told the world that Leary had "blown his mind with too many acid trips." He may or may not have been serious about this. And, he may or may not have realized Leary either did not understand the tactical and political

use of drugs, the time for which Cleaver said had passed, nor the "revolutionary consciousness raising" uses his Weatherman liberat— speak of, or he chose to ignore both.

Cleaver's original reference to a time when he approved of drugs as a revolutionary tool had to do with their use being an "act of defiance of the law." This is a point long made in the underground press. A Liberation News Service article, in 1969, made the point: "The first thing drugs do is put you immediately outside the law. They give a lot of kids their first sense of belonging to a special group that's against the government . . . laws won't hurt real revolutionaries; they're outside the law already. . ."

This is a major point in the use of drugs in young White American revolutionist groups—and it is not a purely legal proposition. The Las Vegas Free Press, which maintains it does not advocate drug usage, ran an article in February recommending the legalization of all drugs as a means of reducing the spread of addiction and crime. This may or may not be effective in ordinary drug usage, but it has nothing to do with the tactical advocacy of drugs Cleaver referred to and the Liberation News Service spoke of. Whatever drug was legalized would be abandoned by the revolutionist recruiter for one which had not been legalized. The point is to encourage some form of behavior which the society simply cannot accept. When an individual can be led into that behavior he will incur the disapproval, perhaps punishment, even rejection of the society and thus be an alienated candidate for recruiting.

The Chicago Seed, a strong advocate of psychedelics, makes this point: ". . . The secondary effects of drug use (the harassment, the drug busts) have provided real, and sometimes frightening experiences for many of us with white skin, who, otherwise might have gone on thinking that a cop was just that guy in uniform who directs traffic, and that jails really were full of 'criminals'."

What we are seeing a very small part of here is the artificial creation of a cultural gap. A writer in the Ann Arbor Argus spoke of it as moving from a "generation gap" to an "interstellar" war. That may be far-fetched but the point being recognized is that the strategy being followed by the revolutionists in America today is one best suited to inter-class or intercultural warfare—the "have nots" or the "outs" becoming angry enough to use violence against the "haves" or "ins" in the face of great odds. In the case of the young Whites involved, they are from the "have" or "in" group and to become angry or alienated enough to be willing to attack their own and to attack a system as strong as they see this one to be they have to be provided with what amounts to a completely separate culture—"counter-culture" is a very common expression in the underground papers. It has to be a real cleavage too, to be effective. In a society as permissive as the American society today it takes some doing. Sex would not be strong enough, although as Other Scenes put it, "Sex is one of the things that gets the other generation up tight . . . it's one of the things that revolutionaries use as an inexpensive, effortless tactic to upset people." The society has simply absorbed more liberal sex customs. Obscenities have worked essentially the same. Hair keeps dander up, as do "freaky" clothes, but none of these is the society as likely to react to so strongly as drug usage.

Bernardine Dohrn touches on this in her "Weatherman communication" concerning last fall's change in tactics. She

says: "And marijuana and LSD and little money and awakening to the Black revolution" made it possible for them to "move against the system" in such drastic ways.

*Again, there is a paradox here in connection with drugs and the revolution. The Black revolutionist not only did not need drugs to set him off in a separate culture—years of segregation and, for many, the ghetto did that—but his people are often so aware of drug abuse and what it has done in their ghettos that they have been known to barricade their streets in their demands for stopping drug traffic. Underground papers aimed at the ghettos do not advocate drugs. Black leaders, whether revolutionist or reformist cannot get support from their people unless they denounce drug abuse. Although Cleaver makes the point that he is not really against marijuana, "when not on revolutionary business," the Panthers' paper has none of the drawings, ads, or articles encouraging marijuana that are almost the hallmark of the undergrounds aimed at primarily White audiences.*

*In addition to using drugs as the keystone of the "counter-culture," the revolutionists use them as a substitute for the "consciousness raising" the hard-line ideologues speak of.*

Diane di Prima, who might be regarded as the "poetess laureate" of the revolution, suggests this to be true: "One of the most revolutionary things that's happened is the use of hallucinogens. Drugs don't only reveal the falseness of bourgeois structure, they release the life force in us, they awake in us the desire to live as free animals in a particular landscape... Information was opened to us through acid. Now if revolutionaries are talking from the head (following ideology rather than dealing with root things, like dance, sex, and magic), history has already passed them by... I think it's stupid for the white drug culture to goose-step with the Communist Party."

As perhaps Cleaver was suggesting, underground writers further along the road to revolution than Diane di Prima think drug usage is a stage in revolutionary development. This from the *Berkeley Tribe*: "We can no longer relate to the drug culture and its slogans of 'peace' and 'love.' All it has meant in our experience is 'peace' in the suburb, and 'love' of the conditions necessary to maintain it. It is time to come down... we must take the initiative to acquire an objective view of the world. Since we have generally not based our thinking on dialectical materialism, we have denied ourselves the only weapon that leads to a concrete understanding of the contradictions in our society."

Both the counter-culture point and "consciousness raising" are made in a letter to the editor of Philadelphia's *Thursday's Drummer*: "Before drugs found their way to middle Amerika, middle Amerikan children were just that—middle future Amerikans. Through the course of my last six years in the 'drug scene' I have seen hundreds of ho-hum minds expanded, broadened, etc. It is a true fact, drugs open the mind. We must realize that without the help of grass and hashish and a little mescaline that many of today's young people would have followed their parents' wishes... some young Amerikans would have plotted their lives in a revolutionary course; however, many would not have done this. Drugs were the first common ground; drugs are part of our culture."

Neither the revolutionists nor many of the publications which make up the large and varying family we see as the undergrounds advocate what they speak of as "hard drugs."

In discussing Cleaver's "busting" of Leary for advocating the psychedelics: "We turned onto acid since everybody knows that smack [heroin] is a bringdown, and you can't function behind it. But who told us that? Well, it was our sisters and brothers who are struggling in the ghetto, on the reservation, and in all the other outlets to the Mafia services. So did we get uptight when the Panthers condemned heroin and relate it to ourselves?"

*It has been a common story in the undergrounds for a number of months now that the "establishment," sometimes said "the government," keeps heroin going into the poor areas and among the "street people" to "keep them under control." Perhaps this is a transferral from the views and language of the ghetto—which is often true in the underground press—where the Mafia very likely appears to be "establishment." This is not the case, however, with the following story taken from the February 20-27 edition of the *Berkeley Tribe*.*

"There is a new theory going around the psychedelic world about the American presence in Indochina and specifically about the invasion of Laos... We are invading Laos and Cambodia to get the opium harvest, for if we don't, the economy of Laos, and hence the Royal Laotian Government will fall." It goes on to say the CIA is masterminding this operation and using its aircraft to fly the opium out. "This is the route by which some heroin gets into the U.S. Between the heroin from Southeast Asia and that from Turkey, the CIA is able to flood the ghettos of America with this killer and destroy the revolutionary process of the poor."

## DRUG ENCOURAGEMENT IN THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

*Much has been said and written in recent months about the suggestiveness of some popular song lyrics toward drug usage. This is often so subtly done a member of the "straight world" might miss it. From the previous paragraphs this is obviously not always true in the underground newspapers. Although there are some subtleties still, not as many as there were a year or so ago. They are quite open in advertising drug paraphernalia and even in advertising marijuana plants and synthetic drugs of various kinds—especially LSD and mescaline. Perhaps of more critical concern, however, should be the manner in which under-*

## RECOMMEND TUPART REPORTS TODAY

—CLIPPING THE SUBSCRIPTION BLANK ON THE  
REVERSE SIDE OF THIS PAGE WILL NOT DESTROY  
ANY OF THE TEXT OF YOUR COPY!

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. A. <sup>W. Bee</sup> ~~Manigan~~

DATE: 3/22/71 2-1

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED] (S) 117 REC 1800-447251-944

[REDACTED] (S) 3 APR 13 1971

[REDACTED]

b1

ENCLOSURE

62 APR 20 1971

CONTINUED - OVER

[REDACTED]

b7C

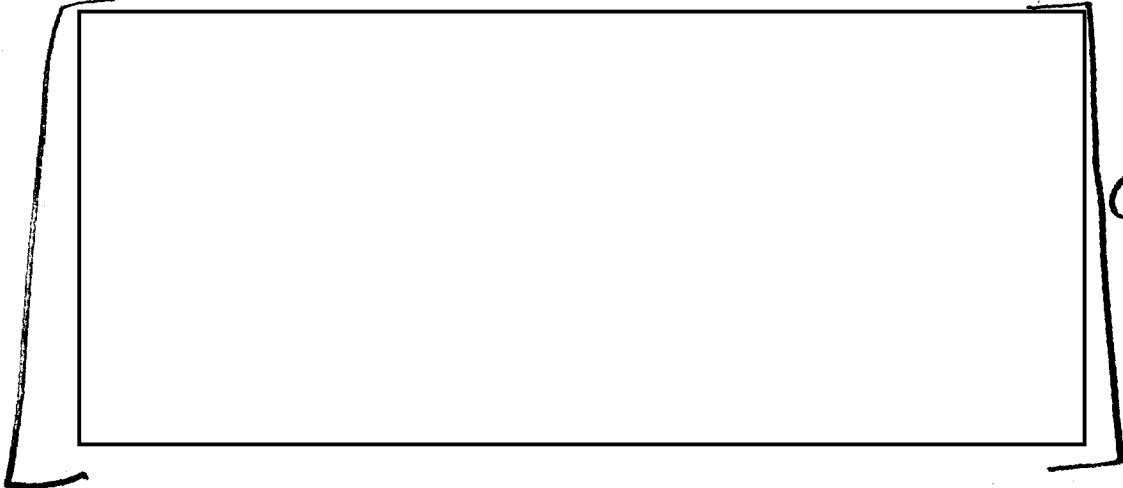
~~SECRET~~

12/19/00  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/DAL/00267-Deviation  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
704394

~~SECRET~~

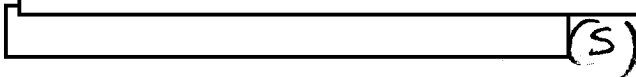
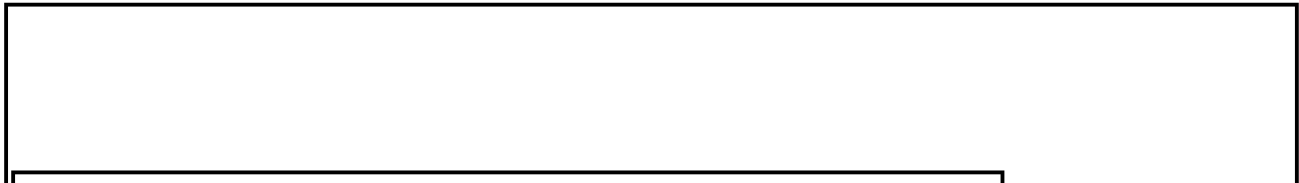
b7C

Memorandum  to Mr. W. A. Branigan



b1

If a subject who is or may be in the U. S. has not previously been considered for Security Index, information in Bureau files concerning subject should be reviewed and necessary investigation, if any, should be initiated. Reference should be made to Section 105H, Manual of Instructions, pertaining to "Disaffection of U. S. Citizens Abroad." Note particularly references therein to provisions of Section 87D, Manual of Instructions, regarding dissemination to Secret Service and handling of subjects on the Security Index.



~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12/14/00  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/JAR/60267 Derivative  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
904394

b1

(S)

157 - 447251-944

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : *Jm* Legat, London (157-120) (P)

SUBJECT: *D* LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE: 4/20/71

ReLonlet 11/16/70.

[Redacted Block]

[Redacted Block] (c)

[Redacted Block]

[Redacted Block] (c)

b1

- 11/ 1-8060
- 3 - Bureau
  - 1 - Foreign Liaison Desk
  - 1 - London
- JTM:vw  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

3/11/01  
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/mr/jeh  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6  
904394

100-447251-945x

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-447251-945

b7C



316  
55 MAY 14 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Redacted Block]

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

**SECRET**

1  
1

4/28/71

b7C

airtel

To: Legat, Bern

From: Director, FBI (105-165708 Sub 84)

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
RACIAL MATTERS**

3/20/01  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/JMA/60267  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
904394

ReBULLEN 3/23/71 captioned "Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc., (SCPI) (Black Panther Party Corporation)."

Referenced memorandum set out lead at Bern to determine if BPP, SCPI, or Huey P. Newton, BPP Supreme Commander, have bank accounts in Switzerland.

New York advised on 4/21/71 that on the 17th of each month funds are transferred from "Cyrilly Abela in trust for Eldridge Cleaver" account at the Chase Manhattan Bank, New York City, to the Credit Swiss Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. This transfer is usually \$1,000, but on 4/17/71 the balance would permit a transfer of only \$260.

The Bureau considers the funding of the BPP and principals thereof to be of the utmost importance. SCPI was organized to hold BPP funds and assets, and it has been reported that Swiss bank accounts will be used to facilitate flow of funds between Europe and SCPI.

In addition to the lead in referenced memorandum to determine if the BPP is conducting any banking activity in Switzerland, details of Cleaver's banking activity at the Credit Swiss Bank and/or any other Swiss banks is desired.

1 - San Francisco (157-4304)

1 - Foreign Liaison Desk (route through for review)

1 - 157-20210

1 - 100-447251

RNB:lmb

(9)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

4 1971

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

105-165706-84-955

100-447251-

**SECRET**

Airtel to Bonn  
Re: Black Panther Party (BPP) -  
International Relations  
105-168706 Sub 84)

If you have the capabilities to obtain the desired information, do so and advise the Bureau by LHM.

[Redacted]  
[Redacted] (S)

NOTE:

Both sensitive and live informants have reported that BPP and SCPI want to use Swiss bank accounts. Cyrilly Abels is Eldridge Cleaver's literary agent in New York City, and she handles the royalties from his writings. New York bank records reflect that the monthly stipend to Cleaver goes to the Credit Swiss Bank.

- 2 -

**SECRET**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (88-51548)

3/25/71

LEGAT, BONN (88-67) (RUC)

[REDACTED]  
UFAP - MURDER; KIDNAPING  
(NEW LEFT - FOREIGN INFLUENCE)  
OO: SF

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (c) from the U. S. Consulate General  
in Munich, Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) (Unclassified),  
and from the U. S. Mission in Berlin of the Department of  
State (Unclassified).

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (c) The U. S. Consulate General in Munich and  
the U. S. Mission in Berlin are not concealed.

[REDACTED] (c)  
12/19/00  
CLASSIFIED BY ~~105/100/100/100~~ Derivative  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

- 8 - Bureau (Enc. 8)  
1 - Foreign Liaison Desk  
1 - Bufile 100-446997-84 (RBP -  
International Relations)  
2 - Los Angeles (157-2325)  
2 - San Francisco (100-64397)  
FRP:mas 1 - Bonn  
(9)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MAY 21 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b7C

b1



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

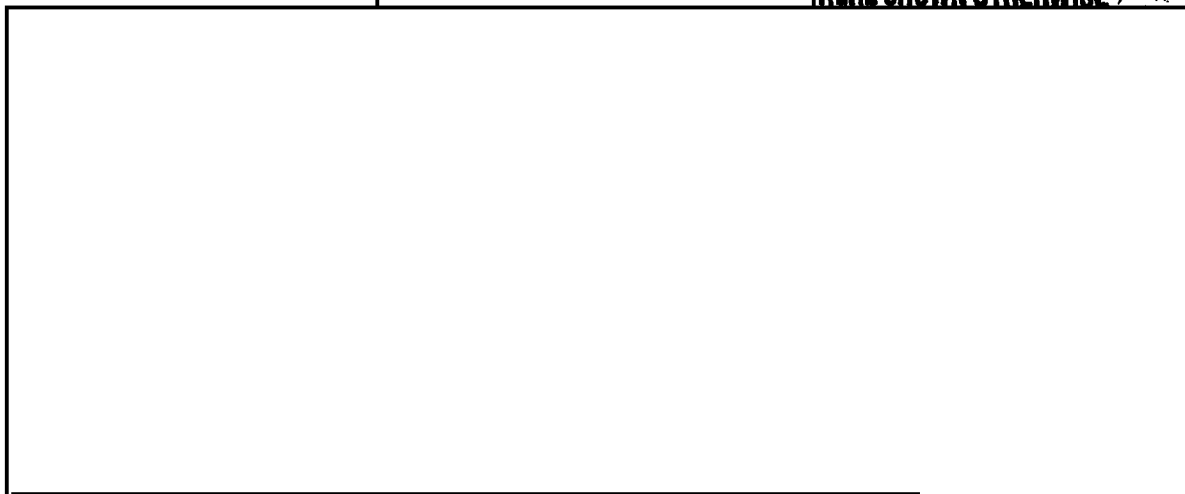
25 March 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b7C



b1

A characterization of the BPP is included  
in the Appendix of this memorandum.

The U. S. Mission in Berlin, Department of State,  
furnished the following on March 16, 1971. The Free  
University's Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences  
requested the President of the University on January 14,  
1971, to extend an invitation to Davis to be a guest professor.  
While the President's Office was considering this, word of  
the proposed invitation appeared in the press, and without  
waiting for approval of the President, the Chairman of the  
Department sent Davis a formal invitation through Professor  
Marcuse. A Vice President of the University, Dr. Wesel,  
then requested Marcuse to determine with Davis' attorneys

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.

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ENCLOSURE~~

100-447251-

12/19/00  
CLASSIFIED BY SP4SLE/lan/ld  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 904394

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

RE:

whether such an invitation could be considered as interfering with judicial proceedings pending against Davis. It was then tentatively agreed the invitation be given her attorneys, leaving them to decide what effect such an invitation would have on her case. A formal offer of a guest professorship was sent on February 1, 1971. The offer states it "will remain as a standing invitation until such time as you will be able to accept."

The Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences has also requested the President that Eldridge Cleaver be appointed a guest professor. A representative of the President's Office has stated it is unlikely such an invitation will be sent Cleaver. He pointed out that while Davis is a qualified academician, Cleaver is not.

The American Consulate General in Munich, Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), furnished the following on March 11, 1971.

Two members of the committee "Freiheit fuer Angela Davis" (Freedom for Angela Davis) visited the Consulate General for fifteen minutes on March 9, 1971, to read and present a "Declaration of 9th March." Committee members said this date was chosen because the Davis defense was to make a plea for a larger courtroom on that date. Committee members said a list of over 400 signatures gathered in Munich in support of Davis had been sent to her defense attorneys in California. They also asked that the Amerika Haus be a site of public discussion between the committee and a United States representative to inform the public about the Davis case. They were told to make a written request.

The Freedom for Angela Davis Committee also staged a protest march the evening of March 9, 1971. The march route ended before the Amerika Haus where approximately 300 youths gathered.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IN ENVELOPE

~~SECRET~~

SAC, San Francisco (157-4324)

4/30/71

PERSONAL ATTENTION

b7C

Director, FBI (100-447251)

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
IO # 4239, WANTED FLIER 447  
RACIAL MATTERS -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP);  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID  
CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND  
RAPE, AND ASSAULT WITH A  
DEADLY WEAPON

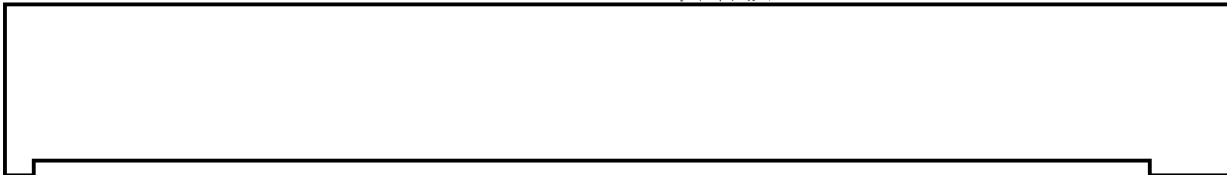
1  
1  
1



12/19/80  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/pae/60267-Derivative  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE



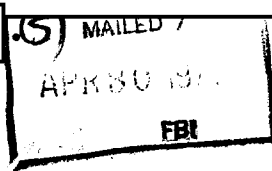
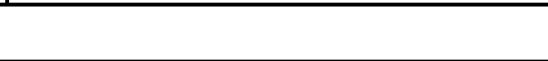
(S)

b1



(S)

100-447251-948



hlu 1971

on \_\_\_\_\_  
van \_\_\_\_\_ 2 - New York

op \_\_\_\_\_  
tan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
han \_\_\_\_\_  
or \_\_\_\_\_  
d \_\_\_\_\_  
y \_\_\_\_\_

RNB:acs (8)

NOTE:

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, fugitive BPP Minister of  
Information in exile in Algeria, presently heads a faction  
which has split with Huey P. Newton and BPP National  
Headquarters.

~~SECRET~~

59 MAY 7 1971  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WB

NA 4/28/91

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR007 MM PLAIN

APR 24 1971

842PM NITEL 4-28-71 JMS

PCW  
TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR

NEW YORK 88-9346

SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329

DETROIT

FROM MIAMI 3P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/14/00 BY 3202 GUN/STP/L

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
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	_____

*Mr. Rosen*  
*D. Q. Clever*  
*BEF*  
LEROY ELDRIGE CLEVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, IO NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WARRANT FLYER FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO--SAN FRANCISCO, MIAMI FILE EIGHTY EIGHTY - NINE THREE ONE SIX, BUFILE ONE HUNDRED - FOUR FOUR SEVEN TWO FIVE ONE.

*Mr. Alger*  
*WE 454*  
HUBERT GEROLD BROWN, AKA - FUGITIVE, IO NUMBER FOUR THREE SIX EIGHT, UFAP - ARSON, INCITING TO RIOT, FAILURE TO APPEAR, TOP TEN FUGITIVE, OO--NEW YORK, MIAMI FILE EIGHTY EIGHTY - EIGHT FOUR FIVE FIVE, BUFILE EIGHTY EIGHTY - FIVE ZERO SIX ONE ZERO.

EX-117

REC-35

100-447251-949

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 88-50610

[Redacted Box]

END PAGE ONE

APR 30 1971

RECEIVED

APR 28 10 10 AM '71

DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI

XEROX

b7C  
b7D



PAGE TWO

MM 88-9316

MM 88-8455

LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA, ADVISED



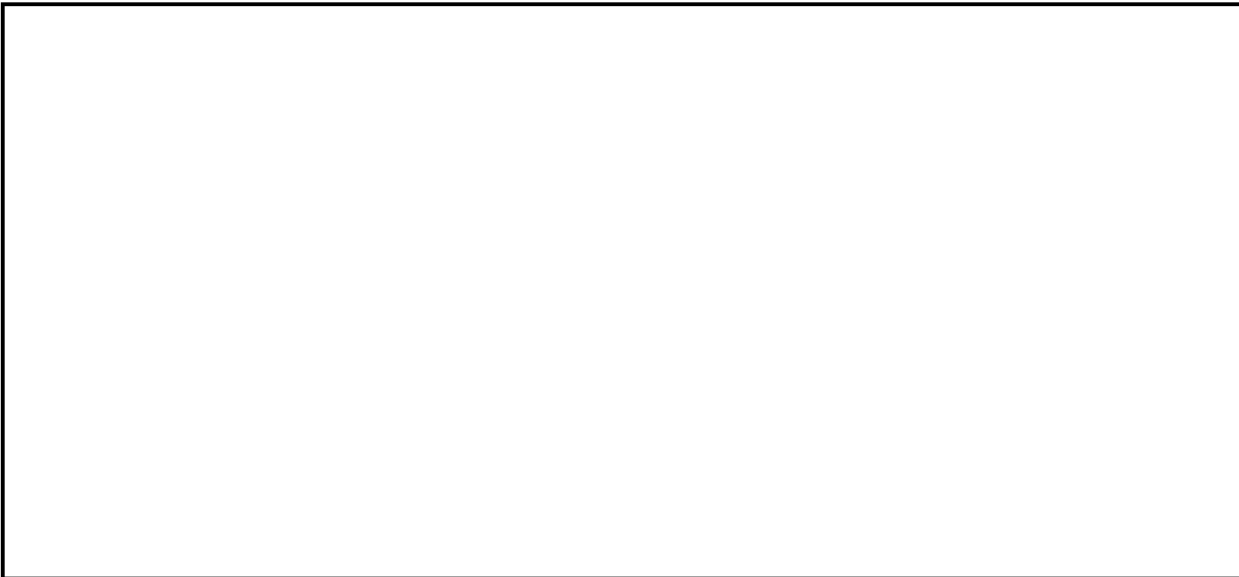
b7C  
b7D

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

MM 88-9316

MM 88-8455



b7C  
b7D

DETROIT CONTACT



EXHIBIT C


b7C

PHOTOGRAPHS OF SUBJECT AND OTHER NEGRO FUGITIVES AND SET FORTH  
ANY PERTINENT LEADS FOR INVESTIGATION AT LISBON, PORTUGAL THROUGH  
BUREAU LIAISON REPRESENTATIVE.

BOTH FUGITIVES REPORTED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. ✓

END

Envelope ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *on this*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *12/19/00* BY *59063 ELW/jac pk*

 *fn*

ENCLOSURE

*100-447251-950*

100-447251-950

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/19/00 BY 39063 ELD/SM/PL  
904394

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/19/00 BY 39063 ELW/JM/gh  
904394

100-447251-950

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/19/00 BY 39063 ELW/SM/PL  
904394

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 4/30/71

FROM :

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Sullivan  
Mohr  
DeLoach  
Brennan, C.D.  
Callahan  
Casper  
Conrad  
Dalbey  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Tavel  
Walters  
Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

By memorandum dated 4/29/71 details of subject's income as shown in his tax records was set forth and Cleaver was described as "an admitted rapist." The Director inquired as to the facts surrounding this description.

In Cleaver's book "Soul on Ice," which was a series of essays written while in prison, Cleaver stated he became a rapist "consciously, deliberately, willfully, and methodically"; and he assaulted white women as "an insurrectionary act." The prison term Cleaver was serving when he wrote "Soul on Ice" in about 1967 was as a result of a conviction for assault with a deadly weapon to commit murder and rape.

## ACTION:

For information.

RNB:drl (8)

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

ENCLOSURE

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

MAY 5 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/19/01 BY SP-6 JCL/CLM/bk

EX-112

REC 18 / 00 - 447251 - 951

MAY 10 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

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

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 4/29/71

FROM :

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

This is to furnish information concerning the exorbitant income of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, fugitive BPP Minister of Information in exile in Algeria, which I thought might be of interest to you. Cleaver reported total income of over \$155,000 in 1967, 1968, and 1969, most of which was from his revolutionary and extremist writings.

Cleaver was released from prison on parole in 12/66.

Referral/Direct

The tax returns indicate that most of this income was from unspecified self-employment, and the only field of endeavor in which Cleaver is known to have been active is writing. His most notable accomplishment was his book "Soul on Ice."

It is most significant that a person such as Cleaver, who has spent much of his life in prison and who is an admitted rapist and dedicated revolutionary, can command such income from his revolutionary writings. It is indeed a sad situation when an individual dedicated to the violent overthrow of the U. S. is supported in such a grandiose manner by the radical element and the naive uninformed do-gooders.

The Internal Security Division of the Department has received copies of the Cleavers' tax returns.

## ACTION:

For information.

RNB:dr1 (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/1/70 BY 3025/100/100/100

EX-112

ENCLOSURE

100-4472251-951

MAY 5 1971



**SECRET**

Date: 5/11/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **A I R T E L****A I R M A I L**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE  
 I.O. #4329  
 W.F. 447  
 UFAC  
 OO - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12/19/00  
 CLASSIFIED BY NLS/JAA/60267-Derivative  
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
 114394

Re Miami teletype 4/28/71.

Information received from the State Department  
 4/29/71, confirmed that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, accompanied by his  
 wife KATHLEEN, [redacted] departed from  
 Bamako, Mali, Africa, en route Brazzaville, Congo, Africa,  
 4/22/71, via Air Mali Flight [redacted]

[redacted] (S)  
 It is speculated that he will return to Algiers,  
 Algeria.

In view of the above, New York, Detroit and Miami  
 should disregard the leads set out in retel.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (RM)
- 1 - Miami (88-9316) (RM)
- 1 - New York (88-9346) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
  - 1 - 88-12329
  - 1 - 157-4324

DET/jr

(7)

**ARMED & DANGEROUS**  
**REC 9 100-447251-955**

MAY 13 1971

**SECRET**

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Approved \_\_\_\_\_

MAY 20 1971

Special Agent in Charge

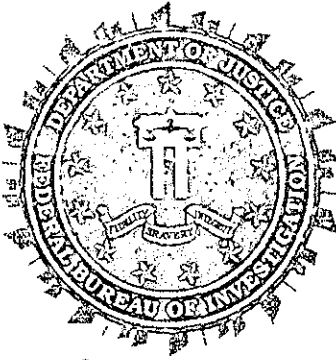
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1416912-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 82

Page 23 ~ b1;  
Page 24 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 25 ~ b1;  
Page 26 ~ b1;  
Page 27 ~ b1;  
Page 28 ~ b1;  
Page 29 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 30 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 31 ~ b1;  
Page 32 ~ b1;  
Page 33 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 34 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 35 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 39 ~ b1;  
Page 40 ~ b1;  
Page 41 ~ b1;  
Page 42 ~ b1;  
Page 43 ~ b1;  
Page 44 ~ b1;  
Page 48 ~ b1;  
Page 49 ~ b2;  
Page 50 ~ b2;  
Page 51 ~ b2;  
Page 52 ~ b2;  
Page 53 ~ b2;  
Page 54 ~ b2;  
Page 55 ~ b2;  
Page 56 ~ b2;  
Page 57 ~ b2;  
Page 58 ~ b2;  
Page 63 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 64 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 65 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 66 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 67 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 68 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 69 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 70 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 71 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 72 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 73 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 74 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 75 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 76 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 77 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 79 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 81 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 82 ~ Referral/Direct;

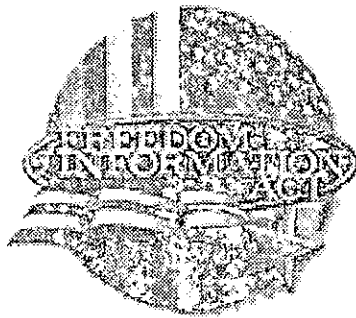
Page 83 ~ b1;  
Page 85 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 87 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 88 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 89 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 92 ~ b1;  
Page 93 ~ b1;  
Page 103 ~ b1;  
Page 105 ~ b1;  
Page 106 ~ b1;  
Page 107 ~ b1;  
Page 108 ~ b1;  
Page 109 ~ b1;  
Page 110 ~ b1;  
Page 115 ~ b1;  
Page 116 ~ b1;  
Page 121 ~ b1;  
Page 134 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 137 ~ b7D;  
Page 139 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 179 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 180 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 181 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 182 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 183 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 184 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 217 ~ b1;  
Page 229 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 230 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 231 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 242 ~ b1;  
Page 243 ~ b1;  
Page 251 ~ b1;  
Page 252 ~ b1;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT Eldridge Cleaver



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**SECRET****FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>5/12/71</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>5/1-10/71</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE I.O. #4239 WANTED FLYER 447</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>lmk</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)</b>	

b7C

REFERENCES: Report of SA  dated 10/5/70.

- P -

CLASSIFIED BY **NLS/ma/60267-~~200~~**  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X **904394**b2  
b7DINFORMANTS:Identity of SourceFile Where Located is  (s)

157-4324-789

b1

157-4324-874

157-4324-928

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE**

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

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 8 - Bureau (100-447251) (RM) (~~SECRET~~)  
 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)  
 (Class 3, 5c)  
 4 - San Francisco  
 (3 - 157-4324)  
 (1 - 88-12329)

16 MAY 17 1971

REC-38

## Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency **IDIU, ISD, SS,  IRS, SI**

Request Recd.

Date Fwd.

How Fwd.

**57 MAY 21 1971**

COVER PAGE

b2

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

Identity of Source

File Where Located

157-4324-1004

b2  
b7C  
b7D

LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue  
to follow and report Subject's activities where known.

b2  
b7D

- B -  
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

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 \_\_\_\_\_
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_
7. ☒ This report is classified \_\_\_\_\_ **"Secret"** \_\_\_\_\_ because (state reason)

information received from  was so classified.

b2  
b7D

8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)

**He is out of the Country.**

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 continues to voice strong anti-U. S. sentiment and has publicly urged black soldiers in Vietnam to turn their guns on their senior officers.**

11. ☒ Subject's SI card is tabbed ☒ Priority I ☐ Priority II ☐ Priority III.  
☐ Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

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

May 12, 1971

~~SECRET~~

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) 1 (RM)  
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP1/100* ON *11/8/00* *904340*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)  
(Class 3, 5c)

b7C

Report of:

[REDACTED]

Office:

San Francisco

Date:

5/12/71

Field Office File #:

157-4324

Bureau File #:

100-447251

Title:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

CLASSIFIED BY 39063ELW/JAR/PAK  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
917394

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CUSTODY OR CONFINEMENT -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND  
ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON

Synopsis:

Subject continues to reside in Algiers, Algeria, although in the latter part of April, 1971, he traveled to Brazzaville, Congo, Africa, with his wife, KATHLEEN CLEAVER. He continued to act as Minister of Information and leader of International Section of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Algiers, Algeria, until the latter part of February, 1971, when he had a falling out with HUEY P. NEWTON, Supreme Commander of the BPP. He subsequently expelled NEWTON and BPP Chief of Staff DAVID HILLIARD from the BPP and was himself expelled by NEWTON. As a result of heated argument between NEWTON and CLEAVER, NEWTON accused CLEAVER of having murdered CLINTON SMITH, a member of the International Section of the BPP. CONSIDER ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

Records of the Passport Department, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., reviewed on April 29, 1971, reflect that on April 21, 1971, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and his wife, KATHLEEN,

~~SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

arrived in Bamako, Mali, Africa, on an Interflug Flight. They departed Bamako enroute to Brazzaville, Congo, Africa, on April 22, 1971, via Air Mali Flight. Their destination and further travel plans were unknown and it is not known if he will eventually return to Algiers.

Subject continues to reside in Algiers, Algeria. He was publicly identified as Minister of Information and leader of the International Section of the Black Panther Party (BPP) until February, 1971, at which time he had a falling out with BPP Supreme Commander HUEY P. NEWTON. He now publicly claims to lead his own BPP faction which includes foreign members of the International Section headquartered in Algiers.

[REDACTED] February, 1971

b2  
b7D

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
also known as  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

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

As of October, 1970, the Subject's address was Boite Postal 118, Grand Poste, Algiers, Algeria.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] October, 1970

[REDACTED] (S)

b1

[REDACTED] 12/9/70

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

II. ACTIVITIES AND/OR  
CONNECTIONS WITH THE BPP

CLEAVER was in frequent contact with the leadership of the BPP at the BPP National Headquarters in Oakland concerning his activities as head of the International Section of the BPP until the latter part of February, 1971, when he and HUEY P. NEWTON, the Supreme Commander of the BPP, had a falling out and each subsequently expelled the other from the Party.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] 10/70 - 2/71

b1

[REDACTED] 3/17/71

San Francisco Television Station KGO on February 26, 1971, broadcast an interview with BPP Supreme Commander HUEY NEWTON who was present in the studio and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER who was contacted by long distance telephone from Algeria on the Jim Dunbar Television Talk Show. Most significant was ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's reply to a question by DUNBAR as to whether CLEAVER had any message for his followers. CLEAVER then gave what appeared to be a prepared statement saying that the recent purges of "Brother Geronimo" (ELMER PRATT, a former BPP leader from Los Angeles) and the New York 21 by NEWTON had been "regrettable and should not have taken place, and were done without prior consultation with the three members of the Central Committee in Algeria." CLEAVER demanded the ouster of DAVID HILLIARD as Chief of Staff of the BPP saying his actions over a long period of time had brought the Party to the point where it was falling apart at the seams.

NEWTON disagreed with CLEAVER indicating that he fully supported HILLIARD's work as Chief of Staff and that he, NEWTON, took full responsibility for the purges. NEWTON described CLEAVER's demand as untimely in that the contradiction was aired before the public instead of in the privacy of the BPP Central Committee.

- 3 -  
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

The New York 21 are former members of the New York Chapter of the BPP presently being tried in New York on various charges including conspiracy to bomb.

On February 26, 1971, HUEY NEWTON issued orders which in effect appeared to expell the Algerian section of the BPP. Part of instructions to BPP personnel at National Headquarters in Oakland, California, and at National Distribution in San Francisco, California, were that there were to be no communications of any kind between BPP officials and the Algerian Section. NEWTON further ordered that no material of any kind be sent to Algeria and that no phone calls were to be made or accepted by anyone from any of the members in Algeria.

[REDACTED] 2/26/71

b2  
b7D

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, and DON<sup>COX</sup> made an appeal to NEWTON to come to Algeria and KATHLEEN CLEAVER attempted to reach NEWTON by references to past activities in which the Party in earlier times had been successful. NEWTON, however, refused and accused them of having destroyed the Party. It was the CLEAVERS' contention that NEWTON was receiving a distorted picture of things and could not make proper decisions without personal discussion with people in Algiers. NEWTON reportedly concluded the conversation by stating that the entire International Section was not in accord and that he would do everything possible to destroy them. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER responded as the action he had taken was the only possibility open to him and he wanted NEWTON to come to Algiers right away. NEWTON indicated that if he went to Algeria it would be to kill CLEAVER.

DON COX is Field Marshal of the BPP and  
KATHLEEN CLEAVER is Communications Secretary  
of the BPP.

During the above conversation NEWTON made reference to CLEAVER having done something to RAHIM (CLINTON SMITH), the inference being that CLEAVER had killed him or had had him killed.

[REDACTED] 3/1/71

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324

FL:lmk

With regard to RAHIM (CLINTON SMITH) [redacted]

[redacted] has indicated in the past

[redacted] RAHIM [redacted]

[redacted] ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and subsequently traveled to Algiers. According to [redacted] RAHIM, became involved with KATHLEEN CLEAVER intimately and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER had killed him or had had him killed.

[redacted] 2/71

On March 10, 1971, the New York Chapter of the BPP made a press release which strongly criticized Supreme Commander HUEY P. NEWTON and the leadership at the National Headquarters in Oakland, California. In this press release the New York Chapter supported ELDRIDGE CLEAVER of the International Section and all recently expelled members of the BPP.

[redacted] 3/10/71

### III. STATEMENTS AND WRITINGS

An article captioned "Exclusive Interview Cleaver's Plans for Revolution" written by WILLIAM TUOHY appeared in the October 28, 1970, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle." This article was datelined in Algeria and reads in part as follows:

"ELDRIDGE CLEAVER declared here yesterday that he intends to expand his Party into an international operation dedicated to overthrowing the U. S. Government.

"He said he will add members of other revolutionary groups to his overseas Panther group to make 'a common cause' against the 'establishment, imperialist' government of the United States.

"CLEAVER, who has been living here in exile 15 months, said he viewed this broadened international organization 'as a rival institution to (WILLIAM P.) ROGERS' State Department to properly represent the American people in other parts of the world.'

"CLEAVER declared, 'our job is to destroy Babylon.'

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

"How did he define Babylon?

"'Just like it says in the Bible,' he answered.  
'It is a symbol of decadence and corruption of the (national) power that is now the number one enemy of the people of the world' (United States)."

The following are excerpts from an article captioned "There Is No U. S. Ambassador to the Republic of Africa but There Is a Charge d'Affaires. Then There Is Eldridge Cleaver, Our Other Man in Algiers," written by SANCHE DE GRAMONT, appearing in the November 1, 1970, issue of the "New York Times":

"Put in Algiers, the Panthers were expecting each one of approximately a dozen liberation movements accredited by the Algerian Government and Soviets with assistance and support in the task of overthrowing the Governments and power in their respective countries.

"'This', as CLEAVER pointed out when he announced the opening of his new headquarters in mid-September, 'is the first time in the struggle of the black people in America that they have established representatives abroad.'

"Now in the new quarters CLEAVER and his friends are the only Americans recognized by the Algerians, who brushed off diplomatic relations with the United States several years ago...

"In Algiers the Panthers feel safe. They are protected by the Algerian Government, surrounded by kindred spirits. There was no sign of weapons at the headquarters. The reception was like any diplomatic reception, with militants from the anti-war groups serving soft drinks and cookies to the Communist Chinese, the Viet Cong, the North Koreans, and the members of other revolutionary movements. CLEAVER was a genial host, greeting each new arrival, entering into long discussions full of references of CHE GUEVARA and FRANTZ FANON. One of the guests told CLEAVER he was impressed by his grasp of revolutionary theories."

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

In addition to the article by GRAMONT, there appeared copies of a statement given to the author by CLEAVER in Algiers. It reads in part as follows:

"Here in Algiers we have set up an International Section of the BPP. Through this tactic we internationalized our struggle. We show the oppression is an international problem. We have been successful in making alliances with other movements. We are going to bring up the issue of our oppression in the international public forum. We will publicize our struggle, develop expansions with other groups and receive assistance from them. Although we realize that the United Nations is only a puppet of the United States, we are going to lay a concrete proposal before the United Nations...

"We have black people who are our deadly enemies. The black pig, a white pig, a yellow pig, a pink pig - a dead pig is the best pig of all. We encourage people to kill them because the police constitute an Army...our problems derive from the System itself. We have to completely eliminate a capitalist system and replace it with Socialism...

"There are also advantages to political assassination, in that this can eliminate the function, but you know that the man will be replaced, and it has great educational value. It teaches the people to kill the enemy and hit at America. It would give me great satisfaction if RICHARD NIXON should be killed. I would consider that an excellent thing.

"My ambition is the destruction of the present system."

The December 14, 1970, issue of Der Spiegel of Hamburg, West Germany, contained an article reflecting the results of an interview with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. Portions of that interview read as follows:

"Interviewer: This includes also the call for political murder?"

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324

FL:lmk

'CLEAVER: Now, take President NIXON for example. He has even intensified the oppression of the black population and other progressive forces. He is responsible for the situation where the year-long work of Civil Rights fighters has been reduced to nothing. He is being hated by many people. And we believe that it would be of . . . . that it would have an inspiring effect, if he were eliminated by violence..."

"Interviewer: And then?"

"CLEAVER: Then the people would understand that it is not only desirable but even possible to eliminate such individuals as RICHARD NIXON. He is an obstacle on the way to our freedom. For this reason he should be eliminated brutally."

On February 18, 1971, the International Section of the BPP in Algiers, Algeria, wrote a letter to HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP, in Oakland, California. This letter included the transcript of a statement presented by BPP Field Marshal DONALD COX to the Palestinian Student Conference at Kuwait February 13-17, 1971. The signer of the letter was ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and this letter reads in part as follows:

"We have received a series of invitations for a delegation of Black Panthers to visit North Vietnam, China, and North Korea. These invitations are of very long standing and are very important towards solidifying our revolutionary intercommunal relationships and elevating our revolutionary consciousness.

"The invitations to China and North Vietnam were extended to me during my visit to those countries last summer, when I was asked to bring a delegation of Black Panthers to visit. The invitation to North Korea has been extended for even longer, and all these invitations were open in terms of time. But now, the invitation to visit North Korea has been made very specific. They want to have a delegation of Black Panthers, about four or five people, to visit around the end of April or the beginning of May..."



~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

"I feel that you should be a member of the delegation to North Korea, and especially you should to in the delegation to China. This visit is going to be a key trap in establishing working relationships with our true friends. We must make intercommunalism as much a part of our practice as it is of our rhetoric...

"As I told you before we have sent D. C. (DONALD COX) and SEKOU as the representatives of the BPP to the Palestinian Student Conference held in Kuwait February 13-17, 1971. We were invited there by AL FETH. I have enclosed a copy of the speech we drafted to be presented at the conference. This states our position on Israel and Zionism as it has never been stated before and we would like to have it published unedited."

The "statement" of the BPP to the Palestinian Student Conference reads in part as follows:

"The BPP is honored to be invited to participate in the Conference of Palestinian Students here in Kuwait. We thank our comrades for making our presence here possible. We bring to you fraternal greetings and heart-felt solidarity from the American revolutionary movement.

"Long years of treachery, torture, bloodshed, and exploitation at the hands of the imperialist butchers link the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Afro-American people for their just liberation. We both have suffered years of defeat for trusting our so-called friends to solve our problems for us; we both have discovered that it is only when we throw off dependency and patience and pick up weapons ourselves to fight for our own freedom that we begin to taste success.

"The usurpation of territory by Imperialism is a world-wide phenomena, causing untold misery, suffering, exploitation, and destruction to the people of the world. In fact, there is a global conspiracy on the part of the racist imperialist powers to maintain domination over the land and its resources occupied by oppressed peoples. Within the United States, the black, red, yellow, and brown people are victimized by extreme economic exploitation and blatant racial oppression, and are moving towards the resolution of their problems with revolutionary organization and revolutionary violence. We live on the land, but we cannot share in the fruits

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

of our labor nor the wealth of the land. We are victims of fascist repression and insidious murder by the local police forces occupying our communities. Outside the United States, the same Imperial administration that governs us perpetrates heinous crimes against the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It has usurped their resources, wrenched control over their governments, and prevented the people from employing the wealth of their land and their human talents for their own benefit.

"Throughout Latin America, Yankee Imperialism is strangling the people with its neo-colonial domination. And in the face of this world-wide butchery and misery, cold blooded revisionists work hand-in-glove with the imperialists, revealing themselves as partners in the international white racist conspiracy to rule the world. Regardless of their spoken ideology, practice makes it clear that they share the same goals: the end result is to block revolution. They will let you get killed, cause you to get killed, assist your being killed, or kill you if you stand in their way.

"The BPP stands for power to the people. We support the struggle of the Palestinian people to give the power back to the people that has been usurped by the Zionist-Imperialist monster, Israel. The Palestinian people have become, like black people in the United States, a dispersed collection of communities having no land to call their own.

"The BPP unconditionally and firmly supports the just struggle of the Palestinian people and their war of national salvation against the lackey state of Israel and its imperialist backers. The BPP calls upon all the progressive people, parties, organizations, governments and movements to mount a new offensive against the pizatical and barbarous U. S. Imperialist Empire and its bootlicking Zionist puppet Israel. Let the people of the world rise up against the common enemy and thus usher in a new day of freedom, prosperity, and peace for the whole world."

[REDACTED] 9/15/71

The March 9, 1971, issue of the "Oakland Tribune" contained an article captioned "CLEAVER: NEWTON is expelled." The article is datelined in Algiers and reads in part as follows:

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

"ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, who leads one segment of the quarreling BPP, asserts that HUEY NEWTON and DAVID HILLIARD have been expelled as revisionists.

"NEWTON is the Party's leader and HILLIARD is its Chief of Staff. Both are in California where NEWTON said just about the same thing last week about CLEAVER.

"CLEAVER, in a weekend statement to the press, said that NEWTON, HILLIARD, HILLIARD's wife, JUNE and 'all those who follow NEWTON's revisionist line no longer form a part of the BPP.'

"CLEAVER who leads what he calls the Party's 'International Section,' said that 'for a long time these deviationists have been in disagreement with the International Section of the Party.'

"NEWTON has abandoned party principles and proceeded with unjustifiable expulsions. His methods and the way he approaches problems have led him to work like the American Communist Party, a narrow-minded and stagnant Party.'

"He also called for Panthers to get rid of 'hippies and followers of drugs' and 'bring about revolution by means of the gun.'

"In an interview, Mrs. CLEAVER said her husband's section of the Party had the support of the New York chapter and 'rank and file members,' including those purged by NEWTON and HILLIARD."

The March 31, 1971, issue of the "Daily Californian", the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) newspaper, contained an article captioned "Cleaver Seeks Whites' Support." The article was written by CON O'LEARY and reads in part as follows:

"ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, in a taped 10 minute message received by the 'Daily Californian' Monday called upon the white radical community to support him in the power struggle now going on within the BPP...

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

"In his first unequivocal call for white support CLEAVER said: 'We hope that white radicals will come out and take a principle position in this struggle, because to allow vicious elements like HILLIARD and NEWTON to continue functioning is, I feel, contrary to the American revolution as a whole.'"

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS

CHARLENE MITCHELL, publicly identified Communist Party (CP) member and that Party's Presidential candidate in the 1968 national election, spoke at a Connecticut State CP meeting in New Haven on September 27, 1970. During her speech she stated that she had traveled to Algiers where she visited with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. She said she tried to induce CLEAVER to tell the BPP in the United States to follow less militant tactics and to use a more Marxist-Leninist approach. She said she was not successful. She said that the whole Panther movement is following the wrong approach and the wrong tactics in using guns.

5/29/70

b2  
b7D

The February 5, 1971, to February 12, 1971, issue of the "Berkeley Tribe", an underground newspaper published weekly in Berkeley, California, contained an article captioned "ELDRIDGE on Tim and Rosemary." The article reads in part as follows:

"This is a transcript of the tape made by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algiers, after the Inter-Communal Section of the Black Panther Party 'busted' TIMOTHY and ROSEMARY LEARY.

"Today is January 12, 1971. Since September of 1970, Dr. TIMOTHY LEARY and his wife ROSEMARY have been with us here in the Inter-Communal Section of the BPP in Algeria. During that time, much confusion has been generated, partly because of our own silence on the subject, as to the relationship between the BPP and Dr. LEARY and his wife.

"I want to take this opportunity to set forth our position on that and also to make a few observations on the drug culture as a whole inside the United States specifically, as it relates to the process of carrying out the revolutionary struggle against the fascist imperialist empire of the United States of America.

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

"A couple of months ago, I was talking to Dr. LEARY about...how we would integrate him into our operation here... how he could function, and specifically how he could be projected to the press in terms of his public image...He stated that he thought that he should be projected as the 'Aristotle' or the 'Socrates' or the 'Sartre' of the American revolution. I think that kind of symbolizes...how Dr. LEARY has constantly tried to relate to us. He seems to take himself seriously as the high priest of the revolution; and in some sense sees himself as sort of a secular god,...around which the revolutionary movement inside the United States revolves.

"And also, after many discussions with him on the subject of drugs and the relevancy of drugs, specifically LSD, as a weapon in the revolutionary struggle, I've come to conclude that Dr. LEARY is irrevocably wed to the idea of the beneficial aspects of LSD in the context of the revolutionary movement...He would rather die than give up the idea of changing American society by dosing everyone with LSD. Well, this is not a principle or a suggestion that we in the BPP can in any way endorse, because we think it's absurd and unrealistic as an approach to carrying out our struggle.

"LEARY seems content to continue advising people to 'Turn on, tune in and drop out,' and he really means it when he says that freedom means getting high. This is in direct conflict with the needs of the American revolution...We need people with clear heads, sober people who have their wits about them, because we're confronted with murderous fascist pigs who will stop at nothing and who have so much manpower at their disposal..."

The February 22, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" contained an article captioned "CLEAVER Tells How to Free ANGELA." This article is datelined Rome and reads in part as follows:

"A Pro-Communist Italian 'Daily Today' newspaper quoted BPP leader ELDRIDGE CLEAVER as saying a Latin American style political kidnapping can be a means of liberating ANGELA DAVIS..."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324

FL:lmk

"CLEAVER: 'The time for protesting against political trials in the traditional way is ended. The most efficient way can only be a revolutionary attempt to liberate ANGELA DAVIS as the experience of the Latin Americans show.'

"Paese Sera (newspaper): 'Does this mean that you intend to kidnap a diplomat or political exponent to exchange him for ANGELA DAVIS?'

"CLEAVER: 'It is a matter of variations on a theme. One could kidnap a pig, a hog, someone highly esteemed...'

ANGELA DAVIS is publicly identified CP member presently awaiting trial on charges of kidnapping - murder in Marin County, California.

On February 24, 1971, educational television station KQED of San Francisco, California, broadcast an hour-long interview featuring drug cultist TIMOTHY LEARY, an escapee from a California prison and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, in Algiers, Algiers. The indication was that the interview had been video-taped in early February, 1971, and concerned the argument between CLEAVER and LEARY on how the drug culture relates to carrying out the revolution. CLEAVER ridiculed LEARY for his public position on drugs and particularly LSD and indicated that it was not desirable for revolutionaries to follow LEARY's advice to utilize LSD. He further ridiculed JERRY RUBEN - ABBY HOFFMAN type revolutionary as having a psychedelic approach to revolution which has been ineffective and said that he wanted a Weatherman type underground development in the United States for the purpose of dealing seriously in terms of war with the empire of Babylon to give up toy guns, to stop gathering and to start "Weathermaning" and "Panthering."

The March 6, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther", the official BPP newspaper, contained an article captioned "Free Kathleen Cleaver" which article indicated it was written by ELAINE BROWN, Deputy Minister of Information of the Southern California Chapter of the BPP. This article reads in part as follows:

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
FL:lmk

"KATHLEEN CLEAVER, the Communications Secretary of the BPP, is unable to come to the U. S. to speak on March 5th at the Oakland Auditorium in behalf of our incarcerated Chairman, BOBBY SEALE and in behalf of ERICKA HUGGINS, who are on trial for their lives. Some months ago, she had agreed to return to the Empire (United States), having been away for quite a while, to speak on that Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity for Chairman BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS. But we did not hear from KATHLEEN again. We would call and her husband, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, would always talk for her, indicating and finally saying that she would not come to speak for the Chairman. He would tell us that he was not going to send her. KATHLEEN is a member of the Central Committee of the BPP, yet we were told that beyond all else her husband would not let her out of the house. In other words, she was 'his woman' first, and if that conflicted with her work as a revolutionary, then his chauvinist rule would take a primary position over that. Even to the point of stopping the progress of our glorious struggle.

"KATHLEEN explained at another time that although ELDRIDGE said he had sent her to Korea to maintain our solidarity with the courageous Korean people and because they would take good care of her during her second pregnancy, that, in fact, ELDRIDGE saw himself as using the Korean People to get rid of KATHLEEN for a while, so he could have his new 'woman' without interference.

"When he did finally join her in Korea (during the Delegation tour), he constantly harassed her with the statement that the baby she was carrying was not his. In her pregnant state, and with everything else, this remark had a devastating effect. And finally, the day after KATHLEEN had the baby, we (ELDRIDGE and myself) went to the hospital to visit her. And, at that time he repeated somewhat what he had done when she had had their first baby. He slapped her there in the hospital bed, told her he was leaving her, that she was no longer his wife and that he was returning to Algiers and MALIKA, and leaving her in Korea indefinitely.

SF 157-4324

FL:lmk

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"And now she is locked up there in Algiers with him. Forced to stay there and accept whatever is meted out to her, for fear of her very life. In fact, when I last saw ELDRIDGE, he was laughing about how 'we bury people here' (Algiers). He was referring to a brother he had in fact murdered in Algiers. As many beatings and as much suffering that KATHLEEN endured from ELDRIDGE, she had finally been able to break away, steal away, and make contact with another man. She had wanted to do this all along. She had never been narrow in her approach, for just as ELDRIDGE had had many women with whom he had relationships, she, like him, also wanted relationships with other men. This is only natural, reasonable. But she finally did manage to slip in a moment in which she too could have freedom of choice.

"She began relating to a brother who had just - at that time - come to Algiers. His name was RAHIM (CLINTON SMITH). He and a brother named BYRON BOOTH had escaped from the California State Penitentiary at Chino. They had hijacked a plane to Cuba, where they had met ELDRIDGE. All of them went to Algiers. And there KATHLEEN and RAHIM met.

"In an act exemplifying the true nature of a chauvinist, a combination of cowardly terror and an inferiority complex, ELDRIDGE snatched even this from KATHLEEN. He killed - which act he could never seem to be able to commit against any of the People's oppressor - killed this brother, RAHIM. He murdered him and buried his body right in Algiers, because KATHLEEN had done only once what he had made an integral part of their relationship.

"Of course, the chauvinist behavior he exhibited and the resulting murder of RAHIM was endorsed by the Algerian government of HOUARI BOUMEDIENNE, who himself being an extreme chauvinist and opportunist, gave ELDRIDGE the plot of ground in which to bury RAHIM; and BOUMEDIENNE kept it quiet for him.

~~SECRET~~





In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California  
May 12, 1971

Title	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CUSTODY OR CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON
Reference	San Francisco report of SA [redacted] dated and captio <sup>b7C</sup> as above.

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

F B I

Date: 6/14/71

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (88-7160)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FUGITIVE - UFAP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/8/01 BY 39063 ELW/pmk/L

\_\_\_\_\_ formerly with the White House,  
and currently residing in Denver, furnished the following  
information to SCS \_\_\_\_\_

He is friendly with the FBI and has furnished  
information in the past concerning his association with  
Soviet nationals while assigned to the White House.

\_\_\_\_\_ who is a friend of Assistant to the  
Director, WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN, said that upon return from  
Portugal on Thursday, 6/10/71, via TWA Airlines, he rented  
a car from Rent-A-Car Company, located in the TWA terminal.  
On the way out of the terminal, he saw a man at the water  
fountain whom he thought to be ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; walked up  
to this man and said, "I know you, you are ELDRIDGE CLEAVER."  
The man responded, "Oh, no, no." At this point, a second  
individual whom \_\_\_\_\_ did not believe overheard his  
conversation about ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, approached the water  
fountain and said, "Hey, ELDRIDGE, have you got a dime?"  
\_\_\_\_\_ proceeded to an employee of TWA who appeared to  
be a ground-crew man, who was in the proximity, and asked if  
the individual in question were ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. The TWA  
employee acknowledged the fact and said there were eight or  
ten men watching CLEAVER at that time. \_\_\_\_\_ described the  
TWA employee as being a very tall, white man, about 6' 5"  
in height and of a very heavy build.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
- 1 - WFO

REC-21

100-447251-762X 9-

JUN 17 1971

CJJ:teb

55 JUN 26 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

JUL 6 1973

WFO 88-7160

[redacted] said that the man he believed to be ELDRIDGE CLEAVER looked exactly like CLEAVER's picture which he has seen in the latter's book, "Soul on Ice", and in the news media. He was wearing a purple shirt and a brown-black vest which was not buttoned. He was unable to recall any other condition of the clothing. There were three or four other black men who joined "ELDRIDGE."

b7C

b7D

The above incident occurred in an area of the TWA terminal where people board flights and [redacted] assumes that "ELDRIDGE" was outbound.

The above information was telephonically furnished to SA [redacted] New York Office, with the request that investigation be conducted in the TWA terminal at Kennedy International Airport.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

b7C

~~SECRET~~

**Domestic Intelligence Division**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

### INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 6-7-71

b1

(S)

15

Information in attached is being furnished to the Internal Security Division and we are following the situation closely.

ABK:1rs

CLASSIFIED BY ~~123~~  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

Derivative

~~SECRET~~

7/2/71

b7C

Airtel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1  
1

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE

IO #4239, WF #447

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER

PARTY (BPP)

UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT

MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A

DEADLY WEAPON

(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

CLASS. & EXT. BY 10.308/KJ 12-2-80  
REASON - FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 7-2-91

ReNYairtels and LHMs, dated 3/31/71 and 4/21/71,  
captioned "Black Panther Party - Cleaver Faction, New York  
Division, RM."

Referenced LHMs contained information concerning  
the arrangement between [redacted]  
and Eldridge Cleaver whereby [redacted]

You should recontact your source at [redacted]

[redacted] Eldridge  
Cleaver. Also ascertain if funds are still being regularly  
sent to Cleaver through the Credit Swiss Bank, Geneva,  
Switzerland; the amounts sent; and all available details  
concerning the arrangements whereby Cleaver receives the  
money.

Report results plus pertinent information  
previously reported in referenced LHMs to the Bureau and  
San Francisco by LHM captioned as above. Your LHM should

REC-53

1 - San Francisco (157-4304)

RNB:maz

(6)

19 JUL 6 1971

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Reaver \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

55 JUL 9 1971

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Airtel to New York  
Re: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver  
100-447251

show the complete picture of Cleaver's arrangements with his literary agent, the amount of money he regularly receives from his writings, and his current financial condition (Are his writings still making money?).

Furnish the Bureau 14 copies of your LHM.

NOTE:

Cleaver, a fugitive in Algeria, was formerly BPP Minister of Information. He now heads the Cleaver Faction which has split from BPP national headquarters. Cleaver is a Key Black Extremist and a key figure in the current factionalism within the BPP. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

b1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *fr* LEGAT, COPENHAGEN (88-23) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER<sup>NR 01</sup>  
FUGITIVE <sub>6-29-71</sub>

DATE: 6/21/71

As this office recently received rumors that subject has been invited by student groups of the Universities of Bergen and Tromso, Norway, to lecture sometime in the Fall of 1971, I have alerted Norwegian police sources to the possibility of his arrival and his status as a fugitive. I have also requested that this office be immediately advised in the event subject appears in Norway.

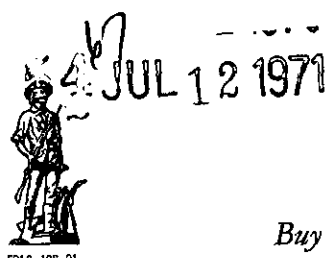
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/8/01 BY 31013 ELW/bmc/pt

3-Bureau  
(1-Foreign Liaison Desk)  
1-Copenhagen

LM:cjb  
(4)

REC-40

100-447221-965  
7 JUN 28 1971



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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *on this*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
*Envelope* DATE *1/8/01* BY *39013/aw/rep/2*  
*904394*

*F397AC*

*100-447251-966*

ENCLOSURE



# Møte med Eldridge Cleaver

## En amerikansk revolusjonær

Av Jens Bjørneboe

ALGER  
Mohammed Bencharouba — idag kjent verden over under sitt dekknavn fr: befrielseskrigen mot Frankrike: Houari Boumedienne — har gjort sitt Algerie til kyll for opprørere og revolusjonære fra «ver sagt alle land. Flyktninger fra Cuba, kidnappere fra Latinamerika, opprørere fra nabolandet Spania, frihetsskjempere fra de «portugisiske» kolonier i Afrika, alle ville, — til og med fransk-kana- diere og Gyfaktige for det amerikanske kritiskpolitikk — har funnet ekell og en måte å leve på her i Algerie. Den lend- flyktige Eldridge Cleaver, feng- selfuglt, fremragende forfatter og journalist, men fremfor alt in- formasjonsminister i Black Panther Party, er blant de mest kjente her.

Tra dager for han skulle ferzales på ny, rute han fra USA og ankom til Cuba, — fra Cuba gikk velen v. dene til Alge- rie, hvorfra han skal vende til- bake til USA, når iden er kom- met.

JB: Deres privatadresse er ukjent. Føler De Dem i fysisk fare?

CLEAVER: Absolutt ikke. (Det var usædvanlig vennelig å komme i direkte kontakt med Cleaver, det tok et par uker til, på tross av at notat ble for- midlet gjennom en av Cleavers

algeriske venner, M. Mekari, som er utgiver av bladet «Alge- rie Actualité». Jeg har inntrykk av at det ble innhentet opplys- ninger om intervjueren).

JB: Når er De født?

CLEAVER: 1928.

JB: Herregud. De er femten år yngre enn meg. Hvor ble De født?

CLEAVER: I Arkansas — Little Rock.

Mens loynant Colley ble kjent skyldig i overlagt mord og generalenes ære enda en gang var reddet, sat jeg i Alger og snakket med Colleys landflyktige landsmann, Black Panther-lederen Eldridge Cleaver. Ett av spørsmå- lene var: «Er Black Panthers et nasjonal, amerikansk po- litisk parti, eller er det en internasjonal bevegelse?» — Cleaver svarer: «Jeg tror det er begge deler». — «Kan jeg — som hvit ikke-amerikaner også bli medlem av par- tiet?» — «Ja, absolutt».

JB: Utdannelse?

CLEAVER: High School.

(Cleaver tok sin eksamen i fengselet, og har meget av sin læring og øvrige utdanning fra bibliotekene i San Quentin, Fol- som og Seledad. Hans viktigste litterære verk er hittil «JEL- PA IS», som også ble skrevet i fengsel).

JB: Hver mange ganger har De vært i fengsel?

CLEAVER: To ganger — men flere ganger i ungdomsfengsel.

JB: Hvor ofte dømt?

CLEAVER: Seks ganger. (Han ble dømt for første gang for å være i besittelse av ganske store mengder hasj — en ves- sel. Han var da atten år, på se- nare ble han dømt for voldthet).

JB: Yrke?

CLEAVER: Journalist.

(Cleaver er på tross av sitt ekell fremdeles fast medarbeider i «Ramparts», «Esquire», «Black Dialogue», og skriver også i an- dre publikasjoner. Men han er

— som elende av statene — av- skåret fra å høve eller få til- sendt gaule eller honorærer, noe som antyder småligheten i den amerikanske forfølgelsen).

JB: Hvordan er arbeidsforholdene her i Algerie? Jeg mener informasjonsfrihet og andre arbeidsomstendigheter?

CLEAVER: Jeg har utmerke- de arbeidsforhold her, fullsten- dig frihet. (Spørsmålet er egent- lig overflødig. Riktignok er Al- gerie offisielt et sosialistisk mili- tærdiktatur, men det mangler ett av diktaturens hovedtrekk: I motsetning til Cuba og de øst- europeiske landene har man i Algerie en nesten ubegrenset informasjonsfrihet, — et beak i en avislokk eller hos en bok- handler er overbevisende nok. Man kan kjøpe alle de blad og aviser som tilhører den interna- sjonale pressa, «Le Monde», «Der Spiegel», «Herald Tribune» og alt man ønsker seg. De i Rus- land forbudte, russiske forfatte- re kan man kjøpe så meget man ønsker. Det har imidlertid hendt at myndighetene har beslaglagt enkelte nummer av aviser som har viet Algerie en altfor lang- sende omtale).

JB: Og hva betyr «Deres egenlige arbeid» i her?

CLEAVER: (Hvitt, på jeg at en vennlig og mantere livvakt har jeg aldri drept om. Hvis jeg skilte Zhongt almosheren i høykvarteret i ett ord, kan jeg bare si vennligheten. Det var en frihet, en ro og en menneskelig- het listede blant medarbeiderne, som gjorde at man øyeblikkelig folte seg hjemme og akseptert. På velen utenfor huset arshar- guttene ball mot den hvite have- muren og vasket ord med de at- letiske pantere innover. Det samme gjelder også Cleaver selv.

Både Les Lockwood og frem- for alt de to «Spiegel»-reporterne som intervjuet Cleaver i huset, nevner hans reservasjon, hans distans og kjolighet. Jeg var ikke i stand til å merke et spor av den, Eldridge Cleaver var fra første øyeblikk av helt avspent, åpen og spontan — vennlig og umiddelbar. Han er en mann av litt over middels høyde, slank og kraftig bygget. Samtalen med ham går lett og utvungen, — han hører til dem som får ideer mens han snakker. — Jeg hus- ker fra tidligere møter med Ja- mes Baldwin, at jeg hele tiden

av en hvit kvinne, en handling som da var blitt av symbolisk natur for ham: A nedverdige flandens hyperfeminine dukke- kvinner. Han slapp merkelig nok med en dom på femten år, men kunne like godt ha fått dødsdom. Han har sonet ni år av dommen).

JB: Hvordan er arbeidsforholdene her i Algerie? Jeg mener informasjonsfrihet og andre arbeidsomstendigheter?

CLEAVER: Jeg har utmerke- de arbeidsforhold her, fullsten- dig frihet. (Spørsmålet er egent- lig overflødig. Riktignok er Al- gerie offisielt et sosialistisk mili- tærdiktatur, men det mangler ett av diktaturens hovedtrekk: I motsetning til Cuba og de øst- europeiske landene har man i Algerie en nesten ubegrenset informasjonsfrihet, — et beak i en avislokk eller hos en bok- handler er overbevisende nok. Man kan kjøpe alle de blad og aviser som tilhører den interna- sjonale pressa, «Le Monde», «Der Spiegel», «Herald Tribune» og alt man ønsker seg. De i Rus- land forbudte, russiske forfatte- re kan man kjøpe så meget man ønsker. Det har imidlertid hendt at myndighetene har beslaglagt enkelte nummer av aviser som har viet Algerie en altfor lang- sende omtale).

JB: Og hva betyr «Deres egenlige arbeid» i her?

CLEAVER: (Hvitt, på jeg at en vennlig og mantere livvakt har jeg aldri drept om. Hvis jeg skilte Zhongt almosheren i høykvarteret i ett ord, kan jeg bare si vennligheten. Det var en frihet, en ro og en menneskelig- het listede blant medarbeiderne, som gjorde at man øyeblikkelig folte seg hjemme og akseptert. På velen utenfor huset arshar- guttene ball mot den hvite have- muren og vasket ord med de at- letiske pantere innover. Det samme gjelder også Cleaver selv.

Både Les Lockwood og frem- for alt de to «Spiegel»-reporterne som intervjuet Cleaver i huset, nevner hans reservasjon, hans distans og kjolighet. Jeg var ikke i stand til å merke et spor av den, Eldridge Cleaver var fra første øyeblikk av helt avspent, åpen og spontan — vennlig og umiddelbar. Han er en mann av litt over middels høyde, slank og kraftig bygget. Samtalen med ham går lett og utvungen, — han hører til dem som får ideer mens han snakker. — Jeg hus- ker fra tidligere møter med Ja- mes Baldwin, at jeg hele tiden

JB: Hver mange ganger har De vært i fengsel?

CLEAVER: To ganger — men flere ganger i ungdomsfengsel.

JB: Hvor ofte dømt?

CLEAVER: Seks ganger. (Han ble dømt for første gang for å være i besittelse av ganske store mengder hasj — en ves- sel. Han var da atten år, på se- nare ble han dømt for voldthet).

JB: Utdannelse?

CLEAVER: High School.

(Cleaver tok sin eksamen i fengselet, og har meget av sin læring og øvrige utdanning fra bibliotekene i San Quentin, Fol- som og Seledad. Hans viktigste litterære verk er hittil «JEL- PA IS», som også ble skrevet i fengsel).

JB: Hver mange ganger har De vært i fengsel?

CLEAVER: To ganger — men flere ganger i ungdomsfengsel.

JB: Hvor ofte dømt?

CLEAVER: Seks ganger. (Han ble dømt for første gang for å være i besittelse av ganske store mengder hasj — en ves- sel. Han var da atten år, på se- nare ble han dømt for voldthet).

JB: Utdannelse?

CLEAVER: High School.

(Cleaver tok sin eksamen i fengselet, og har meget av sin læring og øvrige utdanning fra bibliotekene i San Quentin, Fol- som og Seledad. Hans viktigste litterære verk er hittil «JEL- PA IS», som også ble skrevet i fengsel).

JB: Hver mange ganger har De vært i fengsel?

CLEAVER: To ganger — men flere ganger i ungdomsfengsel.

JB: Hvor ofte dømt?

CLEAVER: Seks ganger. (Han ble dømt for første gang for å være i besittelse av ganske store mengder hasj — en ves- sel. Han var da atten år, på se- nare ble han dømt for voldthet).



Eldridge Cleaver.

Cleaver og hans hustru meget mangelfullt på et lite og tredje- klasses hotell i nærheten av hav- nen.

Idag finner man imidlertid panternes internasjonale seksjon — eller høykvarter — i en villa hvor tidligere den vietnamesiske ambassade holdt til. Det er et vakkert og rommelig hus, om- gitt av høye og mur med en stor, låst jernport. Det ligger i utkanten av byen. Da jeg ringte på, ble det straks låst opp, og jeg ble motatt av to brune alle- ter i to-meters-klassen. Hvis de

littelse Cleaver, hvitt, på jeg at en vennlig og mantere livvakt har jeg aldri drept om. Hvis jeg skilte Zhongt almosheren i høykvarteret i ett ord, kan jeg bare si vennligheten. Det var en frihet, en ro og en menneskelig- het listede blant medarbeiderne, som gjorde at man øyeblikkelig folte seg hjemme og akseptert. På velen utenfor huset arshar- guttene ball mot den hvite have- muren og vasket ord med de at- letiske pantere innover. Det samme gjelder også Cleaver selv.

Både Les Lockwood og frem- for alt de to «Spiegel»-reporterne som intervjuet Cleaver i huset, nevner hans reservasjon, hans distans og kjolighet. Jeg var ikke i stand til å merke et spor av den, Eldridge Cleaver var fra første øyeblikk av helt avspent, åpen og spontan — vennlig og umiddelbar. Han er en mann av litt over middels høyde, slank og kraftig bygget. Samtalen med ham går lett og utvungen, — han hører til dem som får ideer mens han snakker. — Jeg hus- ker fra tidligere møter med Ja- mes Baldwin, at jeg hele tiden

på en viss måte også bakte til grunnloven, nærmest er avskaff- haveerne. Men vi vil faktisk samfunn. Jeg Marx har skapt de be- er best å arbeide med trakter meg som na- lat, — men det er i at vi må ta sikte på å knuse sosialisme, en som i en helt annen, spekterer enkelheten, individets rettigheter alt den personlige- form som er blitt i

JB: Er en amerik- sjon overhodet tenkbar

CLEAVER: I høy- t må bare være klar o svarer ikke står alone, ste mirakel som har i forandringen blant d ungdom. Det er ny ty- hangere som vokser op septaler ikke sine fe Vietnam-krigen har yd- lerede. Jeg tror ikke amerikanske her vil vi tiv i kamp mot amerik- idag har vi et enormt e- erter, og både blant- ne og blant dem som- tvunget til å kjempe, vi medarbeidere.

JB: De står positivt til de hvite studenter og- tuelle som sympatiser Dem idag?

CLEAVER: Ja, L. B.

Hvem taler for flitt-prola- tariatet?

Vlass marxist-leninister gjør seg skyldige i den samme klasse-egolisme og i samme hykleri som er det typiske

Vi er i virkeligheten en legasjon for den nordamerikanske sivilisasjon. Jeg skriver. I virkeligheten har Cleaver og hans stab i Alger status som diplomater, men i tillegg også en fast og betydelig gjaffe av den algeriske stat. Dette ind ha forandret seg den senere tid. Det er en kjent sak at Cleavers opphold i Castros Cuba ikke falt heldig ut. Både han selv og hans ledsagere ble behandlet som annen klasse gjester, — to av flykaprerne ble overført til arbeidsleir. Også den første tid i Algerie var lite tilfredsstillende. Så sent som da Lee Lockwood tok opp samtaler med Cleaver i Algerie, — nå nettopp utkommet i Gyldenlands «Fakkel»-serie under tittlen «Eldridge Cleaver i eksil» — bodde

at en vennligere og mer utvirket hvakt har jeg aldri drømt om. Hvis jeg skal gjengi atmosfæren i hovedkvarteret i ett ord, kan jeg bare si: vennlighet! Det var en frihet, en ro og en menneskelighet tilstede blant medarbeiderne, som gjorde at man uvelikkelig folte seg hjemme og akseptert. På veien utenfor kastet arabergullene ball mot den hvite havemuren og vekket ord med de stiletiske pautene innenfor. Det samme gjelder også Cleaver selv.

Både Lee Lockwood og fremfor alt de to «Spiegel»-reporterne som interviewet Cleaver i huset, nevner hans reservasjon, hans distans og kjølighet. Jeg var ikke i stand til å merke et spor av den, Eldridge Cleaver var fra første øyeblikk av helt avspenkt, åpen og spontan — vennlig og umiddelbar. Han er en mann av litt over middels høyde, slank og kraftig bygget. Samtalen med ham går lett og utvungen, — han hører til dem som får ideer mens han snakker. — Jeg husker fra tidligere møter med James Baldwin, at jeg hele tiden antil og folte meg som en chvil mann, og at det var min egen fordømte skyld. Ikke et minutt var det sammen med Baldwin mulig å glemme at han var svart og jeg var hvit. — I sammenheng med Cleaver føler man overhodet ikke sporsmålet, jeg tenkte ikke ett eneste øyeblikk på at det kunne bestå noen rasemessig barriere mellom oss.

JB: Hva skriver De for tiden?  
CLEAVER: Pamfletter.  
(Det ligger to av dem på bordet, en engelsk og en fransk: «Utdannelse og Revolusjon» og «Om Panther Party's Ideologi».)  
Jeg holder også på med en ny bok.

JB: Når vil USA få en svart president?

CLEAVER: Det kan godt tenkes. Men det ville ikke forandre noe, det ville ikke forandre noe. En svart president ville være en eksponent for det svarte borgerskap, som er ikke reaksjonært som det hvite. Kampen gjelder ikke svart og hvit lenger, — det dreier seg om en virkelig sosial og politisk revolusjon. Det gjelder ikke bare undertrykte svarte, men også undertrykte hvite. Blant annet har Vietnamkrigen bidradd til å gjøre dette helt klart: Det amerikanske folk blir styrt mot sin egentlige vilje, — bort fra grunnloven, bort fra likhet og frihet. Men de svarte foler det sterkest.

JB: Altså ikke en rasekamp, men en politisk kamp.

CLEAVER: Nøyaktig.

JB: Hva er Black Panthers nærmeste mål... i første omgang?

CLEAVER: Å skade og motarbeide USAs nåværende herskere og regjering på enhver måte og ved ethvert middel som er virksomt og tilgjengelig, — men også å arbeide for forbedringer og reformer — fra skolefrihet til bedre legehjelpning... og utveksling informasjon, opplysning.

JB: Og Black Panthers langsigtede mål?

CLEAVER: Total revolusjon. En fullstendig omforming av det amerikanske samfunn. Det vil

av. kan aldri bli akseptert i USA. Vi har altfor sterke demokratiske tradisjoner. — noe som det ikke finnes spor av i Russland eller Cuba. Ingen av de former for sosialisme som er praktisert idag, kan bli akseptert i USA.

JB: Er en amerikansk revolusjon overhodet tenkelig?

CLEAVER: I høy grad. Man må bare være klar over at vi svarte ikke står alene. Det største mirakel som har skjedd, er forandringen blant den hvite ungdom. Det er ny type amerikanere som vokser opp, de aksepterer ikke sine fedres syn. Vietnamkrigen har ydet alt allerede. Jeg tror ikke at den amerikanske hær vil være effektiv i kamp mot amerikanere. Alt idag har vi et enormt antall deserterere, og både blant deserterere og blant dem som har vært tvunget til å kjempe, vil vi finne medarbeidere.

JB: De står positivt innstillet til de hvite studenter og intellektuelle som sympatiserer med Dem idag?

CLEAVER: Helt. Både her i US og i andre land. Man kunne naturligvis ønske at de satte seg bedre inn i hva saken gjelder, — at det dreier seg om en fullstendig ombygging av et sykt og skadent samfunn. Vi må være forberedt på at de ekstrame høyrekræfter i USA vil gjøre et statskupp relativt snart, dvs innføre et rent fascistisk politt og militærregime. Det blir begynnelsen til revolusjonen, som vil bli utkjempet gjennom en bygerilla, helt anderledes enn i Russland eller i Kina eller Cuba. Vi har andre problem og andre omgivelser, og vår revolusjonsteori og — metode vil bli våre egne, amerikanske. I den taktikk som Maffia'en har utviklet, ligger det meget som kan brukes. Det som gjelder i Cuba, Kina, Russland og andre steder er ikke gyldig i USA. Alt må gjøres på ny og anderledes. Vi er over tytte millioner svarte, og til dem kommer de, de antifascistiske hvite som også vil kjempe.

JB: Har De noe inntrykk av Skandinaviens holdning?

CLEAVER: Vi setter stor pris på den. Som De kanskje vet, skulle jeg ha vært både i Danmark og i Sverige, men myndighetene ønsket ikke å garantere at jeg ikke ble utlevert til USA.

JB: Jeg vet De står på ønskelisten hos politiet. Har De lyst til å komme til Norge og tale?

CLEAVER: Meget gjerne. Men jeg må ha en garanti, jeg går ikke i fengsel på ny.

JB: Det vil bli interessant å se hva reaksjonen i Norge vil være. Hva kan man for øvrig gjøre i Skandinavia for De sak?

CLEAVER: Sette seg nøyaktig inn i hva den går ut på. Jeg har vært rasist, og jeg har vært Black Muslim. Idag er jeg bare revolusjonær. Det dreier seg om en sammenstilling av amerikansk-mexicanske, negre, amerikanske kinesere, arabere — og av hvite. Det er situasjonen.

#### Hvem taler for flls-proletariatet?

Våre marxist-leninister gjør seg skyldige i den samme klasse-regelns og i samme hykleri som er det typiske trekk i overklassens måte å betrakte dem på, som står luvs på den sociale skala. Og etter som det er en klar motsetning mellom proletariatets høyre og venstre fløy, fordi den høyre fløyen har akseptert sine egne organisasjoner, er det helt nødvendig at også den venstre fløyen skaffer seg sine organisasjonsformer for å representere sine egne interesser overfor de flendtlige klasser — og det omfatter klassen over dem. Ett av de karakteristiske trekk ved de svarte amerikanske frigjøringskamp i USA er at de fleste av aksjonene finner sted på gaten. Det kommer av den kjonegjerning at det stort sett er det svarte flls-proletariatet som har vært fortruppen i de svartes opprør.

Eldridge Cleaver i «Qui parle pour le loup-proletariat?» à propos de l'idéologie du Black Panther Party, Edit. Gll-le-Coent.

Hver svart mor, enhver svart far, enhver mexicansk mor, enhver mexicansk far, hver eneste far og mor i hver eneste gruppe, hvite, portorikere, indianere, cokuoer, arabere, juder, chiuesere, japanere, hvilken som helst etnisk gruppe de må måtte tilhøre, — må lære å forstå, at hvis de ikke har noe barn eller tenåringer innenfor den underordningsregimen, fordi de ikke har hatt våd til å sende dem til college eller lignende utdannelsesteder, da er dette i seg selv en kritikk av strukturen innen De Forenede Staters undervisningsvesen.

... vi vil ikke tillate den herskende klasse å bruke brutallitet og vold mot oss, uten at vi selv vil bruke den samme vold og brutallitet mot dem.

Eldridge Cleaver i «Education and Revolution» i «The Black Panther» nr. 1, 1967.

100-447251-966

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/8/01 BY SP4JSS/STP/STP/L  
904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/8/01 BY SP4JSS/STP/STP/L  
904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/8/01 BY SP4JSS/STP/STP/L  
904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/8/01 BY SP4JSS/STP/STP/L  
904394

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : Legat, London (157-120) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE: 7/19/71

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/8/01 BY 39063 *ew/smk/hel*

ReLonlet 4/20/71.

Enclosed for information are two copies of telegram dated 7/15/71 from American Embassy, Oslo, to State Department, regarding the Norwegian Students Association.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 2)  
1 - Foreign Liaison Desk  
1 - London  
ACM:cm  
(5)

REC-53

b7C

969

*Copy to San Francisco*  
*7/28/71*  
*JLA/jps*



5010-108-02

JUL 29 1971

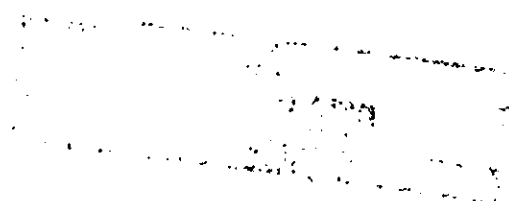
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100 4 1 969

ENCLOSURE

---

7



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 7/28/71

FROM : *JM* Legat, London (157-120) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ReLONlet 7/23/71.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau are two copies of Amembassy London Telegram dated 7/26/71 from Oslo.

3 - Bureau (Encs. 2) **ENCLOSURE**  
1 - Foreign Liaison Desk  
1 - London  
JTM:ejg  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/2/01 BY 39023 ELW/MAH/L

*1 copy - 806 HP*

*1 copy let + enclosure to:*

*San Francisco by O-7*

*info*

*8/6/71*

*JLA/jjo*

EX-115-30

22 AUG 3 1971

*971*  
**RACIAL INT. SECT.**



51 AUG 1971

5010-108-02

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

100-44712-971

ENCLOSURE

51 AUG 4 1971

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 7/23/71

FROM : Legat, London (157-120) (P)

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

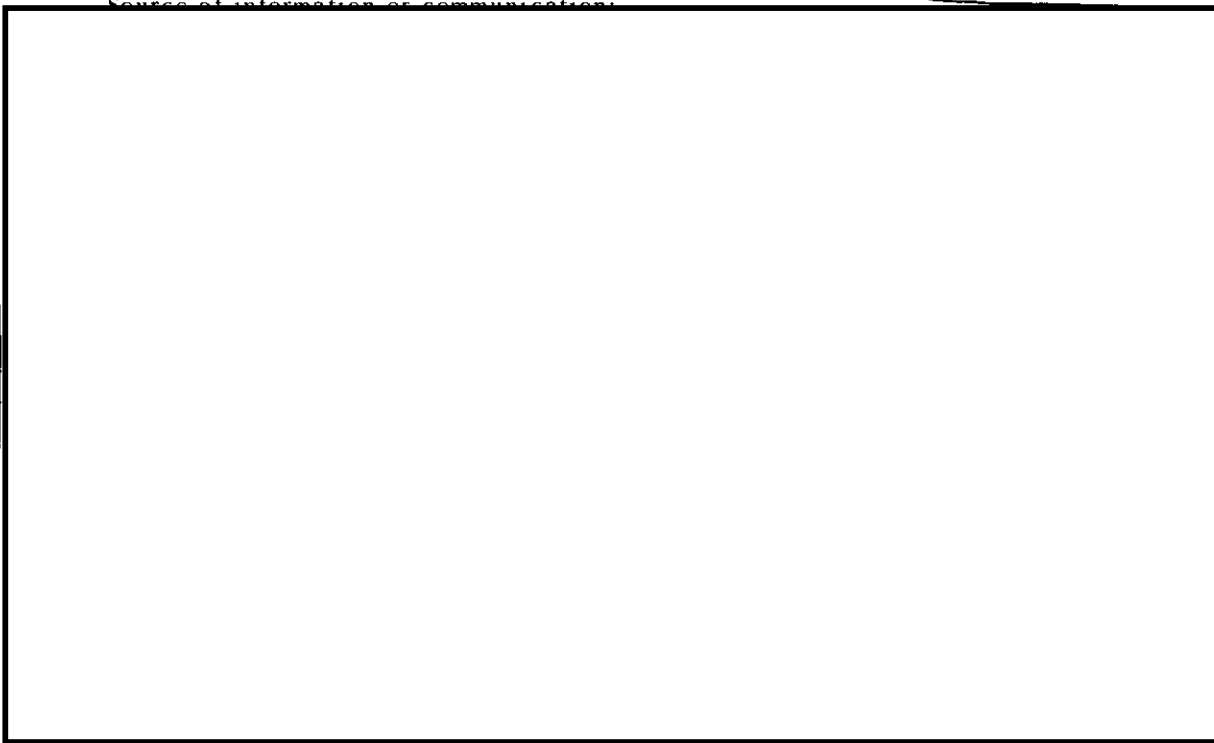
SUBJECT: RM - BPP

ReLonlet 7/19/71

☒ Enclosed are 2 copies of:

☐ LHM ☒ Communication dated 7/22/71  
classified **LIMITED OFFICIAL** Conceal source.  
**USE**

Source of information or communication:



2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) ENCLOSURE  
1 - Foreign Liaison Desk  
1 - London  
JTM:vw  
(4)

EX-10 REC-34

16 AUG 4 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
BPP

51 AUG 9 1971



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 8-10-71

FROM : Legat, Rome (88-55) (RUC)

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

Re Rome let 3-22-71.

For the information of the Bureau and San Francisco.  
on 7-21-71 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in Italy had developed no pertinent information to date concerning the subject, his wife KATHLEEN CLEAVER, or Black Panther Party associate DENISE OLIVER. KATHLEEN CLEAVER was born [REDACTED] at Dallas, Texas, and possesses U. S. Passport [REDACTED]. OLIVER was born [REDACTED] at Brooklyn, New York, and possesses U. S. Passport [REDACTED].

On the basis of this information, [REDACTED] determine if KATHLEEN CLEAVER or DENISE OLIVER had possibly visited Italy in connection with the travel mentioned above. As noted above, no information was developed which would indicate that KATHLEEN CLEAVER or OLIVER traveled to Italy.

[REDACTED] is continuing its inquiries and will advise Legat promptly of any information relating to the travel of KATHLEEN CLEAVER or DENISE OLIVER.

- 6 - Bureau
  - (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)
  - (2 - San Francisco 88-12329)
- 1 - Legat, Bern (Info) (Direct)
- 3 - Rome (88-55)

JCM:hcs  
(10)



5010-108-02

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

~~SECRET~~

100 N.Y. 8/29/71  
@CKm/pah (Cif)

FUGITIVE  
WANTED - INT. SEC.

~~SECRET~~

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>8/6/71</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>5/12/71 - 8/2/71</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka FUGITIVE IO #4239 WANTED FLYER 447</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>crv</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)</b>	

REFERENCE: Report of SA  dated 5/12/71 at San Francisco.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Two (2) copies of FD-376 are stapled to this report.

1/10/01  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/SA/60267-~~100~~  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X L  
904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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 <i>RG/17</i>						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		
COPIES MADE:						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
5 - Bureau (100-447251) (RM) 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Classes 3 and 5c) (RM) (RRR) 4 - San Francisco (3 - 157-4324) (1 - 88-12329)						100 - <u>447251</u> - <u>975</u> REC-106 5 AUG 12 1971		
Dissem. Record of Attached Report Agency: <u>1cc 7D 376 + rpt to Sec Service</u> Request Recd.: <u>8/12/71</u> Date Fwd.: <u>9/16/71</u> How Fwd.: <u>1cc 806</u> <u>Copies 150</u> <u>8/16/71</u> <u>JLA/jio</u> By:						Notations <div style="text-align: center;"><del>SECRET</del></div> <div style="text-align: right;"><b>RACIAL INT. SECT.</b></div>		

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
RCW/crv

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[REDACTED] is (S)  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

157-4324-1109, 1118

b1

157-4324-1091

157-4324-1087, 1091

157-4324-1095, 1108

157-4324-1117

b2  
b7D

- B -  
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

~~SECRET~~

August 6, 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) (1) (RM-RRR)  
U. S. Secret Service , San Francisco

~~SECRET~~

Enclosure(s) (1) (RM-RRR) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 Ew/pmp  
ON 11/10/91

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

b7C

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Classes 3 and 5c) (RM-RRR)

Report of: [REDACTED]

Date: 8/6/71

Office: San Francisco, California

Field Office File #: 157-4324

Bureau File #: 100-447251

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND  
ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON

## Synopsis:

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER continues to reside in Algiers, Algeria. He is engaged in the writing of books and articles. The Black Panther Party continues to regard him as a renegade. CONSIDER ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDResidence

b1

10/10/01  
CLASSIFIED BY 39013ELW/mc/pl  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
904394

6/28/71

b2  
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~~~GROUP 1~~

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
RCW/crv

II. ACTIVITIES AND/OR CONNECTIONS  
WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

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

On May 15, 1971, a source advised that HUEY P. NEWTON stated that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was currently in the Congo in Africa. NEWTON stated that he had blocked CLEAVER from going to Albania.

[REDACTED]  
5/24/71

b2  
b7D

HUEY P. NEWTON has been publicly identified as Minister of Defense and co-founder of the BPP.

A source advised that on May 25, 1971, [REDACTED] advised that he had talked with KATHLEEN CLEAVER while in Cannes, France. Source advised that [REDACTED] told him that KATHLEEN CLEAVER expressed an interest in a conciliation with HUEY NEWTON and the BPP. Source advised that HUEY NEWTON was not interested in any conciliation.

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
6/6/71

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] is identified as a [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] and  
a friend of the BPP.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER has been publicly identified as the wife of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and former Communications Secretary of the BPP.

b7C  
b7D

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
RCW/crv

A source advised that on May 28, 1971, LONDON WILLIAMS and RORY HITHE had sided with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in the CLEAVER-NEWTON split of the Black Panther Party.

[REDACTED]  
5/28/71

LONDON WILLIAMS is publicly identified as a BPP member currently incarcerated in Connecticut awaiting murder charges.

RORY HITHE is publicly identified as a BPP member currently incarcerated in Connecticut awaiting murder charges.

A source advised on June 2, 1971, [REDACTED] told him that he had received a collect telephone call from ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algiers, Algeria. [REDACTED] told source that he refused to accept the charges on the phone call and it was not completed.

b2  
b7D  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
6/16/71

[REDACTED] is identified as a BPP member working [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]  
b1

[REDACTED]  
(S)

[REDACTED]  
7/20/71

MICHAEL TABOR has been publicly identified as a fugitive BPP member currently in Algiers, Algeria.

- 3 -  
~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
RCW/crv

DONALD COX is identified as BPP Field Marshal and presently a federal fugitive residing in Algeria.

NATHANIEL BURNS is a BPP member currently a federal fugitive residing in Algeria.

BOBBY SEALE is publicly identified as Chairman and co-founder of the BPP.

On July 22, 1971, a source advised that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was considering the possibility of going to Norway to address a student society. Source stated that CLEAVER was concerned because he felt the Norwegian Government may arrest him and return him to the United States. Source stated that there was not confirmed whether or not CLEAVER would, in fact, go to Norway.

7/22/71

b2  
b7D

### III. STATEMENTS AND WRITINGS

The following are some of the comments which appeared in the April 19, 1971 edition of the Oslo, Norway daily newspaper, "Dag Bladet" in an interview between ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and GAENS BJORNEBOE:

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in response to a question concerning his treatment in Algeria stated, "I have excellent working conditions here, complete freedom."

When asked what were the long-range goals of the BPP CLEAVER stated, "Total revolution. A complete transformation of the American society. In a way this will also mean--back to the constitution, also nullified today by those in power. But we want a socialist society. I think Marx created the concepts that are best to work with--I regard myself as a Marxist-Leninist--but it is quite certain that we have to aim at an American socialism, a socialism that to quite a different degree respects the individual person, the rights of the individual and above all, personal freedom."



~~SECRET~~

SF 157-4324  
RCW/crv

In response to a question concerning CLEAVER's attitude towards white students and intellectuals who sympathize with him, he stated he has a positive attitude towards them. He said that the people must be prepared for a coup on the part of right wing forces in the United States and must be ready for the introduction of a completely fascist state.

- 5\* -

~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

August 6, 1971

Title LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated and captioned as above at  
San Francisco, California.

b7C

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

*del 3/26/71*

DOM INTELL DIV.

AUG 11 4 41 PM '71

JOHN F. BRENNAN  
FBI JUSTICE

AUG 11 4 57 PM 1971

8/18/71

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP300*  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW *8-18-83*

AIRTEL

ROUTING UNIT  
1-SENT  
1-LETTER  
1-ERROR

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

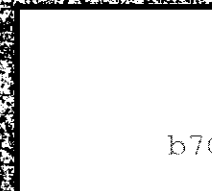
SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321) (P)

FROM:

SUBJECT:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -  
FUGITIVE  
IO NUMBER 4239  
WF NUMBER 447  
EM - BPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH  
A DEADLY WEAPON  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

*BEF*  
*one come*  
*for elgin*



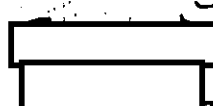
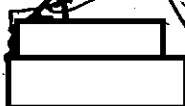
b7C

ReNYairtels and LHM's, dated 3/31/71, captioned,  
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CLEAVER FACTION, NEW YORK DIVISION;  
Buairtel to New York, dated 7/2/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 14 copies of an LHM.

On *[redacted]* New York City, advised  
this bank had received an order from *[redacted]* to reopen  
the account entitled, *[redacted]* in trust for ELDRIDGE  
CLEAVER," at the West 57th Street branch during August, 1971.

The sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are identified  
as follows:



ENCLOSURE

5-5-81  
CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP300*  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW *8-18-83*

b2  
b7C  
b7D

- 2-Bureau (Encls. 14) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-161993)
- 1-New York (100-161993 Sub P)
- 1-New York
- 2-San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
- TFR:ss
- (8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *15* AUG 26 1971  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

*Copies to ISO, IDIU, SS, IRS*

*see 806 9rd*

*9/7/71*  
*RNB/jro*

51 SEP 9 1971  
*743*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

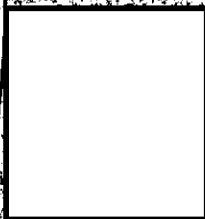


b7C  
b2

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP300*  
ON *01/10/01*

NY 100-161321

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



u  
x

b2  
b7C  
b7D

The SAs of the FBI who interviewed [redacted] were [redacted] and [redacted]

b7C

The enclosed LHM is being classified "Confidential" inasmuch as it contains information from sources, whose identities, if learned, could have an adverse effect on the national defense.

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will recontact [redacted] regarding [redacted] for further information on financial situation of CLEAVER.

b7C

-2-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bufile 100-447251  
NYfile 100-161321

New York, New York  
August 18, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP3 DB/EGW  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8-18-91

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

On March 30, 1971, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised [redacted] is the [redacted] for Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information, currently a fugitive and in exile at Algiers, Algeria. (u)

b2  
b7D

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

b7C  
b2  
b7D

On March 30, 1971, [redacted] advised Beverly Axelrod is an attorney from California who was instrumental in the release of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver from jail in California and who encouraged Cleaver to write his book, "Soul on Ice." (u)

On March 26, 1971, [redacted] New York, New York, was interviewed by Special Agents (SAs) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

b7C  
b7D

[redacted] stated that the interview of necessity would be of short duration due to a previously made engagement.

[redacted] advised that, upon receipt of monies resulting from the sale of Eldridge Cleaver's book, [redacted] as [redacted] and then [redacted]. She stated that the United States Government [redacted] which [redacted] Cleaver. The United States Government [redacted] to Cleaver for his living expenses. [redacted] added that [redacted]

b7C  
b7D

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD  
OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP  
ON 10-30-80 SP3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP3 DB/EGW  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8-18-91

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-978

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/STW/PL  
ON 11/09/01 904394

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

a complete statement on a quarterly basis to the Internal Revenue Service with respect to Cleaver's financial matters pertaining to the book royalties. The last report was filed on February 28, 1971.

b7C  
b7D

On [redacted] [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised [redacted] had contacted persons involved with the BPP - Cleaver Faction at New York City on [redacted] appeared interested in the possibility of a new book which might be published around the recent video tapes of Cleaver that were currently in the possession of the BPP - Cleaver Faction, New York City.

On [redacted] [redacted] who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised [redacted] for Eldridge Cleaver, publicly acclaimed Minister of Information for the BPP [redacted] New York City, [redacted] Eldridge Cleaver."

b2  
b7D

On [redacted] [redacted] advised this [redacted]

[redacted] This source further advised that on April 17, 1971 [redacted]

On [redacted] [redacted] who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised [redacted] for Eldridge Cleaver, [redacted] Eldridge Cleaver." This source advised on [redacted]

[redacted]

The above information is not to be made public except in the usual proceeding, following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum. The officer to be subpoenaed is [redacted]

[redacted] New York, New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 9/14/71

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2026) (RUC)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE

IO number 4239

WF number 447

EM-BPP

UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
(OO:SF)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 9063ew/pw/ek

ReWFOtel 2/4/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies and for San Francisco, 2 copies of an LHM dated as above and captioned LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, EXTREMIST MATTERS, BLACK PANTHER PARTY. Also enclosed for San Francisco are 1 copy of photograph of [redacted] and 1 copy of photograph of [redacted] obtained from files of the Passport Office, U. S. Department of State

The LHM is being disseminated locally to the U. S. Secret Service and AUSA, Washington, D. C.

Passport files reviewed by SA [redacted]

ENCLOSURE ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 8)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Enc. 4)  
2 - WFO

1cc 806 (1 - 88-70106) (CLEAVER)

HGE:jh

(6)

Copies to 150, 100, 55, [redacted]  
9/20/71  
5/21/70

1 SEP 15 1971

EX-103

FED SUP.

FACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

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

b7C

b7C





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

September 14, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
EXTREMIST MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), reviewed by a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on September 13, 1971, contained the following information regarding the children of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver and his wife Juetta Kathleen Cleaver:

On January 9, 1970, Eldridge Cleaver appeared at the Office of United States Interests (USINT), Algiers, Algeria, at which time he executed a "Report of Birth Abroad of a Citizen of the United States of America".

In this report, Mr. Cleaver stated that Maceo Cleaver, his son, was born at Tissemsilt, Algeria on [REDACTED]

Mr. Cleaver gave the following information concerning him and his wife as the parents of Maceo Cleaver:

Father

Name:	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver
Born:	August 31, 1935
Place of birth:	Little Rock, Arkansas

100-447251-980  
ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 5906 SSW/bac/bcl

b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Present address: 48bis Avenue, Clemenceau,  
Algiers, Algeria.  
Address in United States: 2777 Pine Street,  
San Francisco, California.  
Period of physical  
presence in the United  
States: 1935-1968.  
Precise period of any  
service in the Armed Forces  
of the United States: None.

Mother

Name: Juliette Kathleen Neal Cleaver.  
Born: [REDACTED]  
Place of birth: Dallas, Texas.  
Present address: 48bis Avenue, Clemenceau,  
Algiers, Algeria.  
Address in United States: [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] California.  
Period of physical  
presence in the United  
States: 1945-54 - 1961-1969.  
Precise period of any  
service in the Armed Forces  
of the United States: None.

Mr. Cleaver indicated he had married his wife on December 27, 1967, at Los Angeles, California. He brought with him his son's birth certificate, issued on January 9, 1970, by the Commune of Tissemsilt, Department of Tiaret, Algiers, Algeria, which was seen and returned to Cleaver by the USINT representative.

Being satisfied with the birth and documentation of Maceo Cleaver as a citizen of the United States, the USINT, Algiers, issued passport number Z 1064968 which is good for travel to all countries except Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea and mainland China. This passport expires on January 8, 1975.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

There was also located in this file an Operations Memorandum dated July 30, 1971, from United States Interests, (USINT), Algiers, advising the USDS that Kathleen Cleaver had applied on July 29, 1971, for a passport for her daughter Jojuyounghi Cleaver, born in Pyongyang, North Korea, on

[REDACTED] In view of the child's birth in North Korea, Mrs. Cleaver was requested to execute a "Report of Birth Abroad of a Citizen of the United States of America" which she did on July 29, 1971, whereupon USINT, Algiers, asked the Department for an advisory opinion as to whether the child could be documented as a United States citizen and receive a passport.

On August 17, 1971, the Department advised USINT, Algiers, the child would be issued a United States Passport, accordingly on August 24, 1971, she was issued United States Passport Z 1233092 which expires on August 23, 1976.

Background information regarding the parents of Jojuyounghi Cleaver appearing on the child's passport application and "Report of Birth Abroad of a Citizen of the United States" was checked against information reported in similiar documents executed for Maceo Cleaver, set out above, and was found to be the same.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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.

F B I

Date: 9/20/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063 DLP/bank/L

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (157-2942) (RUC) *enc. in Rome*

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - *see alqies*  
FUGITIVE  
IO #4239; WF #447  
EM - BPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;  
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re Bureau airtel to Mobile, 9/15/71.

Enclosed to the Bureau are five copies of LHM.  
Enclosed for San Francisco, OO, are two copies of this LHM,  
for New York four copies (as OO for the CLEAVER faction of  
Black Panther Party and as OO in case of [redacted]  
and STOKELY CARMICHAEL), and one information copy each for  
Chicago and Houston for their possible investigative interest  
in [redacted] (Enclosed LHM to be substituted for one  
previously submitted dated 8/30/71.)

Receiving offices are requested to contact  
confidential sources in an effort to verify information con-  
tained in attached LHM.

Confidential Source referred to in LHM is [redacted]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. *REC 25*

- Copies to Rome 180 55*  
*9/20/71 JLA/gg*
- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago (Inf.) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 1 - Houston (Inf.) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 4 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (88-12329) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 5 - Mobile (1 each 157-2942; 88-7141; 157-2290; 105-793; 170-197-A)
- ENCLOSURE* *EX-103* *447251-982* *22 SEP 24 1971*

RGN:mb  
(5)Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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

EXT. INT. SEC. *100-447251-982*

b7C

b2  
b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

September 20, 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 3906

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
ALSO KNOWN AS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.

A confidential source who has provided reliable information in the past advised that the [REDACTED]

Confidential source reported that two days later,

b7C  
b7D

ENCLOSURE

100-442257-982

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
ALSO KNOWN AS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

According to source, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source advised that, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
ALSO KNOWN AS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.

Source advised that [redacted] is a Black  
Muslim from [redacted] and described him as being in  
his middle [redacted] dark skin. and  
[redacted]

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

b7C  
b7D

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  
disseminated outside your agency.

9/15/71

Airtel

1 - Mr. J. L. Adams

EX-102

To: SAC, Mobile (157-2842)

REC 20

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

983

LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
1E - HPP

ReMOairtel and LHM 8/30/71.

Mobile should review referenced airtel and LHM. You should thereafter resubmit, insuring it is written in such a manner as not to identify source.

Expedite as dissemination of referenced LHM not being made.

- 1 - Chicago
- 1 - Houston
- 1 - New York
- 1 - San Francisco

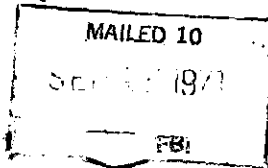
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063 ECU/ma/p

JLA:jan  
(8)

NOTE:

Referenced LHM, if disseminated, could reveal identity of source as it is too detailed in how source [redacted] It clearly identifies time when source went [redacted] Eldridge Cleaver. LHM should be rewritten to protect informant.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



62 OCT 1 1971

E.S. MILLER MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C  
b7D



FBI

Date: 8/30/71

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

Date 12/2/83 SP2 TAP/omf

LA# 15-6203

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (157-2942) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - *and Rome*  
FUGITIVE *BEF for [unclear]*  
IO #4239; WF #447  
EM - BPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;  
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Enclosed to the Bureau are five copies of LHM.  
Enclosed for San Francisco, OO, are two copies of this LHM,  
for New York four copies (as OO for the CLEAVER faction of  
Black Panther Party and as OO in case of [redacted]  
and STOKELY CARMICHAEL), and one information copy each for  
Chicago and Houston for their possible investigative interest  
in [redacted]

Receiving offices are requested to contact confidential  
sources in an effort to verify information contained in attached  
LHM.

EX-102

REC 20

Confidential Source referred to in LHM is [redacted]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

- Airtel to MO, 9/15/71, JLA:fan*
- ENCLOSURE**
- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago (Inf.) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 1 - Houston (Inf.) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 4 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (88-12329) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 5 - Mobile (1 each 157-2942; 88-7141; 157-2290; 155-793; 170-497-A)
- RGN:mb  
(15)
- 3cc LHM*
- SEP 3 1971*
- FOIA STP [unclear] RACIA INT. SGT.*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

August 30, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
ALSO KNOWN AS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.

b7C  
b7D

A confidential source who has provided reliable  
information in the past advised on [redacted] that  
on [redacted]



Two days later, source and [redacted]



12/2/83 SP2ATP/DM5  
CA#75-6263

100-447251-983

ENCLOSURE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
ALSO KNOWN AS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

Source asked [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
ALSO KNOWN AS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.

[REDACTED]

Source [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

Source [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
ALSO KNOWN AS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.

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 disseminated outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum


TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : *plw* SAC, HOUSTON (157-1477)(RUC)

DATE: 9/23/71

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

Re MO atl to Bu, 8-30-71 with LHM enclosed..

  
have advised they could furnish no information relative  
to matters contained in referenced LHM.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Mobile (RM) (Info)(157-2942)
- 2 - San Francisco (88-12329)(RM)
- 1 - Houston

CJP:bj  
(7)

ST-106

REC- 45

100-447251-984

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 39063 EWP/ma/2

16 SEP 29 1971

*File*  
EXT. INT. SEC.



OCT 6 1971

Legat, Madrid

10/12/71

b7C

Director, FBI (100-447251)

1 -

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**EXTREMIST MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
**KEY BLACK EXTREMIST**

The enclosed copy of Department of State telegram dated 10/4/71 indicates American Embassy, Madrid, is in possession of text of interview with Cleaver which appeared in 9/30/71 issue of "L'Opinion."

Secure copy of text of interview and forward same to the Bureau.

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063 ELW/pan/92

1 - Foreign Liaison Desk (Route through for review)

ERS:fb

(5)

**EX-103**

NOTE:

According to State Department communication, the article quotes Cleaver as stating events at Attica (prison riot) prove there is no longer a question of conciliation and that situation is ripe for upheaval and violence.

REC 25

**MCT-63**

2 OCT 14 1971

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 22

FBI

**ENCLOSURE**

OCT 20 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ERS

1 - Foreign Liaison Desk  
1 - [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/10/01 BY 39013 ELW/JAN/PL

October 18, 1971

**ELDRIDGE CLEAVER OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
ORGANIZATION PROMISED ASSISTANCE IN THE TRAINING  
OF M.P.L.A. AND SWAPO.**

The Black Panther Party has consistently advocated the use of guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government. The Cleaver Faction of this group, headed by Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers, Algeria, has stated its avowed purpose is to organize and arm the masses for the purpose of establishing revolutionary political power. This faction advocates assassinations, kidnappings and other terrorist crimes and several of its members have been arrested in the United States and charged with crimes ranging from murder and arson to armed robbery.

Cleaver is assisted in Algeria in the operation of his faction of the Black Panther Party by Donald Lee Cox, Nathaniel Jerome Burns, Larry Neil Mack, Michael A. Tabor, Felix Lindsey O'Neal and others. All of the above-named individuals are fugitives who fled the United States to avoid prosecution for crimes of violence. It is possible that all of these individuals are capable of training others in terrorist activity.

89  
65-58000  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

100-447251

EX-102

REC 19

100-447251-986

1 - [redacted]

OCT 21 1971

ERS:fb (7)

Delivered to Washington Liaison Representative of [redacted]

[redacted] n [redacted] by [redacted]

b7D

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ENCLOSURE 3  
60 OCT 28 1971

EM/DEM

GCM/TDR ERS/cet

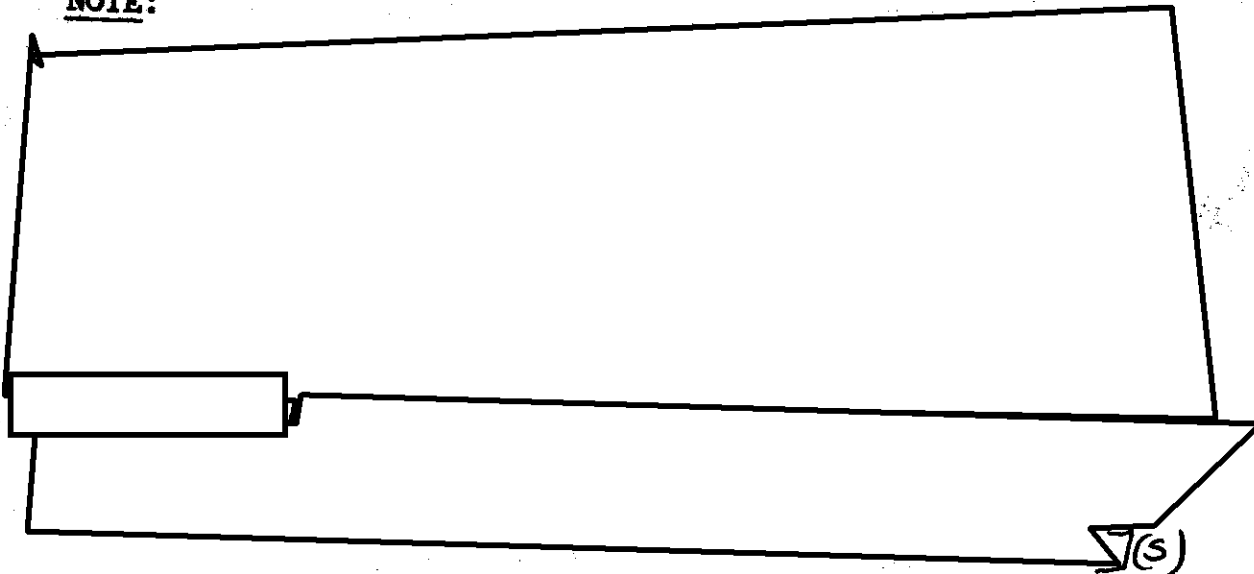
b7C



**ELDRIDGE CLEAVER OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
ORGANIZATION PROMISED ASSISTANCE IN THE  
TRAINING OF M.P.L.A. AND SWAPO.**

b7D

**NOTE:**



b1

F B I

Date: 10/6/71

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: *W* LEGAT, MADRID (157-3) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUG.  
I.O. #4239, W.F. #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
(OO: SF)

*BET*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 39063 EAP/jm/pl

Remylet to Bureau 4/2/71.

Enclosed for information of the Bureau and San  
Francisco are copies of American Embassy, Rabat, Morocco,  
telegram dated 10/4/71.

The Bureau and San Francisco will be furnished with  
further information when received from Rabat.

*Z*

*100-447251-987*

**CLOSURE**

4 - Bureau (Encs. - 2)  
    (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)  
    (1 - San Francisco, 88-12329, Info.)  
1 - Madrid  
VVK:eim  
(5)

**EX-101**

**REC 12**

*100-447251-987*

*to SF*

**OCT 15 1971**

**FBI SUP.**

**EXT. DIV. SEC.**

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

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

OCT 19 1971

NR 006 SF CODE

5:00 PM URGENT 10/19/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR

LOS ANGELES

SAN DIEGO

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) 2P

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Felt ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Bishop ☒  
Mr. Miller, ES ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Casper ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. Cleveland ☒  
Mr. Ponder ☒  
Mr. Bates ☒  
Mr. Tavel ☒  
Mr. Walters ☒  
Mr. Soyars ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Miss Holmes ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

*RKB*

also known as Identification Order  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, ~~10~~ FOUR TWO THREE NINE,  
Wanted Flyer Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement  
W.F. FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAE - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER,  
Office of Origin  
OO SAN FRANCISCO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 39063 ECU/PAH

ON OCTOBER NINETEEN INSTANT, DONALD MIDYETT, DISTRICT  
ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, MARIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED HE HAD  
RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM [REDACTED]

CALIFORNIA,

TELEPHONE [REDACTED]

THAT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WOULD ENTER THE UNITED STATES ON SATURDAY,  
OCTOBER TWENTYTHREE NEXT, AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA AND GO TO THE  
RESIDENCE OF ONE [REDACTED]

AND THAT DAY ALSO HAD A TELEPHONE NUMBER [REDACTED]

OF [REDACTED]

OCT 27 1971

[REDACTED] STATED [REDACTED] IS A WHITE MALE, A [REDACTED]

FROM [REDACTED] WHO HAS FURNISHED SOME INFORMATION TO

AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE INVESTIGATION OF THE [REDACTED]

AND FOR WHOM AUTHORITIES OBTAINED AN EARLY PAROLE. HE STATED

END PAGE ONE

RT NOV 2 1971

F107

MR. ROSEN

b7C  
b7D

b7C  
b7D

b7C  
b7D

988

*F. 107*

PAGE TWO

WHILE IN [REDACTED] ASSOCIATED WITH THE MILITANT GROUP,  
ACTUALLY WROTE PETITIONS FOR SOME MILITANTS AND SINCE BEING [REDACTED]  
HAS CONTINUED TO ASSOCIATE WITH MILITANTS BUT HAS ACTED TO SOME  
EXTENT AS AN INFORMANT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] STATED HE CANNOT EVALUATE THE ACCURACY OF THE INFORMATION  
FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] OR GIVE ANY EVALUATION OF [REDACTED]  
RELIABILITY. HE STATED THE NAMES [REDACTED] WERE UNFAMILIAR  
TO HIM AND HE HAD NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. HE STATES [REDACTED]  
ADDRESS IS THAT OF [REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES, CONTACT [REDACTED] AND INTERVIEW HIM THOROUGHLY  
CONCERNING INFORMATION CONCERNING CLEAVER'S ALLEGED SATURDAY  
ARRIVAL AT SAN DIEGO.

SAN DIEGO, PLACE NECESSARY STOPS AT BORDER CROSSING POINTS  
BELOW SAN DIEGO.

SAN DIEGO, DETERMINE SUBSCRIBERS TO TELEPHONE NUMBERS

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] IDENTIFY [REDACTED] AND TAKE SUCH ACTION AS  
NECESSARY TO APPREHEND CLEAVER IN THE EVENT IT IS DETERMINED  
ABOVE ALLEGATION HAS ANY MERIT.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

cc - Mr. Cleveland

b7C  
b7D

b7C  
b7D

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

NR 002 SD PLAIN

1:25PM 10-20-71 IMMEDIATE LMS

TO: DIRECTOR  
LOS ANGELES  
SACRAMENTO  
SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39065 ELW/par/L

FROM: SAN DIEGO (88-5033)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA DASH FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE  
NINE, W F FOUR FOUR SEVEN. UFAC DASH ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR OCTOBER NINETEEN  
LAST.

FOR INFO SACRAMENTO, REFERENCED TEL REFLECTS CLEAVER  
POSSIBLY ENTERING <sup>S</sup>US. ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER TWENTYTHREE  
NEXT, AT SAN DIEGO. IS TO PROCEED TO RESIDENCE OF ONE

[REDACTED] WHO HAS TELEPHONE NUMBERS LISTED  
IN BODY OF INSTANT TEL.

SAN DIEGO UNABLE TO IDENT [REDACTED] SEVERAL [REDACTED]  
SAN DIEGO INDICES BUT NONE WITH AKA OF [REDACTED] NONE REFLECT  
PERTINENT TELEPHONE NUMBERS, AND NONE RESIDE SAN DIEGO  
DIVISION.

SAN DIEGO ALSO UNABLE TO LOCATE PHONE NUMBERS IN RETEL.

END PAGE ONE OF FIVE

58 NOV 2 - 1971  
FBI

2 OCT 26 1971

b7C

b7C

PAGE TWO

AXMINISTER THREE PREFIX WOULD LOGICALLY BE PREFIX TWO NINE THREE BUT UTILIZATION OF AXMINISTER NAME AS PREFIX HAS NOT BEEN USED FOR OVER TEN YEARS, ~~IS~~ <sup>IF</sup> EVER. REVIEW AVAILABLE DIRECTORIES UNDER PREFIX TWO NINE THREE REFLECTS HIGHEST NUMBER ISSUED IS FIVE FIVE ZERO FIVE.

THERE IS NO PREFIX OF NINE THREE <sup>7</sup>THREE IN SAN DIEGO DIVISION. REVIEW DIRECTORIES REFLECTS NINE THREE THREE PREFIX LISTED IN SEVEN ONE FOUR CALLING AREA LOCATED BENTON, CALIFORNIA, AND NINE THREE THREE PREFIX IN CALLING AREA TWO ONE THREE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

CONTACT PACIFIC TELEPHONE COMPANY INSTANT DATE REFLECTS PREFIX TWO NINE THREE IN SEVEN ONE FOUR CALLING AREA IS NON-WORKING NUMBER. THAT MEANS PACIFIC TEL SEVEN ONE FOUR CALLING AREA HAS CAPABILITIES OF SERVICING NUMBERS ONLY BETWEEN FIVE THOUSAND AND SIX SIX ZERO ZERO UNDER TWO NINE THREE PREFIX.

END PAGE TWO OF FIVE

PAGE THREE

ALSO, ACCORDING PACIFIC TEL, NINE THREE THREE DASH SEVEN THREE NINE THREE, IS NUMBER SERVICED BY INDEPENDENT TELEPHONE COMPANY, BENTON, CALIFORNIA, BELIEVED BY PACIFIC TEL, SAN DIEGO, TO ALSO BE NON-WORKING NUMBER AS PACIFIC TEL RECORDS REFLECT INDEPENDENT COMPANY IN BENTON<sup>N</sup> HAS CAPABILITIES OF PROVIDING SERVICE ONLY FOR NUMBERS TWO TWO ZERO ZERO THROUGH TWO FIVE EIGHT ONE UNDER NINE THREE THREE PREFIX.

PACIFIC TEL ADDITIONALLY ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE CAPABILITIES OF LOS ANGELES<sup>LC</sup> OFFICE OF PACIFIC TEL RE NINE THREE THREE PREFIX THAT CITY.

LOS ANGELES DETERMINE IF TELEPHONE NUMBERS NINE THREE

b7C

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] LOCATED YOUR AREA.

IF SO, DISCREETLY ASCERTAIN IF INDIVIDUAL BY NAME [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS KNOWN AT OR RESIDES AT LISTED RESIDENCES FOR

END PAGE THREE OF FIVE

PAGE FOUR

ABOVE NUMBERS. CONSIDER ESTABLISHMENT SURVEILLANCE IN  
EVENT CLEAVER APPEARS THOSE ADDRESSES FOR ASSISTANCE OF  
IF [REDACTED] CAN BE IDENTIFIED THROUGH ABOVE TELEPHONE NUMBERS,  
CONSIDER CONDUCTING DISCREET SURVEILLANCE THIS INDIVIDUAL  
THROUGH OCTOBER TWENTY-FOUR NEXT TO DETERMINE IF CLEAVER  
CONTACTS.

b7C  
b7D

LOS ANGELES AT BLOOMINGTON, CALIFORNIA. IF SUCCESSFUL  
IN LOCATING [REDACTED] OBTAIN COMPLETE PHYSICAL  
DESCRIPTION RE [REDACTED] AND SUTEL RESULTS TO SAN DIEGO AND  
SAN FRANCISCO.

SACRAMENTO AT BENTON, CALIFORNIA. DETERMINE IS  
TELEPHONE NUMBER [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] IS A LEGITIMATE NUMBER YOUR AREA. IF SO, ASCERTAIN  
SUBSCRIBER AND COVER LEADS AS SET FORTH FOR LOS ANGELES.

SAN FRANCISCO AT SOLEDAD PRISON. IMMEDIATELY UPON  
RECEIPT INFORMATION FROM LOS ANGELES, RE INTERVIEW OF  
END PAGE FOUR OF FIVE

b7C



PAGE FIVE

[REDACTED] DETERMINE IF [REDACTED] EVER [REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

AND OBTAIN PERTINENT INFO THIS REGARD.

SAN DIEGO IS ALERTING ALL APPROPRIATE BORDER COVERAGE  
AGENCIES AND REDISTRIBUTING IO'S RE CLEAVER.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

PENDING

END

*ℓ*  
~~CORRECTION FIRST PAGE SIXTH LINE THE THIRD AND FOURTH WORDS SHOULD~~  
~~READ~~

~~U.S.~~

END

REW WASH DC *X* FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 20 1971

NR009 LA CODE

351PM URGENT 10-20-71 DCB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

SAN DIEGO

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-2323) 2P

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, ES \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA DASH FUGITIVE, I.O. FOUR  
TWO THREE NINE, W.F. FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC DASH ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE DATED OCTOBER NINETEEN LAST.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] CURRENTLY RESIDING WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CALIFORNIA, ADVISED INSTANT

DATE THAT APPROXIMATELY [REDACTED] LAST, HE WAS AT

PARTY IN [REDACTED] ATTENDED MOSTLY BY

BLACKS. STATES HE OVERHEARD CONVERSATION BETWEEN [REDACTED]

TELEPHONE [REDACTED] AND

[REDACTED] TELEPHONE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND

[REDACTED] ARE BOTH

NEGRO MALES. [REDACTED] STATED TO [REDACTED] "ELDRIDGE IS COMING

BACK TO THE STATES". [REDACTED] STATED, "HOW IS HE COMING?"

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/19/01 BY SP6CJ/SP6H/SP6J/SP6K/SP6L/SP6M/SP6N/SP6O/SP6P/SP6Q/SP6R/SP6S/SP6T/SP6U/SP6V/SP6W/SP6X/SP6Y/SP6Z/SP6AA/SP6AB/SP6AC/SP6AD/SP6AE/SP6AF/SP6AG/SP6AH/SP6AI/SP6AJ/SP6AK/SP6AL/SP6AM/SP6AN/SP6AO/SP6AP/SP6AQ/SP6AR/SP6AS/SP6AT/SP6AU/SP6AV/SP6AW/SP6AX/SP6AY/SP6AZ/SP6BA/SP6BB/SP6BC/SP6BD/SP6BE/SP6BF/SP6BG/SP6BH/SP6BI/SP6BJ/SP6BK/SP6BL/SP6BM/SP6BN/SP6BO/SP6BP/SP6BQ/SP6BR/SP6BS/SP6BT/SP6BU/SP6BV/SP6BW/SP6BX/SP6BY/SP6BZ/SP6CA/SP6CB/SP6CC/SP6CD/SP6CE/SP6CF/SP6CG/SP6CH/SP6CI/SP6CJ/SP6CK/SP6CL/SP6CM/SP6CN/SP6CO/SP6CP/SP6CQ/SP6CR/SP6CS/SP6CT/SP6CU/SP6CV/SP6CW/SP6CX/SP6CY/SP6CZ/SP6DA/SP6DB/SP6DC/SP6DD/SP6DE/SP6DF/SP6DG/SP6DH/SP6DI/SP6DJ/SP6DK/SP6DL/SP6DM/SP6DN/SP6DO/SP6DP/SP6DQ/SP6DR/SP6DS/SP6DT/SP6DU/SP6DV/SP6DW/SP6DX/SP6DY/SP6DZ/SP6EA/SP6EB/SP6EC/SP6ED/SP6EE/SP6EF/SP6EG/SP6EH/SP6EI/SP6EJ/SP6EK/SP6EL/SP6EM/SP6EN/SP6EO/SP6EP/SP6EQ/SP6ER/SP6ES/SP6ET/SP6EU/SP6EV/SP6EW/SP6EX/SP6EY/SP6EZ/SP6FA/SP6FB/SP6FC/SP6FD/SP6FE/SP6FF/SP6FG/SP6FH/SP6FI/SP6FJ/SP6FK/SP6FL/SP6FM/SP6FN/SP6FO/SP6FP/SP6FQ/SP6FR/SP6FS/SP6FT/SP6FU/SP6FV/SP6FW/SP6FX/SP6FY/SP6FZ/SP6GA/SP6GB/SP6GC/SP6GD/SP6GE/SP6GF/SP6GG/SP6GH/SP6GI/SP6GJ/SP6GK/SP6GL/SP6GM/SP6GN/SP6GO/SP6GP/SP6GQ/SP6GR/SP6GS/SP6GT/SP6GU/SP6GV/SP6GW/SP6GX/SP6GY/SP6GZ/SP6HA/SP6HB/SP6HC/SP6HD/SP6HE/SP6HF/SP6HG/SP6HH/SP6HI/SP6HJ/SP6HK/SP6HL/SP6HM/SP6HN/SP6HO/SP6HP/SP6HQ/SP6HR/SP6HS/SP6HT/SP6HU/SP6HV/SP6HW/SP6HX/SP6HY/SP6HZ/SP6IA/SP6IB/SP6IC/SP6ID/SP6IE/SP6IF/SP6IG/SP6IH/SP6II/SP6IJ/SP6IK/SP6IL/SP6IM/SP6IN/SP6IO/SP6IP/SP6IQ/SP6IR/SP6IS/SP6IT/SP6IU/SP6IV/SP6IW/SP6IX/SP6IY/SP6IZ/SP6JA/SP6JB/SP6JC/SP6JD/SP6JE/SP6JF/SP6JG/SP6JH/SP6JI/SP6JJ/SP6JK/SP6JL/SP6JM/SP6JN/SP6JO/SP6JP/SP6JQ/SP6JR/SP6JS/SP6JT/SP6JU/SP6JV/SP6JW/SP6JX/SP6JY/SP6JZ/SP6KA/SP6KB/SP6KC/SP6KD/SP6KE/SP6KF/SP6KG/SP6KH/SP6KI/SP6KJ/SP6KK/SP6KL/SP6KM/SP6KN/SP6KO/SP6KP/SP6KQ/SP6KR/SP6KS/SP6KT/SP6KU/SP6KV/SP6KW/SP6KX/SP6KY/SP6KZ/SP6LA/SP6LB/SP6LC/SP6LD/SP6LE/SP6LF/SP6LG/SP6LH/SP6LI/SP6LJ/SP6LK/SP6LL/SP6LM/SP6LN/SP6LO/SP6LP/SP6LQ/SP6LR/SP6LS/SP6LT/SP6LU/SP6LV/SP6LW/SP6LX/SP6LY/SP6LZ/SP6MA/SP6MB/SP6MC/SP6MD/SP6ME/SP6MF/SP6MG/SP6MH/SP6MI/SP6MJ/SP6MK/SP6ML/SP6MM/SP6MN/SP6MO/SP6MP/SP6MQ/SP6MR/SP6MS/SP6MT/SP6MU/SP6MV/SP6MW/SP6MX/SP6MY/SP6MZ/SP6NA/SP6NB/SP6NC/SP6ND/SP6NE/SP6NF/SP6NG/SP6NH/SP6NI/SP6NJ/SP6NK/SP6NL/SP6NM/SP6NN/SP6NO/SP6NP/SP6NQ/SP6NR/SP6NS/SP6NT/SP6NU/SP6NV/SP6NW/SP6NX/SP6NY/SP6NZ/SP6OA/SP6OB/SP6OC/SP6OD/SP6OE/SP6OF/SP6OG/SP6OH/SP6OI/SP6OJ/SP6OK/SP6OL/SP6OM/SP6ON/SP6OO/SP6OP/SP6OQ/SP6OR/SP6OS/SP6OT/SP6OU/SP6OV/SP6OW/SP6OX/SP6OY/SP6OZ/SP6PA/SP6PB/SP6PC/SP6PD/SP6PE/SP6PF/SP6PG/SP6PH/SP6PI/SP6PJ/SP6PK/SP6PL/SP6PM/SP6PN/SP6PO/SP6PP/SP6PQ/SP6PR/SP6PS/SP6PT/SP6PU/SP6PV/SP6PW/SP6PX/SP6PY/SP6PZ/SP6QA/SP6QB/SP6QC/SP6QD/SP6QE/SP6QF/SP6QG/SP6QH/SP6QI/SP6QJ/SP6QK/SP6QL/SP6QM/SP6QN/SP6QO/SP6QP/SP6QQ/SP6QR/SP6QS/SP6QT/SP6QU/SP6QV/SP6QW/SP6QX/SP6QY/SP6QZ/SP6RA/SP6RB/SP6RC/SP6RD/SP6RE/SP6RF/SP6RG/SP6RH/SP6RI/SP6RJ/SP6RK/SP6RL/SP6RM/SP6RN/SP6RO/SP6RP/SP6RQ/SP6RR/SP6RS/SP6RT/SP6RU/SP6RV/SP6RW/SP6RX/SP6RY/SP6RZ/SP6SA/SP6SB/SP6SC/SP6SD/SP6SE/SP6SF/SP6SG/SP6SH/SP6SI/SP6SJ/SP6SK/SP6SL/SP6SM/SP6SN/SP6SO/SP6SP/SP6SQ/SP6SR/SP6SS/SP6ST/SP6SU/SP6SV/SP6SW/SP6SX/SP6SY/SP6SZ/SP6TA/SP6TB/SP6TC/SP6TD/SP6TE/SP6TF/SP6TG/SP6TH/SP6TI/SP6TJ/SP6TK/SP6TL/SP6TM/SP6TN/SP6TO/SP6TP/SP6TQ/SP6TR/SP6TS/SP6TT/SP6TU/SP6TV/SP6TW/SP6TX/SP6TY/SP6TZ/SP6UA/SP6UB/SP6UC/SP6UD/SP6UE/SP6UF/SP6UG/SP6UH/SP6UI/SP6UJ/SP6UK/SP6UL/SP6UM/SP6UN/SP6UO/SP6UP/SP6UQ/SP6UR/SP6US/SP6UT/SP6UU/SP6UV/SP6UW/SP6UX/SP6UY/SP6UZ/SP6VA/SP6VB/SP6VC/SP6VD/SP6VE/SP6VF/SP6VG/SP6VH/SP6VI/SP6VJ/SP6VK/SP6VL/SP6VM/SP6VN/SP6VO/SP6VP/SP6VQ/SP6VR/SP6VS/SP6VT/SP6VU/SP6VV/SP6VW/SP6VX/SP6VY/SP6VZ/SP6WA/SP6WB/SP6WC/SP6WD/SP6WE/SP6WF/SP6WG/SP6WH/SP6WI/SP6WJ/SP6WK/SP6WL/SP6WM/SP6WN/SP6WO/SP6WP/SP6WQ/SP6WR/SP6WS/SP6WT/SP6WU/SP6WV/SP6WW/SP6WX/SP6WY/SP6WZ/SP6XA/SP6XB/SP6XC/SP6XD/SP6XE/SP6XF/SP6XG/SP6XH/SP6XI/SP6XJ/SP6XK/SP6XL/SP6XM/SP6XN/SP6XO/SP6XP/SP6XQ/SP6XR/SP6XS/SP6XT/SP6XU/SP6XV/SP6XW/SP6XX/SP6XY/SP6XZ/SP6YA/SP6YB/SP6YC/SP6YD/SP6YE/SP6YF/SP6YG/SP6YH/SP6YI/SP6YJ/SP6YK/SP6YL/SP6YM/SP6YN/SP6YO/SP6YP/SP6YQ/SP6YR/SP6YS/SP6YT/SP6YU/SP6YV/SP6YW/SP6YX/SP6YY/SP6YZ/SP6ZA/SP6ZB/SP6ZC/SP6ZD/SP6ZE/SP6ZF/SP6ZG/SP6ZH/SP6ZI/SP6ZJ/SP6ZK/SP6ZL/SP6ZM/SP6ZN/SP6ZO/SP6ZP/SP6ZQ/SP6ZR/SP6ZS/SP6ZT/SP6ZU/SP6ZV/SP6ZW/SP6ZX/SP6ZY/SP6ZZ

b7C

b7C  
b7D

b7C

2. OCT 26 1971

NOV 2 1971

FILE

LA 157-2323

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] REPLIED, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] - [REDACTED] STATED HE WAS INTERRUPTED  
AT THIS POINT AND HEARD NO FURTHER CONVERSATION.

[REDACTED] ADVISED HE RECEIVED TELEPHONE CALL, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LAST, FROM BLACK ACQUAINTANCE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHO ALLEGEDLY IS MEMBER OF BPP. HE STATED TO

[REDACTED] THAT ELDRIDGE WILL BE IN SAN DIEGO, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEXT AND APPARENTLY WANTED [REDACTED] TO COME TO LOS

ANGELES TO MEET HIM. [REDACTED] ASSUMES ELDRIDGE WOULD BE

AT [REDACTED] RESIDENCE. [REDACTED] STATES [REDACTED] HAS HOME

IN [REDACTED] POSSIBLE TELEPHONE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND HAS APARTMENT ON [REDACTED]

IN LOS ANGELES, POSSIBLE PHONE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] EXTENSIVELY INTERROGATED AND COULD FURNISH

NO OTHER INFORMATION REGARDING THIS MATTER OR ELDRIDGE

CLEAVER. [REDACTED] DOES NOT KNOW IF HE WILL GO TO LOS

ANGELES ON [REDACTED] NEXT TO CONTACT [REDACTED]

AIR MAIL COPY FURNISHED SAN FRANCISCO.

LOS ANGELES ATTEMPTING TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
END

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

b7C  
b7D

b7C  
b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, ES \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NR 037 LA CODE

OCT 23 1971

1106 PM NITEL 10-22-71 RWM

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

SAN DIEGO (88-5033)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 38063 BLM/SMK/PL

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-2323) (88-15156) 3P.

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, I. O. FOUR TWO THREE NINE; /AN  
WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN. UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

RE LOS ANGELES TEL OCTOBER TWENTY LAST.

[REDACTED] LISTED TELEPHONE NUMBER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AS [REDACTED] OR

[REDACTED] ALLEGEDLY TOLD [REDACTED] THAT SUBJECT WOULD BE IN  
SAN DIEGO [REDACTED] NEXT. THIS TELEPHONE IS REGISTERED  
TO [REDACTED] LOS

ANGELES. THIS ADDRESS IS LOCATED NEAR, BUT NOT IN, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DISTRICT. [REDACTED] GAVE TELEPHONE [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

REC-61

100-447251-991  
OCT 28 1971

EX-117

b7C

b7C  
b7D

b7C

LA 157-2323

PAGE TWO

THIS NUMBER IS REGISTERED TO THE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] LOS ANGELES.

TELEPHONE CALL PLACED TO [REDACTED] REVEALED [REDACTED] CAN BE  
REACHED THROUGH THAT TELEPHONE NUMBER. TELEPHONE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] GIVEN BY [REDACTED] FOR

[REDACTED] IS REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LOS ANGELES. TELEPHONES

GIVEN BY [REDACTED] REGISTERED TO A [REDACTED]

SANTA MONICA; [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SANTA MONICA; AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LOS ANGELES.

THE LAST TELEPHONE NUMBER WAS CHANGED SEPTEMBER EIGHT LAST

TO [REDACTED] BUT IS STILL

REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

ALL OF THE ABOVE TELEPHONE NUMBERS WITH THE EXCEPTION  
OF THE ONE AT [REDACTED] ARE NON PUBLISHED NUMBERS. REVIEW  
OF LOS ANGELES INDICES FAILED TO REVEAL ANY INFORMATION ON

[REDACTED] CONTACT WITH

END PAGE TWO

b7C  
b7D

LA 157-2323

PAGE THREE

EXTREMIST INFORMANTS FAMILIAR WITH BPP ACTIVITIES AND  
WITH THE INTELLIGENCE UNITS, LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT AND  
LOS ANGELES COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE, FAILED TO REVEAL ANY  
POSITIVE INFORMATION ON [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAS TRAVELED TO LOS ANGELES AND IS MAINTAINING  
CONTACT WITH LOS ANGELES OFFICE. LOS ANGELES CURRENTLY HAS  
SUBJECT'S WIFE, KATHLEEN, UNDER SURVEILLANCE.

INVESTIGATION WILL CONTINUE TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED] AND  
[REDACTED]

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

*cc-Miller*

b7C

NR 05 SD PLAIN

2:27PM URGENT 10-20-71 JBE

TO: DIRECTOR

LOS ANGELES

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAN DIEGO (88-5033) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063ew/5me/p L

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

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE. IO FOUR TWO THREE  
NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE SAN DIEGO TELETYPE INSTANT DATE.

PACIFIC TELEPHONE, AFTER REVIEW OF FILES, ADVISED  
THEY COULD LOCATE RECORD OF ONE TELEPHONE NUMBER IN LOS  
ANGELES AREA OF [REDACTED]

THIS NUMBER REGISTERED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LOS ANGELES. OWNER ABOVE

[REDACTED] AS OF NINETEEN SIXTY SIX, RECORDED AS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PACIFIC TELEPHONE, SAN DIEGO, DID NOT VERIFY

OWNERSHIP.

LOS ANGELES DISCREETLY ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IF

[REDACTED] IS CURRENT OR FORMER EMPLOYEE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IF CURRENT EMPLOYEE, OBTAIN ALL PARTICULARS RE

THIS INDIVIDUAL AND CONSIDER ESTABLISHMENT OF DISCREET

END PAGE ONE

REC-65

OCT 28 1971

EX-112

992

F. W.

PAGE TWO

SD 88-5833

SURVEILLANCE IN EFFORT TO DETERMINE IF  IS CONTACTED BY  
CLEAVER.

b7C

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

END

HOLD FOR ONE

EDD

EJF FBI WASH DC



17/20/71

SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Attached teletype reports unconfirmed  
information received from a [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther  
Party leader and badly wanted Identification Order  
fugitive, would attempt to re-enter the United  
States on [REDACTED] at San Diego, California. Source  
has no information as to the means or time of  
the attempted re-entry.

Cleaver has been located in Algiers, Algeria,  
since 6/1/69, where he has recently made  
statements concerning his return to the United  
States. It should be noted that Cleaver's wife and  
child recently arrived in the United States from  
Algeria on 10/15/71.

San Diego has been alerted and will attempt  
to develop information concerning details as to the  
means, date and time of the alleged arrival.

All possible stops have been placed in effort  
to gain early information concerning Cleaver's  
return.

1 - Mr. Miller

JRF:cs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063 EMB/BAK

b7C  
b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR034 LA PLAIN

OCT 27 1971

1040 PM NITEL 10/26/71 DAB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-2323) 2P

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA DASH FUGITIVE, IO NUMBER  
FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, UFAC DASH ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. *as SF*

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 39063ELW/bak/pl

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU OCTOBER NINETEEN,  
LAST; AND LOS ANGELES TELETYPES TO THE BUREAU, OCTOBER TWENTY  
AND TWENTY SECOND, LAST.

[REDACTED] TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED FBI OFFICE,  
RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA, OCTOBER TWENTY TWO, LAST, AND POSSIBLY  
IN INTOXICATED CONDITION STATED HE WANTED FBI TO KNOW HE IS  
A MEMBER OF SOCIALIST PARTY. HE COULD NOT FURNISH ANY FURTHER  
INFORMATION REGARDING THIS MATTER. [REDACTED] QUESTIONED  
EXTENSIVELY CONCERNING INFORMATION PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED AND  
UNABLE TO GIVE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING SUBJECT OR  
FURTHER IDENTIFY INDIVIDUALS AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS FURNISHED  
AS SET FORTH IN REFERENCED COMMUNICATIONS.

END PAGE ONE

REC-4

2 NOV 2 1971

b7C  
b7D  
b7C

LA 157-2323

PAGE TWO

ATTEMPTS TO RECONTACT [REDACTED] OCTOBER TWENTY SIX, INSTANT,  
NEGATIVE. [REDACTED] WITH WHOM [REDACTED] CURRENTLY  
RESIDING, ADVISED [REDACTED] AND MAKES  
TELEPHONE CALLS THROUGHOUT U.S. FOR NO LOGICAL REASON AND,  
THEREFORE, HE HAS HAD HIS TELEPHONE DISCONNECTED. ALSO STATES  
HE WOULD NOT BELIEVE ANY INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] BECAUSE  
OF HIS [REDACTED] AND ALSO BECAUSE [REDACTED] IS APPARENTLY  
FURNISHING INFORMATION TO LOCAL AND FEDERAL AGENCIES WHICH HE  
KNOWS IS OF INTEREST TO THOSE AGENCIES BUT WHICH INFORMATION  
HAS NO BASIS IN FACT. LOS ANGELES WILL MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH  
[REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO AND SAN DIEGO ADVISED AIRMAIL. SAN FRANCISCO  
FILE EIGHTY EIGHT DASH ONE TWO THREE TWO NINE; SAN DIEGO FILE  
EIGHTY EIGHT DASH FIVE ZERO THREE THREE. -P-

END

PLS HOLD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/29/71

SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321)(RUC)

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FUGITIVE  
EM - BPP  
(OO:SF)

IO4239  
WF447

*Joe Alvarado*  
*BEF*  
*ADD*

ReNYairtel and LHM to Bureau dated 8/18/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 14 copies of a LHM.

The confidential source utilized in the enclosed

LHM is

The enclosed LHM is being classified "Confidential" inasmuch it contains information from a source of continuing value whose identity if learned, could have an adverse affect on the national defense interest of the US.

Confidential source advised he would be alerted in the event that there should be any activity [redacted] and he would notify this office. NY will make this information available to the Bureau and San Francisco at that time.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063 elw/bac/pk

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 14)(RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2)(RM)
- 1 - New York

REC-38

TFR:eps  
(5)

EX-100

1cc - 150/1010/55 by R/S  
1cc by C/S  
11-11-71 CRB/jes

328cc620d

100-447251-994

12 NOV 2 1971

EXT. INT. SEC.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
October 29, 1971

DECLASSIFIED BY *39063 ELW/JML*  
ON *1/10/01*

*904394*

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

Reference is made to a communication of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) at New York, New York, dated August 18, 1971.

On [redacted] a confidential source who is in a position to furnish reliable information advised Leroy Eldridge Cleaver has [redacted] entitled [redacted] "Eldridge Cleaver" at [redacted] of the [redacted] [redacted] This source advised the [redacted]

b7C  
b7D

The above information is not to be made public except in the usual proceeding, following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum. The officer to be subpoenaed is [redacted]

[redacted] New York, New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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.

ENCLOSURE

100-447257-994

10-29-71

airtel

To: SACs, Albany  
Boston  
Cleveland  
San Francisco

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

et  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
FUGITIVE  
IO # 4239  
WF # 447  
RM - BPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063 [signature]

This will confirm Butel calls to Albany and Boston.

Information has been provided the Bureau by [redacted]  
[redacted] concerning the arrest of four males at the  
Norton, Vermont, border crossing for having in their possession  
a quantity of drugs. Although the automobile in which these  
individuals traveled is registered in the name of [redacted]  
[redacted] was not among those taken into custody.

In connection with the examination and search of  
this vehicle, an envelope was located addressed to one  
[redacted] in care of [redacted]  
[redacted] Maine, 04401. The  
envelope bore the return address "Eldridge Cleaver, [redacted]  
[redacted] Ohio." The postmark on the  
envelope revealed a September 15, 1971, mailing date from  
Cleveland, Ohio.

NOTE: Information received from [redacted] on  
10-27-71, by SA [redacted] Foregoing information  
telephonically furnished to [redacted] of the Boston  
office by SA [redacted] on 10-27-71.

JRF:rlf:cld  
(10)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b2

b7C

b7C

b7C

OCT 29 1971

E.S.

REC-61

100-447251-995

NOV 1 1971

55 NOV 4 1971

**airtel to Albany**  
**Re: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver**

**Albany promptly determine identities of the four individuals arrested, whether any association with the black militant movement, and if registered owner of vehicle can be located, interview concerning knowledge or possible relationship with Identification Order fugitive Leroy Eldridge Cleaver.**

**Boston determine any info re [redacted] from**  
[redacted]

**Cleveland promptly identify holder of [redacted]  
[redacted] Ohio, concerning possible knowledge of or association with the Cleavers or black extremist movement.**

**All offices set forth leads under Cleaver caption to identify and interview persons involved to determine association or relationship with Cleaver.**

b7C  
b7D

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Miller, ES	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Bates	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 028 SF PLAIN

OCT 23 1971

123 AM NITEL 10-22-71 (SENT 10-23-71) PLA  
TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

DALLAS

LOS ANGELES

NEW ORLEANS

SAN ANTONIO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 39063 BAW/SM/g

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF FOUR  
FOUR SEVEN, RM DASH BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: SF

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELEPHONE CALLS THIS DATE.

LOS ANGELES DIVISION ADVISED THIS DATE THAT

FAA HEADQUARTERS LOS ANGELES, FURNISHED INFORMATION

THAT THE FAA HAD ALERTED ITS VARIOUS OFFICES TO THE EFFECT THAT  
THE SUBJECT WAS POSSIBLY IN MEXICO AND MAY ATTEMPT TO ENTER THE  
UNITED STATES. SOURCE OF THIS INFORMATION UNKNOWN. ON THE BASIS  
OF THIS FAA COMMUNICATION TO ITS PERSONNEL AIRMARSHALS IN VARIOUS  
CITIES IN CLOSE PROXIMITY OF MEXICO HAVE BEEN ALERTED BY FAA  
SECURITY OFFICERS. SUBSEQUENTLY AIRMARSHALS CONTACTED FBI  
OFFICES SEEKING PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECT TENDING TO CREATE  
AND PROPAGATE THEORY THAT SUBJECT'S ENTRY INTO US IS IMMINENT  
WHEN SUCH IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE. THIS INFORMATION IS

END PAGE ONE

NOV 2 1971

EX-101 REC-61 100-447251-990

REC. SUR.



PAGE TWO

SF 88-12329

BEING FURNISHED FOR BENEFIT OF BUREAU AND PERTINENT OFFICES  
BUT DOES NOT PRECLUDE THE FACT THAT THE SUBJECT MAY INFAC  
ATTEMPT TO GAIN ENTRY INTO US VIA MEXICO.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

END

HOLD

*cc-m. b. l.*

PLAINTEXT

10/28/71

TELETYPE

NITEL

TO SACS ALBUQUERQUE  
DALLAS  
EL PASO  
PHOENIX  
SAN ANTONIO  
SAN DIEGO  
SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/10/01 BY 39063 ELU/pa/p

1 - Mr. Felt  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. E.S. Miller  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Cleveland

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

OCT 28 1971

TELETYPE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, IO NUMBER FOUR TWO  
THREE NINE, WF NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN. RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

REBUAIRTEL OCTOBER TWENTYONE, LAST, CAPTIONED

EXTREMIST MATTERS - BPP KEY BLACK EXTREMIST."

INFORMATION FURNISHED BY LEGAT, MEXICO CITY, INDICATES U.S.

INFORMATION SERVICE, U.S. EMBASSY, MEXICO CITY, HAS RECEIVED  
DATA FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS, DALLAS, TEXAS, INDICATING CLEAVER  
MAY ATTEMPT TO ENTER U.S. VIA TEXAS - MEXICAN BORDER. NO  
ADDITIONAL DETAILS AVAILABLE TO EMBASSY.

ALL OTHER OFFICES INSURE BORDER SOURCES ALERTED TO POSSIBILITY  
CLEAVER MAY ATTEMPT REENTRY THROUGH MEXICAN BORDER.

JRF:tcd

(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

NOV 5 1971

2/57

47.14

TELETYPE TO ALBUQUERQUE  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

FOR INFORMATION ALL OFFICES, CALIFORNIA OFFICES PREVIOUSLY CONDUCTED INVESTIGATION CONCERNING SIMILAR INFORMATION INDICATING CLEAVER WOULD ATTEMPT REENTRY AT SAN DIEGO ON OCTOBER TWENTYTHREE, LAST. INVESTIGATION TO DATE HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM SUCH INFORMATION. DALLAS HAS ADVISED FAA SKY MARSHALS. DALLAS INQUIRED AS TO DESCRIPTION DATA ON CLEAVER ON OCTOBER TWENTYTWO, LAST, BASED ON FAA BULLETIN TO ALL OF THEIR STATIONS RE POSSIBLE REENTRY BY CLEAVER.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

NOTE: Previous information has been furnished that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver would attempt to reenter the U.S. through the port of San Diego, California, and based upon alerts established with several agencies through the field, it appears the current data provided by Legat, Mexico City, may be an outgrowth of the original unconfirmed information that Cleaver would reenter the U.S. Cleaver's wife is currently engaged in a speaking tour throughout the U.S. in an effort to raise money to finance the BPP International Section in Algeria. It appears Cleaver may be ousted from Algeria by the Algerian Government due to the excessive cost to that country to maintain Cleaver's operation to date. New York sources indicate possibility rumors have been planted by the Cleavers concerning his potential return to the U.S. in an effort to cover the ouster of the BPP International Section from Algeria.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 27 1971

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

STATE 310

6:05 PM NITEL 10-27-71 JS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/10/01 BY 3006564/BAK/L

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) NR 506-27

FROM LEGAT MEXICO CITY (100-3184) 1P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA DASH FUGITIVE, IO NO. FOUR TWO THREE  
NINE, WF NO. FOUR FOUR SEVEN. RM DASH BPP; UFAC DASH ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES.

U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE, U.S. EMBASSY, MEXICO CITY,  
ADVISED THIS DATE OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM THE  
ASSOCIATED PRESS BUREAU IN DALLAS, TEXAS:

"DALLAS TIPPED ELDRIDGE CLEAVER MAY ATTEMPT TO ENTER  
U.S. VIA TEXAS DASH MEXICAN BORDER."

NOV 3 1971

NO FURTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE TO EMBASSY IN MEXICO CITY.  
SUGGEST DALLAS ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE BASIS OF ASSOCIATED PRESS  
INFORMATION, UNLESS ALREADY DONE.

BUREAU REQUESTED TO ADVISE SACS, DALLAS, EL PASO, SAN  
ANTONIO AND SAN FRANCISCO.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

3RD CC: MR. DAY

NOV 5 1971

EXT. SEC.

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/27/71

FROM: *[Signature]* LEGAT, MADRID (157-3) (P)

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

*11/10/01 39063 @w/sac/hx*

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

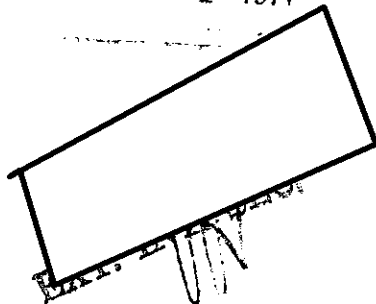
On 10/22/71, the enclosed article in the French language containing the text of the interview of subject was received from the Political Section, American Embassy, Rabat, Morocco.

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

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

4 - Bureau (Enc. - 1) *ENCLOSURE*  
    (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk) *REC-24*  
    (1 - San Francisco, 88-12329, Info.)  
1 - Madrid  
VVK:eim  
(5)

5 NOV 1 1971



b7C



5010-108-02

*T- 26349*  
*MTS- [illegible]*  
*11/3/71*  
*11 NOV 1 1971 F103*

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

SAC, San Francisco (157-4324)

11-12-71

REC-122

Director, FBI (100-447251) - 979

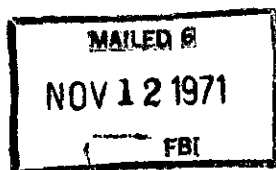
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE  
IO #4239  
WF #447  
EM - BRP;  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A  
DEADLY WEAPON (KBE)  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco letter 11-5-71 concerning sub-  
mission of investigative reports in captioned investigation.

San Francisco insure, in view of the importance of  
this investigation, that reports are submitted at regular  
intervals.

This will confirm Bureau telephone call to  
San Francisco 11-11-71.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/10/01 BY 39063 ECU/JAR/2-L



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JRF:ljz  
(4)

NOV 17 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 11/5/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE  
IO #4239  
WF #447  
EM - BPP;  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A  
DEADLY WEAPON (KBE)  
OO: San Francisco

*Handwritten:* Rome & Montreal  
for Algiers  
BEF

Rerep SA [redacted] dated 8/6/71 at San Francisco.

b7C

The quarterly report for subject is due 11/6/71, but the only pertinent information received by this office since submission of rerep is the fact that the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, on 11/2/71, carried a story from Algiers by the Reuter's News Service, to the effect that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was in Algiers the previous day and stated that he planned to return to the United States some time but denied that Algiers, his base for the past two years, had ordered him to quit the country within three months.

An investigative report or an appropriate communication will be submitted on this matter on 2/6/72.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 39063 EFW/kac/12

REC-46  
EX-115

100-447251-999

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
LSB/jr  
(4)

12 NOV 8 1971

*Handwritten:* Let to SF  
11-12-71  
JRF: jg



FBI

Date: 11/1/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-637)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE, CLEAVER, aka

FUGITIVE

IO# 4239

WFF 447

RM - BPP

UPAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, Albany, 10/29/71

Enclosed for the Bureau and each receiving office  
are copies of an investigative insert revealing the results  
of investigation conducted at Bangor, Me. by SA [redacted]

Investigation indicates that [redacted] apparently  
has no knowledge of ELDRIDGE-CLEAVER or any other Black  
extremist.

The investigative results attached herewith is  
marked obscene because of the contents thereof.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2 - Cleveland (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2 - Tampa (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2 - Boston

JDM/mok  
(10)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

REC-36

ST-102

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01 BY 39063 [redacted]

NOV 4 1971

Approved: 51 NOV 11 1971 [redacted]

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





SK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED in this  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
Envelope DATE 1/11/01 BY 38063 EMB/ma/peh

100-447551-1000

OBSCENE INSERT ATTACHED TO BS AIRTEL, 11/1/71

100-447251-1000

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *on this*  
*Envelope* HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *11/11/01* BY *39063 EEW/JAR/jch*

1.  
BS 157-637  
RGR/mo'k

The following investigation was conducted  
by SA [redacted] on 10/28/71:

b7C  
b7D

[redacted]  
[redacted] advised that there is no one employed at [redacted]  
by the name of [redacted]. He advised  
that [redacted] has been employed as [redacted] since  
1/5/70. He advised that [redacted] was born on  
[redacted] and came to [redacted] from [redacted].  
He said that [redacted] is a highly reputable  
individual and to his knowledge has never had any  
association or connection with the Black Panther Party  
or a similar group.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] has a  
small conservatory trust account at the [redacted]  
[redacted] and his [redacted] at the [redacted].  
[redacted] would handle the [redacted]  
account of [redacted]. [redacted] said that [redacted]  
[redacted] Maine is  
acquainted with [redacted]

b7C  
b7D

b7C  
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/11/01 BY 39063 ELW/SAR/gh

2.  
BS 157-637  
RGR/mo'k

[redacted] advised that he has no knowledge that [redacted]  
has ever been associated with the Black Panther Party.  
However, he noted [redacted] is friendly with the "street  
people" in the [redacted] area.

b7C  
b7D

[redacted]  
Maine Police Department. advised files of that department  
contain the following [redacted] for [redacted]

b7C  
b7D

[redacted] advised. [redacted] is  
presently residing in [redacted] exact address not known,  
and that he had observed [redacted] on  
[redacted]

3.  
BS 157-637  
RGR/mo'k

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] advised that he is [REDACTED]  
acquainted with [REDACTED] inasmuch as [REDACTED] has [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He advised that he has no  
knowledge that [REDACTED] has any association with or  
affiliation with the Black Panther Party. He advised  
he had received a letter at his office dated [REDACTED]  
and postmarked Cleveland, Ohio addressed to [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], bearing  
the return address ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Box 401, 1623 Magnolia  
Drive, Cleveland, Ohio. He said that he gave this letter  
to [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He said he retained a  
photostatic copy of both the envelope and the letter.  
In the letter, which he made available, the letter  
contained one page with a paragraph as follows:

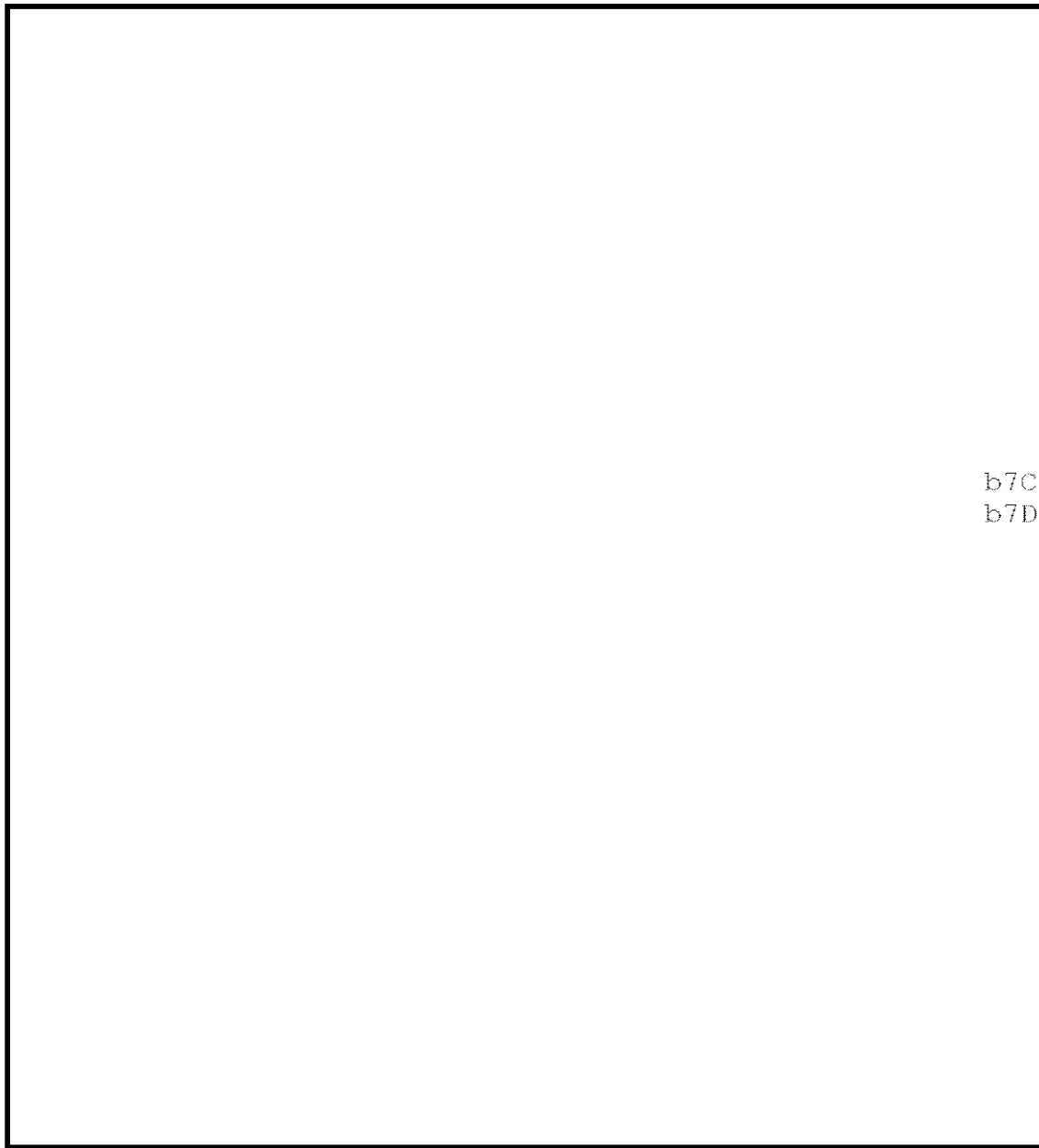
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

The second page of the letter is as follows:

[REDACTED]

4.  
BS 157-637  
RGR/mo'k



b7C  
b7D

5.  
BS 157-637  
RGR/mo'k



b7C  
b7D

[redacted] advised that he questioned [redacted] concerning the fact the envelope contained this letter and the return address of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Box 401 1623 Magnolia Drive, Cleveland, Ohio and that [redacted] remarked to him:

"[redacted]"



6.  
BS 157-637  
RGR/mo'k

On [redacted]  
[redacted] advised SA [redacted] as follows:

He is the [redacted]  
Maroon in color, [redacted] registration, the number of  
which he could not recall.

b7C  
b7D

On or about [redacted] he loaned this vehicle  
to a friend of his, [redacted]  
He advised that in regard to an envelope found in the  
vehicle which was addressed to [redacted]

[redacted]  
postmarked [redacted] at Cleveland, Ohio and bearing the  
return address ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Box 401, 1523 Magnolia  
Drive, Cleveland, Ohio. He received this letter from  
a friend, [redacted] who formerly resided with

b7C  
b7D

[redacted] He advised  
that [redacted] is present attending college,  
[redacted] and his  
residence address is [redacted]  
Cleveland, Ohio. He said that as a joke, [redacted]  
sometimes writes return addresses of different  
individuals on the letters he sends to him. He said  
that [redacted] is a radical however he has no  
knowledge that [redacted] has any connection whatsoever  
with the BPP and to his knowledge [redacted] is not  
acquainted with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

He further advised that he, [redacted]  
is not acquainted with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20537



## REPORT

of the

## IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

## LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION

YOUR FILE NO.

FBI FILE NO. REC-122

LATENT CASE NO.

88-5110

100-447251

A-45110

November 29, 1971

TO: SAC, Albany

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
 AL 44239; WF 4447  
 AKA-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
 TO COMMIT MURDER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01 BY 59063 ECU/AR/p/L

REFERENCE:

Airtel 11/2/71

EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY:

Albany

SPECIMENS:

Q1, one portion of an envelope

Listed Q specimen further described in separate  
 laboratory report.

One latent fingerprint of value was developed on  
 specimen, which is enclosed.

On basis of information furnished, no fingerprint  
 record located for [redacted] or  
 [redacted] mentioned in your airtel.

Latent fingerprint not identical with fingerprints  
 Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, FBI #214830B, or with the fingerprints  
 of the following individuals, also mentioned in your airtel:

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_

Enc.

2 - San Francisco (88-12329)

1 - Boston

1 - Cleveland

(Continued on next page)

John Edgar Hoover, Director

PWC:amg

(8)

57 DEC 6 1971

THIS REPORT IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C

SAC, Albany

November 29, 1971

[redacted]  
Maine #08444  
[redacted] FBI [redacted]  
[redacted] Maine. PD 215739  
[redacted]  
born [redacted] Maine  
[redacted] born [redacted]  
[redacted]

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE **NO LAB FILE**  
**RECORDED** 11/11/71 Recorded: 11/19/71 10:45 a.m. zln Received: 11/19/71  
 els Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: **LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER** ~~LABORATORY~~  
**FUGITIVE**  
**IO #4239; WF #447**  
**RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT**  
**TO COMMIT MURDER**  
**(OO: SF)**

File # **100-447251-1001**  
 Lab. # **D-711105129**  
 LC # **A-45110**

Examination requested by: **SAC, ALBANY (88-5119) A.11/2**

Examination requested: **Document-Fingerprint**

Date received: **11/5**

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

NOTED BY:

Named Subject:

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FBI # 214830-B**

11-19-71

*per'd ldn JLB*  
*To F.B.I. Q1 2nd (2nd) page*

11-22-71

*Q1 power. el*

*Star's name*

11-23-71

*Q1*

*portion of an*

**Q1 One envelope postmarked CLEVELAND, OH 6A 1971 PM 15 SEP.**  
**addressed to**

**Bangor,**  
**Maine 14401, with the return address of Eldridge Cleaver**  
**box 401 1623 Magnolia Drive Cleveland, Ohio,**

Specimens submitted for examination

**ELIMINATION**

cc: **Boston**  
**Cleveland**  
**San Francisco (8812329)**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01 BY 31063 ELW/PAE/PAE

Examination completed

Time

9:00 AM

Date

11-26-71

Dictated

Date

11-26-71

b7C

F B I

Date: 11/2/71

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
(Att: IDENTIFICATION DIVISION,  
LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (88-5119)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -  
FUGITIVE  
IO #4239; WF #447  
RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01

BY 39063 P/W/jml/gck

Re Bureau telcall to Albany, 10/28/71.

For information of receiving offices, referenced Bureau telephone call advised that on 10/28/71, information had been received from INS, Washington, that four men had been checked in a car at Norton, Vermont. They had an envelope bearing the return address of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER at Cleveland, Ohio. This envelope was addressed to a bank in Bangor, Maine. Agent LEONARD CHAGNON of U. S. Customs, Rouses Point, N. Y., had the envelope and all pertinent data. The Bureau requested investigation to determine who was in the car and to obtain the envelope.

Enclosed for the Bureau is the above-mentioned envelope.

On 10/29/71, SA [REDACTED] contacted LEONARD C. CHAGNON, Assistant Special Agent in Charge (T&F Unit) Bureau of Customs, Rouses Point, New York. Mr. CHAGNON advised

(3-Bureau (Enc. 1)  
5-Boston  
2-Cleveland  
2-San Francisco (88-12329)  
1-Albany  
EFO/jml  
(13)

REC-48

EX-115

16 NOV 4 1971

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

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

"COPY AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB"

b7C

AL 88-5119

Referral/Direct

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

It is requested the envelope be processed for fingerprints of CLEAVER.

It is also requested that at the completion of this examination the envelope be returned to Albany.

AL 88-5119

LEADS

BOSTON

AT BANGOR, MAINE

Will locate and interview [redacted]  
[redacted] for any information he may have concerning  
subject.

AT HARTLAND, MAINE

Will interview [redacted] for any information  
he may have concerning captioned subject.

AT CORINNA, MAINE

Will interview [redacted] for any  
information he may have concerning subject.

AT DEXTER, MAINE

Will locate and interview [redacted]  
[redacted] for any information he may have concerning captioned  
subject.

CLEVELAND

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will conduct appropriate investigation at [redacted]  
[redacted] to determine if the ELDRIGE CLEAVER is identical to  
captioned subject or has any information concerning subject.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

F B I

Date: 11/5/71

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (157-1850) (P)

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

*One Person  
 Magnolia  
 Loc. Albany  
 BE*

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 10/29/71 and Boston  
 airtel to Bureau, 11/1/71.

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Local directories indicated the address 1623  
 Magnolia Drive, Cleveland, Ohio, was listed for a dormitory  
 at Case Western Reserve University (CWRU).

On 11/2/71, contact with [redacted] determined  
 that [redacted] are respectively listed to [redacted]

Records of the University Circle PD, Cleveland  
 PD Headquarters Intelligence Unit and Cleveland indices  
 were negative regarding [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - Albany (88-5119) (Info) (RM)  
 2 - Cleveland

DFP/gjz  
 (5)

REC-38

NOV 1

FUG. SUP.

EXT. INT. SEC.

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 Special Agent in Charge

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

b7C

b2

1002

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11/1/01 BY 59013 ELM/BAF/PLH



CV 157-1850

Security for [ ] is handled by the [ ]  
[ ] Police.

On 11/4/71, [ ] records indicated  
that [ ] and resides at  
[ ] Cleveland, Ohio. [ ]  
[ ] records, Cleveland PD Headquarters Intelligence  
Unit records and Cleveland indices negative regarding [ ]

b7C  
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

In view of the fact that [ ] and  
[ ] are presently students in attendance at and residing  
in [ ] no interviews will be conducted.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 11 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, ES \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. [unclear] \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. [unclear] \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. [unclear] \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NR003 SA CODE

2:15 AM NITEL 11-11-71 TEW

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251)

ALBUQUERQUE

EL PASO

PHOENIX

SAN DIEGO

SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/11/01 BY 39013 EIM/one/bel

FROM: SAN ANTONIO (157-770)

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, IO NUMBER

FOUR TWO THREE NINE, WF NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN. RM - BPP;

FAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. 00: SAN FRANCISCO.

EX-115

REC-18/00 447251-1003

REBUNITEL TO ALBUQUERQUE, ET AL, OCTOBER TWENTY-EIGHT,

1ST.

D PAGE ONE.

16 NOV 15 1971

1 NOV 17 1971  
RSC

1-1000

b7C

b7C

SA (157-770)

PAGE TWO

ON NOVEMBER TEN, INSTANT, [REDACTED]  
U. S. INS, ADVISED THAT THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION HAD BEEN  
RECEIVED THIRD HAND AND ORIGINATED WITH ONE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LACKLAND AFB, TEXAS.

THE INFORMATION ATTRIBUTED TO [REDACTED] WAS THAT  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER IS IN MEXICO AND WILL ENTER THE UNITED  
STATES THROUGH A BORDER PORT WITH A GROUP OF SERVICEMEN IN  
UNIFORM. THIS GROUPE WILL ACT LIKE THEY ARE DRINKING.

b7C  
b7D

OSI, SAN ANTONIO, ADVISED THE ONLY [REDACTED] STATIONED  
[REDACTED]

ON NOVEMBER TEN INSTANT [REDACTED] ADVISED HE WAS NOT  
THE SOURCE OF ABOVE INFORMATION AND HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

SAN ANTONIO AREA INS HAS ALERTED THEIR PERSONNEL OF  
THE ABOVE.

PENDING

END.

WJM FBI WA

cc-Miller

SAC, San Francisco (88-12329)

November 17, 1971

Director, FBI (100-447251)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01 BY 39013 CMB/SAEP/L

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

a portion of Madrid

Attached is the translation which ~~XXXX~~ requested by letter

dated 10-27-71, copy herewith.

MAILED 6

NOV 17 1971

FBI

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

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

**Retained until completion of translation.**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

mmk  
MMG:pln  
(3)

NOV 19 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

Taken from the September 20, 1971 issue of the French newspaper "L'Opinion" which is published in Paris(?), France.

Exclusive: Eldridge Cleaver, leader of the Black Panthers, answers the questions of "L'Opinion."

Created in 1966 by Huey P. Newton (Defense Minister of the party) and Bobby Seale (president of the party), the Black Panther Party saw its first light in the slums of Oakland, in the suburbs of San Francisco. A ghetto like so many others where the conditions of life and of work are disastrous. It is there that the most revolutionary black organization of the U.S.A. was born. The Black Panthers allied themselves with the SNCC which was a student organization directed by Stokely Carmichael. He became the First Minister of the party where the Minister of Justice is no one other than Rap Brown. The acquired effectiveness and audience are such that the Black Panthers today constitute the most influential black organization in the U.S.A. and the most formidable by the Federal police. The American administration, is waging a furious battle against them, which exposes the nature and the harshness of the system in which they live.

The Black Panther Party has numerous representatives in foreign countries, especially in Algeria. It is there that our co-worker Ahmed Chahid encountered Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Party. He is the author of a book entitled "Soul on Ice." Eldridge Cleaver answers the questions of "L'Opinion."

TRANSLATED BY:

November 16, 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/1/01 BY 39172

ENCLOSURE

b7C

F B I

Date: 11/15/71

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (88-5033) (RM) <sup>P</sup>

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - *[Handwritten: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver]*  
 FUGITIVE  
 IO #4239  
 WF #447  
 RM - BPP  
 UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
 COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST  
 THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
 OO: SAN FRANCISCO

*[Handwritten: BEE]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/11/01 BY 59063 ELW/JMR/PL

Re San Antonio nitel to the Director, 11/11/71.

For the information of the Bureau and San Francisco, and as previously reported in San Diego airtel to San Francisco dated 11/3/71, virtually all of the agencies covering the ports of entry and shoreline surrounding the San Diego Division have previously been furnished with identification orders concerning CLEAVER.

On 11/12/71, all of these agencies were recontacted at which time it was noted that the alert for CLEAVER remains in effect throughout the San Diego Division. All of these agencies were additionally apprised of the information contained in referenced San Antonio nitel and, in the event CLEAVER is observed attempting to enter the U. S. through the San Diego Division, the San Diego Office will be immediately notified.

REC-65

ARMED & DANGEROUS.

- 2- Bureau (AM)  
 2- San Francisco (88-12329) (AM)  
 1- San Diego

RLB:cah  
 (5)

6 NOV 18 1971

EX-117

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 Special Agent in Charge

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

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>11/16/71</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>8/2 - 11/15/71</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka- FUGITIVE IO #4239 WANTED FLYER 447</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>amc</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>EM-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH DEADLY WEAPON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)</b> <b>11-19-71</b>	

REFERENCE: Report of SA **[REDACTED]** 8/6/71, San Francisco.  
San Francisco letter, 11/5/71.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Two (2) copies of FD 376 are stapled to this report.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE **1/14/01** BY **3986386w/brp/pe**

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 <b>REG/jr</b>						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES MADE:						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
⑤ Bureau (100-447251) (RM) 1- Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3 and 5c) (RM) 4- San Francisco (3: 157-4324) (1: 88-12329)						<b>100-447251-1006</b> <b>REC-11</b> <b>EX-112</b> <b>5 NOV 19 1971</b>	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations	
Agency						<b>EXT. SUP.</b> <b>EXT. INT.</b> <b>900</b>	
Request Recd.							
Date Fwd.							
How Fwd.							
By							

51 NOV 26 1971

LSB/amc  
SF 157-4324

INFORMANTS:

Identity of  
Source



File Where Located

b2  
b7D

COVER PAGE  
B



SF 157-4324

LSB/amc

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ☒ Security Index ☐ Reserve Index.
2. ☐ The data appearing on the Security 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 are necessary and Form FD-122 submitted to the Bureau.
5. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.  
Date photograph was taken 1967.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because  
(state reason)

b2  
b7D

information from [redacted] if disclosed, could result in the identification of informants of continuing value, jeopardize their future effectiveness, and thus adversely affect the defense interests of the United States.

8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_.
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)  
**he is not presently in the country.**
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security 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 criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)

**CLEAVER is militantly anti-U.S. Government and has called for soldiers in Vietnam to rebel and turn guns on senior officers.**

11. ☒ Subject's SI card is tabbed ☒ Priority I ☐ Priority II ☐ Priority III.  
☐ Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons)

(See #10 above)

12. ☒ Security Flash Notice (FD-165) to Identification Division:

☒ Submitted 5/31/67 (date) Placed ☒ Yes ☐ No

13. ☒ Subject is Extremist in Priority I of SI and Stop Notice has been placed with NCIC.

6/29/71.

COVER PAGE

C\*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 16, 1971

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) (1) (RM)  
U. S. Secret Service , San Francisco

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) (1)

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

DECLASSIFIED BY 3903 Euf/Tae/gh  
ON 11/11/01 90394

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

~~**C O N F I D E N T I A L**~~

Copy to: Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 3, 5c) (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED]

Office: San Francisco

Date: 11/16/71

Field Office File #: 157-4324

Bureau File #: 100-447251

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
IO #4239  
WANTED FLYER 447

Character: **EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT-ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND  
Synopsis: ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON**

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER continues to reside Algiers, Algeria, and was in touch with Black Panther Party Harlem faction 11/6/71. Subject's children MACEO, born Algeria, [REDACTED] and JOJUYOUNGHI, born North Korea [REDACTED] now have U. S. passports. Sept. 1971, CLEAVER called for Black Americans in jail to escape. ARMED & DANGEROUS.

-P-

DETAILS: AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

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

~~**C O N F I D E N T I A L**~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/AM/JO  
ON 11/11/01  
904394

I. BACKGROUND

A check of the Passport files of the U. S. State Department at Washington, D. C. on September 13, 1971 by SA [ ] reflected that **ELDRIDGE CLEAVER** had appeared at the Office of U. S. Interest, Algiers, Algeria, on January 9, 1970 to report the birth of his son, **MACEO CLEAVER** at Tissemselt, Algeria, on [ ] **MACEO CLEAVER** was issued Passport #Z1064968, due to expire January 8, 1975.

b7C

The same files reflect that **CLEAVER's** wife, **KATHLEEN CLEAVER**, full name **JUETTE KATHLEEN NEAL CLEAVER**, on July 29, 1971, applied for a Passport at Algiers, Algeria for her daughter, **JOJUYOUNGHI CLEAVER**, who had been born at Pyongyang, North Korea, [ ] **CLEAVER's** daughter was issued Passport #Z1233092, due to expire August 23, 1976.

**CLEAVER** and his wife listed their address as 48 bis Avenue, Clemenceau, Algiers, Algeria.

b7C

On [ ] [ ] advised that [ ] a resident of Europe, and a friend of **HUEY NEWTON**, Minister of Defense of the BPP, had reported that he had recently been in Algiers and learned that **ELDRIDGE CLEAVER** desired to go to Chile, but President **ALLENDE** of Chile had not agreed to **CLEAVER's** request.

b2  
b7D

On [ ] [ ] reported that on that date, **ELDRIDGE CLEAVER** was still in Algiers, Algeria and on that date had been in touch with the BPP Cleaver faction in Harlem, New York City.

b2  
b7D

## II. ACTIVITIES

"San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco, California newspaper, on September 4, 1971 carried an item from Reuter's News Service, to the effect that the previous day, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, Algiers, based international section, from that city had called for vengeance in the killing of GEORGE JACKSON, an inmate at San Quentin Prison in California, August 21, 1971.

The article stated that CLEAVER urged black prisoners in American jails to escape.

The September 23, 1971 edition of "San Francisco Examiner", a daily newspaper of San Francisco, contained an article, bylined ALMENA LOMAX, reporting that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER had turned up in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. CLEAVER's whereabouts became known at that time as a result of an article written for the October 1971 edition of "Black Scholar", a publication of Sausalito, California. The article was entitled, "Culture and Révolution; Their Synthesis in Africa."

The article read in part:

"'Afro-American liberation struggle between the cultural freaks and those who relate primarily to the gun. The cultural nationalists refused to understand that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun', and this is why it was necessary to wage such a hard and uncompromising struggle against them,

"'We find here in the Congo a revolutionary Marxist Leninist state, party, and a People's Army built along the lines of a true People's Republic to deal with safeguarding construction of a socialist society from both internal and external enemies,

"'It is very beautiful that this has been done in the Congo, in the heart of Africa. Of all words. . . connected with Africa, more than the word 'Africa' itself, the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 157-4324  
LSB/amc

"'word, 'Congo' sets off some very deep vibrations in black hearts, souls, minds,' Cleaver says..."

"Denouncing both the 'pig media and the bootlicking black bourgeois media,' Cleaver calls on American Negroes to demand that the U.S. 'withdraw its troops from Congo Kinshasa and cease all military aid to the reactionary Mobutu regime' and also demands that the U. S. 'and other imperialist countries stop their hostile economic acts against the People's Republic of the Congo,'

"Black Scholar" is a black militant monthly magazine, published at Sausalito, California.

\*  
-4-  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California  
November 16, 1971

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT;  
~~Reference~~ ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
AND RAPE AND ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY  
WEAPON

Reference San Francisco report of SA [redacted]  
[redacted] dated and captioned as above

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

b7C

(5)

202

11-16-71

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

NITEL

TO SACS CLEVELAND (157-1850)  
LOS ANGELES (157-2323)  
SAN ANTONIO (157-770)  
SAN DIEGO (88-5033)  
SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/4/01 BY 39063ELW/pmr/pe

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251) - 1007

REC-19

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUG., IO NUMBER FOUR TWO  
THREE NINE; WF NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN; EM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE UNITED STATES. OO:SF

RE CLEVELAND TEL NOVEMBER TWELVE, LAST, AND WASHINGTON  
FIELD TEL NOVEMBER FIFTEEN, INSTANT.

FOR INFORMATION ALL OFFICES INITIAL INFORMATION CONCERNING  
CLEAVER'S POSSIBLE REENTRY THROUGH MEXICAN BORDER USING  
DISGUISE OF DRUNKEN SERVICEMAN IN MILITARY UNIFORM RESOLVED ACCORDING  
TO SAN ANTONIO. BASED UPON INFORMATION FURNISHED BY U. S. INS  
SAN ANTONIO HAS CONDUCTED INVESTIGATION IN EFFORT TO IDENTIFY  
SOURCE.

IT WOULD APPEAR THAT BORDER STATION ALERTS PLACED BY BOTH  
U. S. INS AND FAA HAVE RESULTED IN MUSHROOMING INTERLOCKING

JRF:cld  
(3)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOV 16 1971  
INVESTIGATIONS SECTION

NOV 16 1971

TYPE

Curt

9/4

55 NOV 29 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



**TELETYPE TO CLEVELAND  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

**LEADS. ALL OFFICES WHILE REMAINING ALERT TO CLEAVER'S  
POSSIBLE ATTEMPTED REENTRY INTO THE U. S. CONSIDER AFORE-  
MENTIONED LEAD AS HAVING BEEN COVERED AND UNPRODUCTIVE TO  
DATE.**

**REFERENCE SAN ANTONIO TELETYPE NOVEMBER ELEVEN, LAST,  
RECEIVED BY SAN DIEGO AND SAN FRANCISCO ONLY. SAN ANTONIO  
ATTEMPT TO FURTHER DETERMINE FROM LACKLAND AFB LOCATOR IF  
ANY PERSONNEL OF OFFICER RANK WITH NAME [REDACTED] ASSIGNED  
AT THAT AFB, SINCE SECURITY OFFICER AT LACKLAND WOULD NOT  
LIKELY BE QUARTERED WITH AIRMAN FIRST CLASS RANK AS  
INFERRED IN AFOREMENTIONED TELETYPE.**

b7C

**NOTE: During October, 1971, a San Francisco source received  
information that Cleaver might attempt to reenter the U. S.  
at San Diego, California, by unknown means. As a result of  
leads set forth for the San Diego Office as well as Los Angeles,  
alerts were placed with other agencies, INS, and FAA, in an  
effort to determine the method by which Cleaver might attempt  
this reentry. As a result the succeeding communications within  
these two agencies to their respective border stations, a number  
of repetitious leads were set out which in turn resulted in a  
number of inquiries by our field offices. This information  
has been previously resolved in part at San Antonio where rumor  
allegedly started concerning Cleaver's reentry. San Antonio  
is being instructed to run out one additional phase of their  
investigation, however, the only person located to date by  
the name of [REDACTED] who allegedly started this rumor, has  
denied any knowledge of Cleaver or initiating the rumor.**

b7C

NR 003 WF CODE

230PM URGENT 11-15-71SKA

TO DIRECTOR

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

CLEVELAND

SAN FRANCISCO

SAN DIEGO

LOS ANGELES

SAN ANTONIO

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, ES \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01 BY 39063ELW/JAR/gk

DO NOT  
11/11/71

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, ALSO KNOWN AS DASH FUGITIVE;  
IDENTIFICATION ORDER NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE NINE; WF NUMBER  
FOUR FOUR SEVEN; EXTREMIST MATTER DASH BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UFAC DASH ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. OO SAN FRANCISCO. WFO FILE  
EIGHT EIGHT DASH SEVEN ONE ZERO SIX.

b7C

REFERENCE CLEVELAND TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU, NOVEMBER  
TWELVE, LAST.

SEC.

FOR THE INFORMATION OF LOS ANGELES, SAN ANTONIO, AND  
SAN DIEGO, CLEVELAND (ADVISED THAT IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION  
SERVICE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT SUBJECT WOULD BE  
ATTEMPTING ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES WEARING A MILITARY UNIFORM.

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE  
LA  
SA  
SF  
11-16 71

REC-19 105-44727-1007

NOV 22 1971

b7C

PAGE TWO

ON NOVEMBER FIFTEEN, INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] INS,

ONE ONE NINE D STREET, NORTHEAST, WDC., ADVISED THAT INS SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION OF UNKNOWN RELIABILITY THAT SUBJECT MAY ATTEMPT ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES BY A LAND BORDER PORT WEARING UNITED STATES MILITARY UNIFORM, ACCOMPANIED BY OTHER BLACK SERVICEMEN IN UNIFORM. THEY WILL APPEAR DRUNK IN ATTEMPT TO PREVENT CLEAVER'S RECOGNITION.

[REDACTED] FURTHER ADVISED THAT ALL INS OFFICES ON THE MEXICO DASH UNITED STATES BORDER HAD BEEN ALERTED.

[REDACTED] FURTHER ADVISED THAT HIS OFFICE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM [REDACTED] FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION (FAA), WDC., THAT CLEAVER MAY ATTEMPT ENTRY VIA MEXICO.

ON NOVEMBER FIFTEEN, INSTANT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FAA, EIGHT ZERO ZERO INDEPENDENCE AVENUE, SOUTHWEST, WDC., ADVISED THAT A SOURCE, WHO HAS

END PAGE TWO

b7C  
b7D

PAGE THREE

FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ON OCTOBER TWENTYSIX, LAST, ADVISED [REDACTED] FAA SAN DIEGO, THAT SUBJECT MAY BE ATTEMPTING TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES THROUGH MEXICO. THIS INFORMATION IN TURN WAS FORWARDED TO THE WESTERN REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS, FAA LOS ANGELES, WHO , IN TURN, FORWARDED IT TO WDC. [REDACTED] FURTHER ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] FAA LOS ANGELES, WOULD BE ABLE TO FURNISH FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING THE RELIABILITY OF THIS SOURCE.

WFO HAS PREVIOUS INFORMATION REGARDING THIS MATTER AND LEADS FOR LOS ANGELES AND SAN DIEGO ARE BEING WITHHELD FOR THE DISCRETION OF SAN FRANCISCO.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

TJT FBI WASH DC CLR

CC-MR. MILLER

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 007 CV CODE

NOV 12 1971

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

9:50 PM URGENT 11-12-71 SLO TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM CLEVELAND 157-1850

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/11/01 BY 39063 ELW/JAR/pch

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUG., IO NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE NINE;  
WF NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN; EM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. 00:SF

ON THIS DATE, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, CLEVELAND,  
OHIO, ADVISED THEY WERE IN RECEIPT OF TELETYPE FROM THEIR HEADQUARTERS  
DATED NOV. ELEVEN, LAST, WHICH INDICATED INFORMATION OF UNKNOWN  
RELIABILITY HAD BEEN RECEIVED, INDICATING SUBJECT MAY ATTEMPT ENTRY INTO  
U.S., WEARING U.S. MILITARY UNIFORM, ACCOMPANIED BY BLACK SERVICEMAN IN  
UNIFORM. THEY WILL APPEAR DRUNK IN ATTEMPT TO PREVENT CLEAVER'S  
RECOGNITION. INS TELETYPE WAS DIRECTED TO INS OFFICES IN SANDUSKY,  
TOLEDO, AND CLEVELAND, OHIO. TELETYPE WAS RECEIVED FROM INS, RICHMOND.  
INFORMATION ORIGINATED INS, WASHINGTON. EX-101

WFO REQUESTED THROUGH INS LIAISON, DETERMINE SOURCE AND RELIABILITY  
OF INFO AND PROVIDE CLEVELAND AND INTERESTED OFFICES WITH APPROPRIATE  
DETAILS.

P.

END

GXC FBI WASHDC

ACK FOR 006 007

TTL W CV  
LA  
SA  
SD  
SF  
S-71



NOV 12 1971



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 19 1971

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, PS \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland ✓  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01 BY 39058CW/sna/jch

NR002 SA CODE

8:10 PM NITEL 11-19-71 TEW

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)  
FROM SAC, SAN ANTONIO (157-770)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUG., IO NUMBER FOUR TWO THREE  
NINE; WF NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN; EM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES. 00: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE BUREAU NITEL TO CLEVELAND ETAL, NOV. SIXTEEN, LAST.

OSI, SAN ANTONIO ADVISED TODAY THAT THERE ARE NO  
OFFICERS NAMED [REDACTED] ASSIGNED TO LACKLAND AIR FORCE BASE  
TEXAS.

END

REC-35

100-447251-1009

6 NOV 24 1971

57 DEC 31 1971

CC-MR. MILLER

b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DEPARTMENT

TO : Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: Novemb

FROM : Robert C. Mardian  
Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SEDITION

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Miller, E.	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Dalbey	
Mr. Cleveland	
Mr. Ponder	
Mr. Bates	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Reference is made to former Assistant Attorney General Yeagley's memorandum of September 24, 1970 and former Assistant Attorney General Wilson's memorandum of November 3, 1970, both of which requested investigation in this matter under the sedition statutes.

In view of the technical problem of the sufficiency of the voice identification of the tapes of the speech purportedly made by Eldridge Cleaver, there is a question as to whether the presently available evidence is sufficient to establish that it was, in fact, Cleaver who made the speech. We also note that Cleaver presently is in self-imposed exile out of the country, and he faces a jail term should he return to this country. In these circumstances, we do not contemplate initiating a prosecution against Cleaver under 18 U.S.C. 2387 or 2388 at this time.

We have examined the results of your investigation of [redacted] and it is our conclusion that the evidence against her is not sufficiently strong to warrant a sedition prosecution.

In view of the foregoing, we are not requesting any further specific investigation of Cleaver and [redacted] under the sedition statutes, but we would appreciate receiving any additional pertinent information which may come to your attention.

EXP. PROC.

37 NOV 12 1971

REC-48

6 NOV 12 1971

NOV 29 1971

b7C

b7C

b7C

b7C

2cc SF  
1cc - [unclear] by 0.7  
11-17-71 CES [unclear]  
1cc 620940  
57 DEC 1 1971

1019  
5-825  
[redacted]  
[redacted]



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

1



b7C

To: SAC, Albany (88-5119)

Date: November 19, 1971

Re: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -  
FUGITIVE, IO #4239; WF #447;  
RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER;  
OO: San Francisco

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No. 100-447251  
Lab. No. D-711105129 KN

Examination requested by: Albany

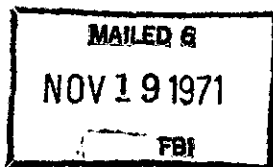
Reference: Airtel 11/2/71

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Remarks:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/11/01 BY 39063ELW/jna/gel

Q1 will be returned to you together with the results  
of the latent fingerprint examination.



Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)  
1 - Boston - Enclosure - (Lab report)  
1 - Cleveland - Enclosure (Lab report)  
2 - San Francisco - Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)

REC-30

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RJ:jpb (8) ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

DEC 1 1971

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐





REPORT  
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: SAC, Albany (88-5119)

Date:

November 19, 1971

FBI File No.

100-447251 (81)

Re: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -  
FUGITIVE

Lab. No.

D-711105129 KN

IO #4239; WF #447;  
RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDERALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/11/01 BY 39063 EWS/SAK/ML

Specimens received

11/5/71

Q1 One envelope postmarked CLEVELAND, OH 6A 1971 PM 15 SEP,  
addressed to [REDACTED][REDACTED]  
Maine 14401, with the return address of Eldridge Cleaver,  
box 401 1623 Magnolia Drive Cleveland, Ohio

## Result of examination:

Q1 was searched in the appropriate sections of the  
Anonymous Letter File without effecting an identification.  
An appropriate copy will be added thereto.It was concluded that the typewriting on the envelope  
Q1 most closely resembles the FBI Laboratory standards for  
Smith Corona elite type having a horizontal spacing of twelve  
letters to the inch.No watermarks, indented writing or other identifying  
characteristics were found on the envelope Q1. The stamp on  
the envelope Q1 was torn from a sheet of stamps.Q1 will be returned to you separately. Appropriate  
photographs are retained.

RJ:jp (8)

b7C

11-17  
RECORDED  
11/11/71  
cls

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NO LAB FILE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER ~~DATE~~  
FUGITIVE  
IO #4239; WF #447  
RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

File # 100-447251 101  
Lab. # D-711105129

Examination requested by: SAC, ALBANY (88-5119) A.11/2

b7C

Examination requested: Document-Fingerprint

Date received: 11/5

Result of Examination:

Examination by: J

*AK Neg. Added*  
*Smith Corona elite TW.*  
*8, 1st exp. LFPs. no w/m ind*  
*stamp sheet*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/01 BY 39063 ECU/SMA/gsk

Specimens submitted for examination

Q1 One envelope postmarked CLEVELAND, OH 6A 1971 PM 15 SEP.  
addressed to

Maine 14401, with the return address of Eldridge Cleaver  
box 401 1623 Magnolia Drive Cleveland, Ohio,

b7C

cc: Boston  
Cleveland  
San Francisco (88-12329)

"PHOTOGRAPHS ENCLOSED  
NEGATIVES"

7/11/05/29

	Length	width	thickness	Stamp	W/M	I/V
Q1	3.6	6.5	.0045	84 sheet	—	—
postmarked Cleveland, Ohio						
2 4 3 m M E C						

pitch - elite 212  
1264 Smith Corona 66 c  
defective ~~font~~ capital C.  
distinctive features - wide loop in j  
- no middle part  
in m.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/11/01 BY 39013 ELW/bmr/p/L

**RECORDED**  
**11/11/71**  
**els**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

**NO LAB FILE**

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: **LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER LATENT**  
**FUGITIVE**  
**IO #4239; WF #447**  
**RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT**  
**TO COMMIT MURDER**  
**(OO: SF)**

File # **100-447251 1011**  
 Lab. # **D-711105129**

Examination requested by: **SAC, ALBANY (88-5119) A.11/2**

Examination requested: **Document-Fingerprint**

Date received: **11/5**

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

b7C

*LEPS.*  
*Return Q1 to Albany*

Specimens submitted for examination

Received by LFPS

b7C

*Specimen examined 11/11/71 by [signature]*  
**Q1 One envelope postmarked CLEVELAND, OH 6A 1971 PM 15 SEP.**  
**addressed to**

**Maine 10401, with the return address of Eldridge Cleaver**  
**box 401 1623 Magnolia Drive Cleveland, Ohio,**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/11/01 BY 39063 EFW/JAA/jch

cc: **Boston**  
**Cleveland**  
**San Francisco (8812329)**

**"PHOTOGRAPHS ENCLOSED**  
**NEGATIVES -**

TO: BUREAU (100-447251)  
(Att: IDENTIFICATION DIVISION,  
LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (88-5119)

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -  
FUGITIVE  
RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER

Enclosed is envelope bearing return  
address of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER at Cleveland,  
Ohio.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *on this*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *1/11/01* BY *SP13ELW/JAR/SL*

  
*100-447251-101*  
ENCLOSURE

*Encl rec'd*  
*11-19-7*  
*LC #A-45110*

DATE

EXAMINER

100-417251

KW

NEGATIVES

INITIALS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

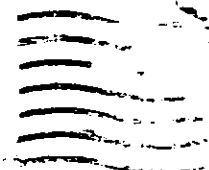
DATE

BY

100-447251-1011

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *in this*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *1/10/01* BY *39023 elw/bm/gk*

Eldrige Cleaver  
box 401  
1623 Magnolia Drive  
Cleveland, Ohio



b7C

Bangor, Maine 04401

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *in this*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *1/11/01* BY *39063 ECU/SAC/PAH*

*Envelope*

100-477251 Q1 KN



100-477251 Q1 KN

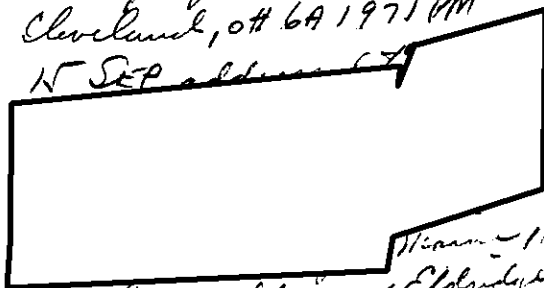


LC# A-45710  
100-477251 Q1 KN  
FBI  
LABORATORY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/11/01 BY 3902362W/ma/p/L

1 portion of  
envelope postmarked  
Cleveland, OH 6A 1971 PM  
15 SEP address (7)



Winn - 18601  
return address of Eldridge  
Cleveland 401 16th Magnolia  
Winn Cleveland, Ohio

b7C

No Card

SAC Albany (88-5119) ✓

Sub Q1 One envelope

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver - Fugitive ✓  
IO #4239; WF #447 ✓  
RM - BPP; UFAC - Assault With  
Intent to Commit Murder ✓

Profile No.	100-447251
LC No.	A-45110
Date of Birth	11-2-31
Examination	
Noted by	
No. of Photos	3

b7C

1 Lat Fgpt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED on this  
Envelope IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/11/01 BY 39063 ELM/BAW/92

1-Hec

Photographs of latent print  
100-447251

SAC, San Francisco (88-12329)

December 3, 1971

Director, FBI (100-447251)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/11/01 BY 39063 ELW/par/jk

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

a portion of Madrid

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter

dated 10/27/71.

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

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

Retained until completion of translation.

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

MTS:lmc

54 DEC 8 1971  
Enc. 1

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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

REC-4

100-447251-1013

DEC 6 1971

FSC  
CON/PROP

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

(continuation)

→ -L'Opinion: A wisely-arranged bad propaganda claims that the Black Panther Party is a racist organization while your movement follows a revolutionary road. Could you explain, for those who still refuse to believe it, in the name of which principles do you struggle?

\*Eldridge Cleaver: We struggle for a number of objectives. The principal one consists of liberating our people from all forms of exploitation. We struggle for the complete transformation of the capitalist and imperialist American system which provides the base and the arms for our repression. After several defeats on the organizational as well as the operational level, the present generation of Afro-Americans has reached the following conclusion: in order for our people to enjoy their freedom, they must build a base capable of uniting the different revolutionary forces in the U.S.A. in order to tear down the capitalist and imperialist system and to replace it with a socialist system.

We are also of the opinion that the oppressive system under which we suffer is international. It is not a national system with branches abroad. No, it is international in the sense that it is composed of different reactionary and feudal regimes which support the reaction forces in the world against all the progressive forces. Our position is international in nature. We wish to work together, and thus we seek national and international alliances. ✓

No reconciliation between the oppressed  
and the executioners

-L'Opinion: The last massacre in the Attica prison is a revealing sign that the use of force against the Afro-Americans is highly valued in the U.S.A.

239  
TRANSLATED BY: [redacted]

December 3 1971  
54 DEC 9 1971

b7C

- 2 -  
- 40100 -

100-441201-10/3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/14/01 BY SP03ELW/BAE/pch

\*Eldridge Cleaver: Our analysis of the situation takes into account the open and fascist repression such as we saw it in Attica. We grow taller against this attempt at destruction, all the more because the unity of the revolutionary forces in the U.S.A. and the increasing awareness of the masses have led us to a definite choice: it is no longer a question of reconciliation between the oppressed and the executioners. To us, this is clear and evident. The present leaders are not going to surrender; we will continue to fight them. In their hands rest a certain number of political tools to eliminate us-- such as the judicial authorities, the police or the prisons. This leaves us only one tool to employ against them, and this is why we are now in a state of war in the U.S.A. All subterfuge is outmoded, all political means of repression are exhausted: we are now face to face. The only possibility is violence. We do not accept any "reform" solution. We wish to be clear on this subject. In answer to our grievances, the leaders love to apply semi-measures. As far as we are concerned, we organize armed actions in order to make our revolution more effective. What matters to us the most is the manner of rendering the struggle more effective and the more rigorous application of revolutionary violence.

I believe it is necessary to point out some facts in order to make more understandable the savage blood bath provoked by the "cops" in the U.S.A. Take, for example, Jackson's murder. What I learned this very morning clearly shows the attitude of the U.S. leaders. It is murder, pure and simple, the physical elimination of a militant who has become dangerous for the system. I contacted a comrade in the U.S.A., and he told me that when the authorities attacked the prison, they stated that 28 persons had been shot and 8 or 9 others had been killed. So it was nothing but a maneuver to kill them in cold blood. These militants were very much alive when the authorities took over the prison. All this reveals the political schemes of those in power who have decided to eliminate the revolution by attacking the imprisoned militants who have demonstrated leadership qualities.

The soldiers and the prisoners  
are no longer spectators

-L'Opinion: Jackson's death appears to have given a new dimension to your struggle. What will be its repercussions?

\*Eldridge Cleaver: The atrocities which take place at the penitentiaries have been known for a long time in the U.S.A. They have now attained such a dimension that, sadly enough, they are "issues" throughout the world. This is an evident manifestation of a new center of activities.

The other center being developed now is inside the military establishments. In both cases, it is obvious that the prisoners and the militants have received a fast political education by confronting a number of contradictions. The result of this is that the prisoners are in the process of becoming politically organized to fight the system of repression.

On the other hand, those in the military who refuse to be cannon fodder are finally realizing that they have always been used to repress other people's fight for freedom. They make an issue of everything, to the extent of using revolutionary violence against their own officers and their superiors.

Because of these violent acts inside penitentiaries and military establishments, the disillusioned prisoners and soldiers are taking their places within the revolutionary movement, while in the past they had been merely spectators. The situation in the prisons is totally ripe. It is developing in the army. We should then attend to insurrections, riots and violent incidents on a large scale. I would even say that we must attend to it at all times, perhaps even at this moment when I talk to you. This shows you the importance which must be given to this dimension within the movement.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM : SAC, EL PASO (100-6098) (RUC)

DATE: 12/6/71

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -  
FUGITIVE  
IO #4239  
WF #447  
EM - BPP

OO: SF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/11/01 BY 39863 EWP/PAK/L

ReBunitel to AQ, 10/28/71.

The following El Paso sources were alerted as to  
the probability of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's entering the United  
States through the borders of El Paso, Texas; Division:

[Redacted]  
El Paso Sheriff's Office  
El Paso, Texas  
10/26/71

[Redacted]  
Department of Public Safety  
El Paso, Texas  
10/26/71

REC-4 100-447251-1014

[Redacted]  
U. S. Customs  
Santa Fe Bridge  
El Paso, Texas  
10/26/71

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - San Francisco (88-12329)
- 1 - El Paso

VJA:myg  
(5)



5010-108-02

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

EXT. INSEC.

EP 100-6098

[REDACTED]  
U. S. Customs Agency Service  
El Paso, Texas  
10/29/71

[REDACTED]  
Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division  
Treasury Department  
El Paso, Texas  
10/29/71

[REDACTED]  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
El Paso, Texas  
11/10/71

b7C

[REDACTED]  
U. S. Border Patrol  
El Paso, Texas  
11/10/71

[REDACTED]  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
El Paso, Texas  
11/10/71

[REDACTED]  
Intelligence Unit  
El Paso Police Department  
10/29/71

Appropriate El Paso informants have also been alerted in the above matter. Any information subsequently

EP 100-6098

developed from the above sources and informants will be furnished promptly to the Bureau and the San Francisco Office.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 11/12/71

TO : LEGAT, PARIS (88-256)(P)

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
EM-BPP

11/11/01

CLASSIFIED BY: NLS/STP/40267-APC  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

[REDACTED] (C)

[REDACTED] (C)

[REDACTED] (C)

ENCLOSURE

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 5)
  - (1-Foreign Liaison Desk)
  - (1-New York)
- 1 - Paris

MGZ:ec  
(5)

A-104

REC-2

NOV 18 1971

180/STATE [REDACTED] by RLS  
11-24-71 EKS/ies

100 620d

100 620d  
NY 786 by 07  
11-24-71  
EKS/ies



4 DEC 16 1971 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

EXP. PROC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 65-12130

b1

b7C

b2

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

November 12, 1971

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[REDACTED] (C)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (C)

[REDACTED] (C)

b1

1/11/01  
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/JAN/pch  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6  
904394

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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.

DEC 14 1971

ENCLOSURE

1017

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Branch

3-6, 1967

<input type="checkbox"/>	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527	b6
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Service Unit - Room 6524	b7C
<input type="checkbox"/>	Forward to File Review	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Attention	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Return to <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 20px;"> </span>	306 9 & D
	Supervisor	Room Ext.

## Type of References Requested

<input type="checkbox"/>	Regular Request (Analytical Search)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Subversive References Only
<input type="checkbox"/>	Nonsubversive References Only
<input type="checkbox"/>	Main _____ References Only

## Type of Search Requested

<input type="checkbox"/>	Restricted to Locality of _____
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Buildup <input type="checkbox"/> Variations

Subject LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Birthdate &amp; Place \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Localities \_\_\_\_\_

 R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date 3-6 Searcher Initials Em  
 Prod. \_\_\_\_\_

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NR  
 Leroy  
 PI ✓ 25-330971-5141p52.  
 Eldridge  
 PI ✓ 25-330971-47-15p2.  
 8  
 ST ✓ 100-442715-1085  
 Y ✓ 105-138315-5136amp6.  
 H. E.  
 NH

 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

 DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
 TAM/MLT/EHL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

SAC, San Francisco

March 22, 1967

Director, FBI

1 -  
1 -



b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SM - NOI

Reference is made to San Francisco airtel dated  
February 28, 1967, entitled "Stokely Carmichael, IS -  
Miscellaneous."

Airtel of reference advised that the captioned  
subject recently became a member of the editorial staff of  
"Ramparts." It was further advised that Cleaver, who is  
currently on parole after conviction of assault with intent  
to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon, was being  
considered for assignment to accompany Carmichael abroad. It  
was subsequently decided not to assign him for travel abroad  
in view of the possibility it might violate his parole.

A review of Bureau files regarding Cleaver reveals  
that he was identified during 1963 as one of the leaders  
of the Black Muslims in San Quentin Penitentiary.

It is desired that you review your indices and  
contact your informants to determine if this subject has  
reactivated himself in the affairs of the Nation of Islam  
or any other subversive movement to determine whether a security  
investigation should be initiated under current Bureau  
instructions. Advise Bureau of the results of your inquiries  
in this regard.

In the event there is not sufficient information to  
warrant a security investigation of this subject, you should  
submit his activities to date along with a description in a

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JAJ/esh  
(5)

REC-51  
MCT

100-447251-1  
X-103 SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAR 22 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination to Secret Service. This request is being made of your office in view of the known dangerousness of this individual. Secret Service should be apprised of his current whereabouts.

NOTE:

Subject not in the Security Index. He has not been the subject of a security investigation by the Bureau. Subject, a Negro, is now becoming active in civil rights affairs and is reportedly [redacted] [redacted] and former Communist Party member whose name is currently included in Section A of the Reserve Index.

b6  
b7C

Subject currently on parole and will remain on parole until March 20, 1971.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DATE 11-14-2015 BY SP5 BJA/TAM/MLT/EHL

Reporting Office SAN FRANCISCO	Office of Origin SAN FRANCISCO	Date 5/9/67	Investigative Period 4/26 - 5/5/67
Title of Case  LEROI ELDRIDGE CLEAVER aka Eldridge Cleaver		Report made by  [redacted]	Typed By: vhk
		Character of Case  SM - MISC	

## SUMMARY

REFERENCE: Bulet, 3/22/67.

- p\* -

## ADMINISTRATIVE

CC TO: Tsa  
REQ. REC'D 8-29

SEP 15 1967

ANS.

BY: [redacted]

Parole and Community Services Division, State of California Department of Corrections, [redacted] He stated that Subject is being advised by the attorneys for "Ramparts", that they carefully abide by the rules of his parole, and they have indicated that they are grooming Subject to be the number one Negro leader in the civil rights field.

b6  
b7C- A -  
COVER PAGE

Approved [redacted]	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: 5 - Bureau (RM)	1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 5c)(RM)	3 - San Francisco (100-55520)	100-447251-2
			MCT-24
			18 MAY 15 1967

## Notations:

Copy to: [redacted]  
by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action

date: 5-19-67

57 MAY 23 1967

EXP. PROC.

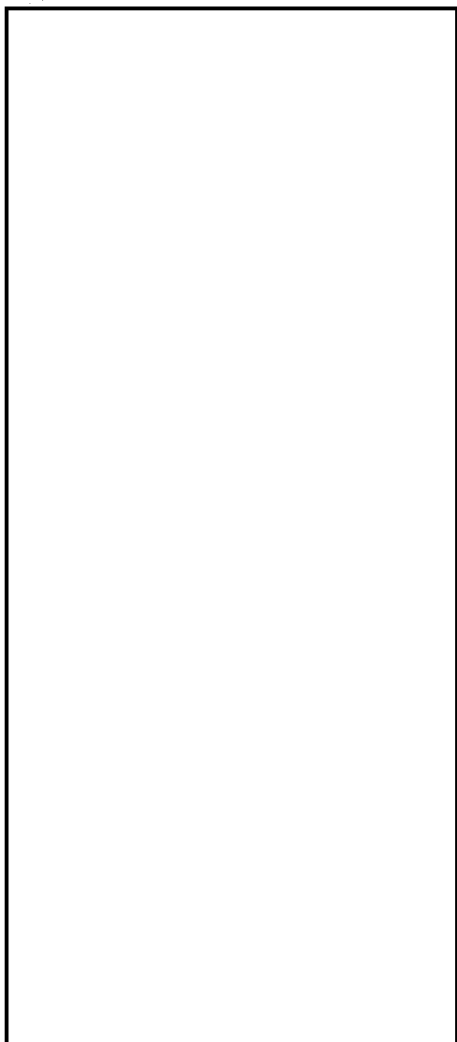
SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

b2  
b7D

This case is being classified "confidential" in order to further protect the identities of [redacted] to [redacted] who furnish information of continuing value to this office.

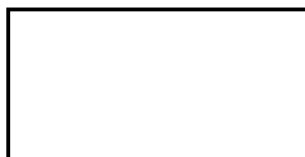
INFORMANTS

Identify of Source



File Where Located

100-55520-3  
-6

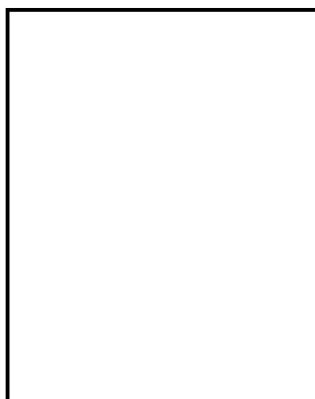


Used to document [redacted]

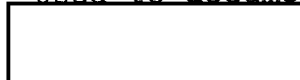


100-31356-1811

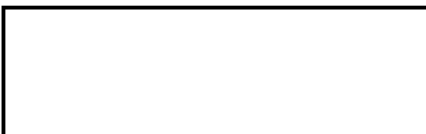
b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D



Used to document [redacted]

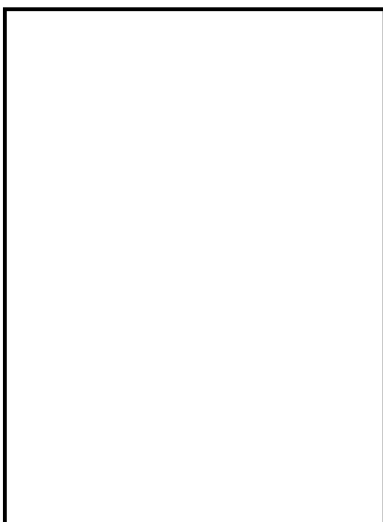


SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk



Request

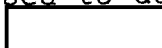
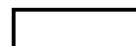
100-57714-238



Request



Used to document



100-55520-42

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D



100-58841-5



Instant Report

Confidential informants having no knowledge of  
Subject's connection with the NOI in the San Francisco  
area are as follows:

- C -  
COVER PAGE

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

[REDACTED] contacted 5/2/67, file  
[REDACTED] contacted 5/3/67, file  
[REDACTED] contacted 5/4/67, file  
[REDACTED] contacted 5/2/67, file  
[REDACTED] contacted 5/2/67, file  
[REDACTED], contacted 5/2/67, fil  
[REDACTED], contacted 5/3/67, fil

b2  
b7D

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will await Bureau's  
decision with respect to placing Subject on the SI.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

May 9, 1967

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

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 \_\_\_\_\_

Ph. not Rec'd -  
Rm- 806-DB  
5-19-67 - G

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

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

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco  
(Class 5c)(RM)

Report of:

b6

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

5/8/67

b7C

Field Office File #: 100-55520

Bureau File #:

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-18-2005

Character: SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

## Synopsis:

Subject resides 407 Belvedere St. and is employed as a Staff Writer for "Ramparts" magazine, 301 Broadway, both addresses in San Francisco, California. Subject released from prison 12/12/66, and is on parole until 3/20/71. While in prison, Subject was a member of the Nation of Islam. Since his release on parole, he has spoken before groups sponsored by the "National Guardian", anti-Vietnam war organizations, militant Negro organizations, and has travelled with STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. He has written two articles for "Ramparts" magazine on Negro matters.

- P\* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from  
automatic downgrading  
and declassification

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

Except as otherwise noted, all background information appearing in this section was obtained on May 1, 1967, from Region 2, San Francisco Work Unit 2, State of California Department of Corrections, 69 - 11th Street, San Francisco, California, hereinafter referred to as Department of Corrections. Other information appearing elsewhere in this report received from the Department of Corrections on May 1, 1967, will show the date the report was written rather than the date received by this office.

A. Birth

Subject was born August 31, 1935, to LEROY and THELMA ROBINSON CLEAVER in Little Rock, Arkansas.

B. Education

Subject left school at the age of 17, at which the highest grade reached was the eleventh.

Subject, while at San Quentin Prison, was enrolled in high school between 1958 and 1962. Average grade, "B-".  
Comment: "A good student with interest and cooperation".

Subject re-enrolled in high school courses from March, 1966, to October, 1966, and received an average grade of "D". Comment: "At first student did not work and was uninterested. During past semester, he has improved much and has been a good student. Subject's leisure time is spent studying, reading, writing, painting and listening to the radio. He uses the library regularly".

The record indicated that he was a high school graduate since 1962 from San Quentin.

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

C. Residences

Subject resided at the following addresses:

1277 West 25th Street, Los Angeles, California,  
c/o his mother, 1957.

[redacted] San Francisco, California,  
c/o [redacted] December, 1966 -  
March, 1967.

b6  
b7C

1711 Broderick Street, San Francisco, California,  
March, 1967 - April 20, 1967.

[redacted] San Francisco, California,  
c/o [redacted] April 20, 1967 to present.

D. Employment

Subject has worked for the following employers:

Jones Rug Cleaning Service, 846 Chapman Avenue,  
Pasadena, California, December, 1956.

Coast Distribution Company, 515 West Washington  
Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, December,  
1956 - January, 1957.

Los Angeles County Heart Association, 660 South  
Western Avenue, January, 1957 - March, 1957.

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
Los Angeles, California, March, 1957.

Jones Rug Cleaning Service, address as above,  
October, 1957.

Giant Rug Cleaning Company, November, 1957.

(It is noted that Subject was arrested on  
November 3, 1957, the details of which will  
appear in a subsequent portion of this  
report.)



SF 100-55520  
JTO/vhk

"Ramparts" magazine, 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California, December, 1966, to present, earning \$400 a month plus expenses.

E. Marital Status

On February 27, 1967, Subject and [redacted] filled out a form entitled, "Request for Restoration of Civil Right to Marry", with the Department of Corrections. In this request, Subject stated that he was single, had never married, and had no dependents. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] Both parties certified that the above information was correct.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that this request has not been approved as yet, and there is some indication that Subject is backing away from this plan to get married.

F. Criminal Record

The following is Subject's criminal record as maintained by the Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation in Sacramento, California:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION

GEORGE H. BRERETON, Chief  
P. O. Box 1859, Sacramento

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The following record,

CLEAVER 115185

FBI/214 830 B

2-13-54 L 13 U OOM 19  
I 2 U OOI 15

NECRC 6-1 182 ARK. 1935

Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER

A-29498A

ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	DEPARTMENT AND NUMBER	NAME	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
1-13-51	Fred C. Nelles School for Boys, Whittier YA 11511	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER	Burg. & P.N.	From L.A. Co. Ct. Paroled 11- 1951
11-5-52	SO Los Angeles B 245360	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	700 M WIC Narc.	
10-31-53	PD, Los Angeles, 5348 W 10	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	Susp. Narc. Act Felony Delinquent	
1-16-53	Diagnostic Clinic Waterman, YA 11513	Leroy E. CLEAVER	Parole Viol.	Dec. 1953 Parole JULY 1954, DISCH PAROLE
2-13-54	PD Los Angeles 227400	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	Susp. Narc. Act (Felony)	6-9-54, ST. PRISON
2-16-54	SO Los Angeles B-245360 (B-305651)	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	Poss. of Narc. (M)	

## OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION

GEORGE H. BRERETON, Chief  
P. O. Box 1859, Sacramento

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The following record,

CII 715185

24 L 13 U OOI 19  
I 2 U OOI 15

Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER

PAGE -2-

ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	DEPARTMENT AND NUMBER	NAME	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
6-18-54	California State Prison A-29498	Leroy E. CLEAVER	Poss. Narc. (11500 H&S Code)	From L. A. Co Term 6 mos-10 12-3-56, Paro
11-3-57	PD LOS ANGELES 227400-C	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	SUSP. ASLT W/I TO MURDER	3-11-58, ST. PRI CC CC W/INEXP. TIME
11-4-57	PD LOS ANGELES 227400-C	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	VIO. SEC. 3056 PC	
11-6-57	SO LOS ANGELES B-245360(B-515769)	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	ASLT. W/I COMM MURDER, ASLT. W/I COMM. RAPE 2 CTS. & AWDW, 2 CTS.	
3-20-58	CALIF. DEPT. OF CORRECTIONS A-29498 A	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	RET. PV W/AC ASLT W/I COM MURDER 4 CTS. & ADW W/PR. FEL. CONV. P&P EA. CT. (217 PC) & (245 PC)	FROM LA CO. TERM 6MOS-14YRS CTS. & 6MOS-10YR CC&CC WPT

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

Subject was released on parole on December 12, 1966, to the supervision of the Department of Corrections.

II. ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION  
WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

Subject was very active in Muslim activities while at Folsom Prison. In fact, he was considered a leader in this. His Muslim activities have tapered off, and he has completely resolved himself (according to him) as a result of the demise of MALCOLM X.

Department of Corrections  
Report dated 10/20/66

MALCOLM X is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report under the caption Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU).

Since his incarceration, the Subject has been identified strongly with the Muslim movement. He admitted that he does not accept all of the Muslim tenets in its full scope but feels it is a useful tool for the Negro race in general.

Department of Corrections  
Report dated 9/18/63

The February, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" magazine contained an article entitled, "Prisons: The Muslims' Decline." As a prelude to this article, it was written, "The author, now a "Ramparts" Staff Writer, served eight years in various California prisons, where he was for a while a member of the Muslims".

SF 100-55520

JTQ/vhk

The article appeared under the name of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. He pointed out that at one time the Muslims had a very high concentration of adherence in such prisons as Soledad, San Quentin, and Folsom; but they are no longer taken seriously by prison officials. He cited the reasons for this decline as follows:

1. ALLAH has failed to come as promised to destroy the white devils and those blacks who were not Muslims.
2. The callous ouster and subsequent murder of MALCOLM X, who was the universal hero of black prisoners, by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the princes of the Nation of Islam in the upper echelons of the hierarchy.
3. Failure of the Nation of Islam to render any legal assistance to the Muslims behind the walls.

CLEAVER concluded his article by saying that what black inmates in prison now look to with rising hopes is the cry for Black Power and the elaboration of its details in the name of MALCOLM X.

Confidential informants, generally familiar with NOI activities in the San Francisco area, advised during May, 1967, that they know of no NOI activities on the part of CLEAVER.

B. "People's World" (PW)

The PW is a West Coast Communist weekly newspaper published in San Francisco, California.

Subject, residing at P.O. Box A-29498, Represa, California, was a new six-months subscriber to the PW as of August, 1965.

8/2/65

b2  
b7D

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

Subject had a six-months subscription to the PW, which expired and was not renewed on January 31, 1966. His mailing address at that time was P.O. Box A-29498, Represa, California.

[redacted] 3/10/66

b2  
b7D

It is noted that P.O. Box A-29498, Represa, California, is the mailing address of the California State Prison.

C. "National Guardian"

The "National Guardian" is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

*1500 Carmel San Francisco*  
The "National Guardian" held a forum on "Liberation Movements Throughout the World" at the YMCA, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California, on December 19, 1966. Subject was among those present at this affair. He was accompanied by [redacted] his attorney.

[redacted] 12/20/66

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] was a member of the National Lawyers' Guild from 1964 through 1966.

[redacted] 1964 - 1966

The National Lawyers' Guild is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

On January 20, 1967, the "National Guardian" sponsored a forum at the YMCA, 1530 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, California. The forum was entitled "New Directions for the Afro-American Struggle". ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was the moderator of the program.

SF 100-55520

JTQ/vhk

In his speech, CLEAVER stated that he had just returned from a tour with STOKELY CARMICHAEL for "Ramparts" magazine. He stated that it was his belief that CARMICHAEL was the most qualified person for a position of leadership and that he would follow him.

CLEAVER went on to state that certain white radicals felt that they were the most capable of exercising theoretical leadership in the civil rights movement. He stated that this is no longer true, that historical circumstance dictates that the Negro must be led in their struggle for black power by a Negro.

He stated that he felt that the time had come to stop working with the "system". The Democrats no longer have the Negro in their pockets. He felt that the machinery had to be set up to express the drive for black power outside the system, that black people now are the most radical element in society and should actually be leading the radical movement.

b2  
b7D

1/30/67

~~STOKELY~~ CARMICHAEL is the National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. *Calif*

The April 3, 1967, issue of the "National Observer", a weekly national newspaper published in New York City, contained a feature article on "Ramparts" magazine, which announced ~~that the magazine's~~ *N.Y.* publisher, EDWARD KEATING, had just recently accepted the George Polk Memorial Award for magazine reporting. It stated that the Polk Award came at the end of a year of journalistic coups and exposes that have made the outspoken left-wing magazine one of the most controversial and highly publicized in the country. This

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

article reported that "Ramparts" has only been published as a monthly for two and one-half years and is expected to reach a 250,000 circulation figure some time in 1967, at which figure it should publish without a loss. The "National Observer" article reported that the magazine had lost about \$2,000,000.00 to date, of which \$600,000.00 is EDWARD KEATING's.

The "National Observer" stated that "Ramparts" views include the following: Opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam, a belief that the U.S. needs to change its attitude toward the cold war and Communism, dissatisfaction with domestic progress on civil rights, and the elimination of poverty.

At the forum sponsored by the "National Guardian" held at the YMCA on January 20, 1967, Subject stated that he favors an organization like that once headed by MALCOLM X called the OAAU.

[REDACTED] 1/24/67

b2  
b7D

D. Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

member of

The PLP is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

At a meeting of a few members of the PLP on December 26, 1966, in Los Angeles, California, one of the members, [REDACTED] stated that he had talked to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. He said that CLEAVER had just gotten out of jail after serving nine years. He said that CLEAVER is about 35 years of age and in all has spent about 14 years in jail. He described CLEAVER as a very dynamic, intelligent

b6  
b7C



SF 100-55520

JTQ/vhk

fellow and a good organizer. He is a follower of MALCOLM X and organized a MALCOLM X group in jail. He said he met CLEAVER some time ago through [redacted]

[redacted] him. He went on to say that since their acquaintance started, CLEAVER has smuggled PLP literature into jail and was conducting classes in Marxism - Leninism. [redacted] stated that their PLP publication "Spark" was well received by the inmates.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] went on to say that the PLP has been trying to get CLEAVER to come down to Los Angeles and help organize the Watts area and that CLEAVER is down here now to have a look.

[redacted] 1/6/67

[redacted] who introduced

[redacted] to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

b7C  
b6

[redacted] 2/7/67

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

The PLP has scheduled an "Encore" dinner for January 22, 1967, at 1530 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, California. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is scheduled to speak on black power.

[redacted] 1/10/67

On January 22, 1967, the PLP sponsored their "Encore" dinner at the YMCA, 1530 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, California. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, who was scheduled to speak at this affair, did not show up.

[redacted] 1/27/67

### III. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

#### A. Spring Mobilization Committee To End The War In Vietnam

The Spring Mobilization Committee  
to End the War In Vietnam (Spring

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

Mobilization Committee) was intended as a broad based demonstration against the war in Vietnam, which would be centered in New York and San Francisco on April 15, 1967. The appeal was directed to all persons opposed to the war, from all walks of life and political persuasions. In San Francisco, a parade began at lower Market Street and culminated with a rally at Kezar Stadium. About 55,000 persons assembled in the Stadium on that date.

A Spring Mobilization Committee, West Coast Steering Committee, list reflects the name ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, San Francisco, as of February 7, 1967.

[redacted] 2/15/67

b6  
b7C  
b7D

*Mem*  
*Calif*  
[redacted] 2/15/67

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

In February, 1967, [redacted]  
was an active member of the  
Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

[redacted] 2/27/67

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

The Spring Mobilization Committee put out a call to all professionals, dated March 16, 1967, enlisting their

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

support for the April 15 march and rally in San Francisco. Attached to the letter was a list of Bay Area professional sponsors which listed ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, representing "Mass Media."

[REDACTED] 3/19/67

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
In this respect, it was reported that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER would lead an Afro-American Sub-Committee of the West Coast Mobilization Committee, whose purpose would be to build a separate feeder march from the ghetto into the regular line of march in San Francisco.

[REDACTED] 3/22/67

b2  
b7D

On March 16, 1967, the Los Angeles Local of the SWP held a discussion, at which the main topic was the Spring Mobilization march in San Francisco. One of those present stated that he had tried every possible way to contact ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in San Francisco, but he would not respond.

[REDACTED] 3/22/67

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] 4/5/67

b2  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

[redacted]  
[redacted] The decision  
was made to include both of the speakers favored, [redacted]  
[redacted] ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] 4/14/67  
~~member of~~  
ELIJAH TURNER attended a Student  
for a Democratic Society (SDS)  
meeting in Berkeley, California,  
on October 29, 1966. The meeting  
was advertised as a "Black Power"  
meeting. TURNER, one of the  
speakers, discussed candidates  
for the coming elections. Among  
other things, he stated that  
Negroes are preparing for some  
violent action in April. He also  
said that the solution for all  
Negro problems was "for Negroes  
to get busy and raise all the  
hell they possibly could".

b2  
b7D

[redacted] 11/2/66

The SDS is characterized in the  
Appendix Section of this report.

#### B. Other Miscellaneous

From February 21 to February 23, 1967, a MALCOLM X  
Grassroots Memorial was held at the Bayview Community Center,  
4701 Third Street, San Francisco, California. A schedule  
of activities for this event revealed that on Wednesday,  
February 22, 1967, E. CLEAVER would conduct a workshop on  
"Black People and the Prison System."

b2  
b7D

[redacted] 2/23/67

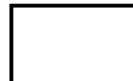
On February 23, 1967, a leaflet was received which  
advertised a forum being sponsored by the Militant Labor  
Forum, which was to be a memorial tribute to MALCOLM X on

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

the second anniversary of his assassination. The forum was scheduled for February 24, 1967, at the Hall of Flowers, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Two speakers were advertised in the leaflet, one being ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, "Steering Committee Chairman, Bay Area Organization for Afro-American Unity", and ROBERT HIMMEL, "National Committee, Socialist Workers Party."

*member of*

*Calif*



, 2/23/67

The Militant Labor Forum is a name used by the SWP in calling attention to its public meetings.

b2  
b7D

Subject was scheduled to speak on "Anti-Draft" matters under the sponsorship of the SDS in Room 101, California Hall, University of California, Berkeley, at 7:00 p.m. on April 20, 1967.



, 4/11/67

The April, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" contained an article by Subject entitled, "My Father and Stokely Carmichael." This article contained very little about his father and concerned itself mostly with a day he spent with STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Chicago. Concluding his article, CLEAVER wrote that CARMICHAEL believes that the most important area outside the United States, as far as working alliances are concerned, is Latin America. He believes that within the next ten years the struggle for liberation from American domination throughout Latin America will provide black America with some very important and strong allies. CLEAVER went on to state that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has already found an official, public alliance with the independence movement of Puerto Rico and that SNCC has agreed to throw its influence behind Puerto Rican Nationalists in their struggle for United Nations membership and recognition as a sovereign nation. In turn, the Puerto Rican Nationalists have committed themselves to an all out effort to raise the problem of black America

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

before the United Nations and to lobby unceasingly for support in this effort from the Afro-Asian bloc.

At the end of the article, the following appeared: "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, formerly a member of the Black Muslims, is currently Chairman of the MALCOLM X Afro-American Society in the Bay Area."

The February 25, 1967, issue of the "Berkeley Barb", a weekly newspaper published in Berkeley, California, on page 1, 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 on 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 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, handgrenades and bullets. If we can't have our freedom then white America will die."

On the night of April 14, 1967, about 150 Negroes, mostly members of the Black Panther Party of San Francisco, met at 1711 Broderick Street, San Francisco, California. The meeting was spent mostly in conversation and drinking wine. Several references were made to the hatred for the white race. There was a stock pile of about 70 rifles at this location. No one was permitted in the basement as it was termed a restricted area.

[REDACTED], 4/17/67

b2  
b7D

It will be noted that Subject's former residence has been listed in the Background Section of this report as 1711 Broderick Street, San Francisco, from March, 1967, to April 20, 1967.

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

On April 15, 1967, Subject spoke at the Spring Mobilization Committee rally at Kezar Stadium. In his speech, he devoted his time to drawing comparison between the White House and the black house. His remarks were generally derogatory of the present Administration in the White House in its treatment of Negroes who were represented by the black house.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] 4/20/67

The April 21, 1967, issue of the "Contra Costa Times," published in Walnut Creek, California, on page 1, contained an article captioned, "Armed Group Demands To See Sheriff Over Shooting," which stated in part as follows:

"The quiet routine today in and around the County Administration Building in Martinez was shattered Thursday morning when four carloads of Negroes, some of them armed, pulled up and demanded to see Sheriff WALTER YOUNG.

"Group spokesman, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Chairman of the Black House of San Francisco, told the 'Times' that the group wanted to discuss the hardnosed attitude of police in the Negro areas of the County, especially in the North Richmond area.

"The group consisted of members of the Black House, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense of Oakland, and relatives of a 22-year-old man who was shot and killed by a Sheriff's Deputy following a liquor store burglary in North Richmond, April 1, 1967."

According to the article, the group wanted to discuss this incident with Sheriff YOUNG. "Several of them were armed with shotguns, rifles, and sidearms."

The May 3, 1967, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", page 1, continued on page 16, carried an article entitled, "Black Panthers Disrupt Assembly." The article stated that some 40 Negroes, "all armed with loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols, and all members of the militantly anti-white Black Panther Party, stalked through the Capitol at noon yesterday." The article went on to say that a handfull walked into the Assembly Chamber while the house was in session, scuffled briefly with the Sergeant-at-Arms, and were hustled outside into the arms of the Capitol Police. They were reportedly demonstrating against "racist Oakland police" and protesting pending legislation limiting their right to bear arms.

The article stated that five juveniles and nineteen young adults were taken to the Sacramento Police Station and charged with conspiracy to invade the Assembly Chambers, a felony. According to the article, Sacramento Police stated two other men were booked, one of whom was ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, 31, of 301 Broadway, San Francisco, "enroute to Parole Officer."

b6  
b7C

On May 3, 1967, [REDACTED] Department of Corrections, San Francisco, stated that Subject was arrested with the above-described group and charged with conspiracy to intimidate the Legislature, a felony. He stated that today, CLEAVER appeared in the Sacramento Municipal Court, where the charge against him was dropped.

On May 1, 1967, the Department of Corrections was contacted by "Ramparts" requesting permission for Subject to attend the meeting of the Legislature on May 2, 1967, as a reporter to cover the discussion on police and community relations. Early on May 2, Subject was granted this permission.

Upon the arrest of Subject, the attorneys for "Ramparts" charged that Subject was not a participant of this affair, was an observer with white reporters when he was arrested, the only one who had his camera broken, was



SF 100-55520

JTQ/vhk

insulted by the police when he showed his press card, and discriminated against because he was a Negro. It is believed that "Ramparts" officials knew in advance that the Black Panthers planned to disrupt the Legislature on May 2, 1967.

[REDACTED] 5/3/67

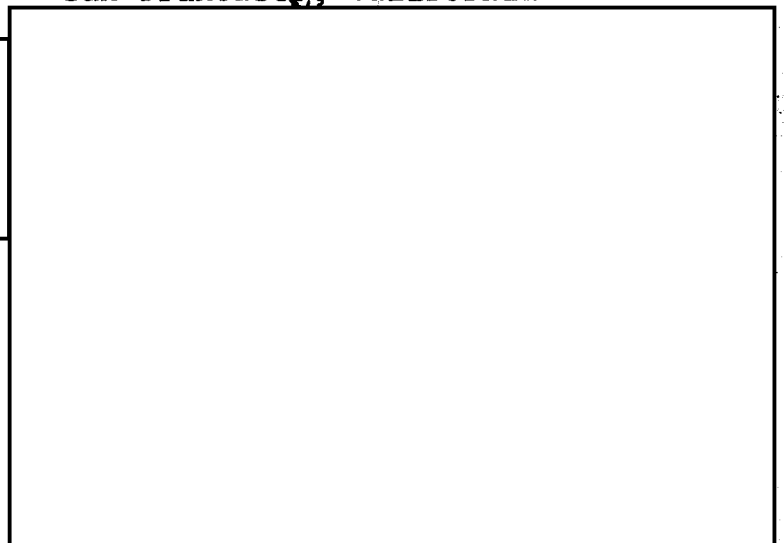
b2  
b7D

#### IV. DESCRIPTION

The following description of Subject was taken entirely from the records of the Department of Corrections:

Birth:	August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas
Race:	Negro
Height:	6' 2"
Weight:	185 pounds
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Black
Residence:	407 Belvedere Street, San Francisco, California
Employment:	Staff Writer for "Ramparts" magazine, 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California

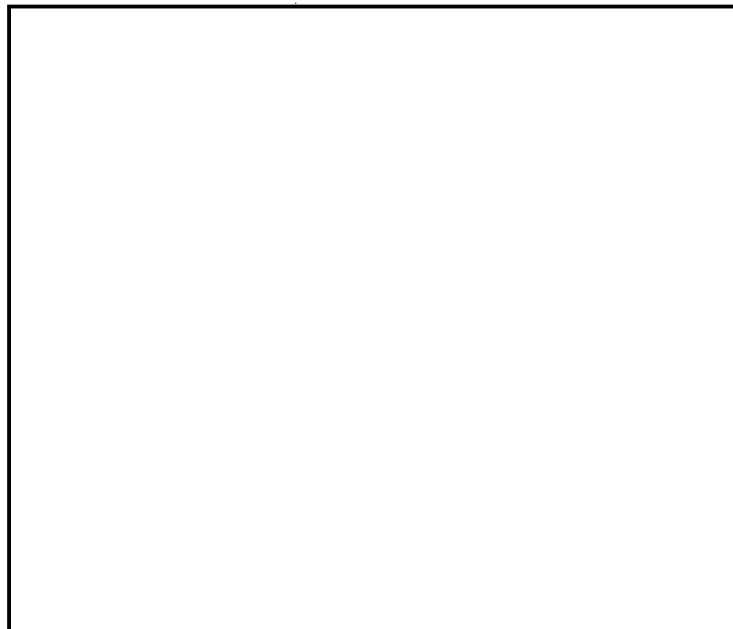
Relatives:



b6  
b7C

SF 100-55520  
JTQ/vhk

b6  
b7C



1

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

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

1

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

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 193 concerning "National Guardian:"

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \*\*\*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

APPENDIX

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 the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, 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



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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

May 9, 1967

**Title** LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

**Character** SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

**Reference** Report of SA [REDACTED]  
at San Francisco, dated 5/9/67.

b6  
b7C

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 (Bufile-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 11/9/87 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM : SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SM - Misc.

b6  
b7CCard filed  
Cards sent 00  
5/26/67  
anOK-SI  
FBI  
2  
WCS

Re: Report of SA [redacted] this date

☒ 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 LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER		
Aliases ELDRIDGE CLEAVER		
<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 Nationalist</u>		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race N	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth 8/31/35	Place of Birth Little Rock, Arkansas	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Staff Writer. "Ramparts" Magazine 301 Broadway San Francisco, California		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number		
Interested Agencies		
Residence Address BELVEDERE 407 Beverly Street San Francisco, California		

MCT-39 100-4472513

REC 3 18 MAY 15 1967

SUB CONTROL

62 MAY 28 1967

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
REGISTERED MAIL  
JTG/vhk

SF 100-55520

JTQ/vhk

Subject is being recommended for the Security Index because:

1. Self-admitted former Muslim
2. Advocates MALCOLM X organizations in black ghettos all over America
3. Has close contact with black nationalist organizations
4. Extensive criminal record, conviction for possession of narcotics and conviction for assault with intent to murder and assault with intent to commit rape.
5. Revolutionary statements; for example, on February 21, 1967, before approximately 300 Berkeley High School students subject 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."

Additionally, subject, while in San Quentin Penitentiary, smuggled Progressive Labor Party literature into the Penitentiary. He reportedly conducted classes in Marxism and Leninism.

United States Government  
MEMORANDUM~~SECRET~~To: Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Date: August 8, 1967.

From: Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security DivisionCard U.T.D.  
8/11/67  
HMF

Subject: INDEX REVIEW

Re: LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVERFBI No. 100-447251  
100-398030Reports 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:

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-18-2005

Per Chief FOI/PA, Bureau of Personnel

Investigations, CSC, 11/30/78

b6  
b7Ccc: FBI  
ISD-SO  
Dept. 146-012-18-2

62 AUG 18 1967

REC-60

100-447251-14

DECLASSIFIED  
BY CRIMINAL DIV.  
DOS. ON 2/1/76

AUG 9 1967

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassificationUNRECORDED COPY FILED IN  
100-398030-

SUBV CONTROL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
San Francisco, California  
November 27, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

BU 100-447251  
SF 100-55520

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SM - Misc -

REFERENCE: San Francisco memorandum dated May 9, 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: 42 Castro Street, Apt. 5  
San Francisco, California

Employment:

ACT: 1 Secret Service  
REQ: 11/30/67  
DATE: 11/30/67  
HOW FOR: 43  
BY: J.M. jae

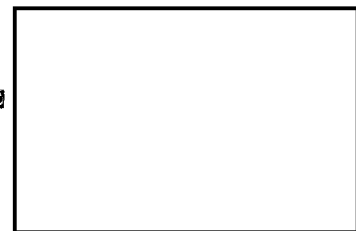
b6  
b7C

FD-122 DETACHED

100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED

13 NOV 29 1967

INT/SEC.



55 NOV 30 1967

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  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251) (TAM/MLT/EHL)

11/27/67

SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) - C

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SM - MISC.

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent 00  
12/1/67  
an

Re San Francisco FD-122, 5/9/67.

☐ 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)		
<p>100-447251- NOT RECORDED 13 NOV 29 1967</p>		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility <b>INT. SEC.</b>
Interested Agencies _____		
Residence Address		
42 Castro Street, Apt. 5 San Francisco, California		

b6  
b7C

JTQ/jr 746

57 DEC 5 1967

ENCLOSURE DETACHED

AND H

11/1

11/1





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

San Francisco, California

December 26, 1967

Bufile 100-447251

SF 100-55520

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

*Misc*

REFERENCE: San Francisco letter, 11/27/67

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: 850 Oak Street, Apartment 11, San Francisco, California

Employment:

b6  
b7C

FD-122 DETACHED

AGENCY Meade  
REQ. REC'D \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE FORW. 1-3-68  
HOW FORW. RS  
BY Bawdon

53 JAN 4 1968

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED  
2 DEC 28 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
12/26/67  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)(C)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SM - MISC.

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent 00  
1/4/68  
Hus

Re: San Francisco FD 122, 11/27/67

☐ 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) _____				
Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)				
Key Facility Data				
Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____				
Interested Agencies _____				
Residence Address 850 Oak Street, San Francisco, Calif. Apt. 11				

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau  
1 - San Francisco  
JTQ/erg  
(3)  
3-11

b6  
b7C

NOT RECORDED

2 DEC 28 1967

57 JAN 8 1968

INT. 8-11-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail

2/23/48

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

*Leroy Eldridge Cleaver*

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Removed By

99 MAR 1968

File Number

100-447251-5

*240*

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail

*2/8/68*

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

*Leroy Eldridge  
Claver*

Removed By

99 MAR 71968

File Number

*100 - 447251-6*

*298*

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail

2/24/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

*Leroy Eldridge Cleaver*

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Removed By

**99 MAR 81968**

File Number

100-447251

*JM*

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail

3/12/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

*LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver*

Removed By

66 MAR 13 1968

File Number

100-447251-7

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail

3/1/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

*Leroy Eldridge  
Cleaver*

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Removed By

99 MAY 15 1968

File Number

100-447251-8

Permanent Serial Charge Out

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TO : Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

TAM/MLT/EHL

DATE: March 7, 1968.

FROM: *Jay* J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Black Nationalist Movement in the United States;  
Racial Matters ((BPPSD))

Reference is made to your teletype of February 18, 1968, containing information concerning the BPPSD rally at Oakland, California, on February 17th. Your teletype noted that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver announced a merger of the BPPSD and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Your teletype also stated that various individuals made a number of statements as follows:

JAMES FORMAN, International Director of SNCC, said reprisals must be taken for the assassination of any black leader.

ROBERT AVAKIAN, a representative of the Peace and Freedom Party, expressed support for the Negro revolution in the United States.

H. RAP BROWN, newly appointed Minister of Justice of BPPSD, and Chairman of SNCC, stated that black warfare inside this country would answer the problem of Negro unemployment.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman of BPPSD, urged all Negro families to have shotguns in their homes to remove and nullify the occupying army of police officers in the black communities.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, presented as the Prime Minister of the Afro-America to all Africans throughout the world asserted that all blacks must unite socially, economically and militarily in order to avoid extermination by Whites.

Reference is also made to your teletype of February 19, 1968, containing information concerning the Black Congress program at Los Angeles on February 18th. This teletype also

NOT RECORDED

OCT 18 1968

MAR 8 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

EXP. PROC.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-105706-39

100-447201

10-16-7-39



advised that various statements were made by a number of individuals as follows:

JAMES FORMAN said every Negro should be armed due to the eventual revolution of black people.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE urged all Negro families to have shotguns in their homes and stated that black power is gun and force which will be used in the next Civil War.

RONALD EVERETT MCKINLEY, aka RON KARENGA, Chairman, Black Nationalist Organization "US" said "the Whites are our enemy and we must organize to overcome them."

H. RAP BROWN stated that there would be a Negro revolution in the United States and that is not a "political revolution." He allegedly predicted a battle similar to the Civil War within the next few years.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL reiterated his remark that all blacks must unite socially, economically and militarily.

Sections 2383, 2384 and 2385, respectively, of Title 18, United States Code, proscribe the crimes of rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy and advocating the violent overthrow of the United States Government or the government of any political subdivision thereof. While the statements attributed to the foregoing speakers ostensibly are aimed at uniting Negroes for the purpose of obtaining their rights, the violation of one or more of the mentioned statutes is implicit in these statements. We would therefore appreciate receiving, on a continuing basis, all information indicating a conspiracy on the part of the named individuals and organizations to violate one or more of these statutes.

b6  
b7C

In regard to the above, reference is made to my memorandum dated January 29, 1968, captioned [redacted] - Security Matter - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," in which I refer to a statement made by [redacted] at Debs Hall in Chicago, that SNCC is no longer a protest group but is now a revolutionary movement. We would appreciate receiving any information which would indicate that the merger of SNCC with the BPPSD is for the purpose of implementing the alleged revolutionary policy of SNCC.

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 3/21/68

Transmit the following in  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

b6  
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-58841)

CHANGED

~~BLACK PANTHER PARTY~~, aka  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense  
RM - BPPSD  
(OO: SF)PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY  
IC(IS)LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka Eldridge Cleaver  
BOBBY GEORGE SEALE  
RM-BPP  
(OO: SF)

The title is being marked changed to reflect the change of name of the BPPSD to BPP. In press conference held at the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, on 3/7/68, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, stated that the words, "Self-Defense" had been deleted from the official name

- 5- Bureau (Enc.13) (RM)  
 (2 - 105-165706)(BPP)  
 (1 - 105-137683)  
 (1 - 100- ) (PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY)  
 (1 - 100 ) (STOP THE DRAFT WEEK)

- 12- San Francisco  
 (2 - 100-58841)  
 (1 - [REDACTED])  
 (1 - 100-55520) (LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)  
 (1 - [REDACTED])  
 (1 - 100- ) (STOP THE DRAFT WEEK)  
 (2 - 100-59230) (PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY)  
 (1 - 157-266) (RACIAL VIOLENCE, OAKLAND)  
 (1 - 157-400) (RACIAL VIOLENCE MATTERS, SF DIVISION)  
 (1 - [REDACTED])  
 (1 - [REDACTED])

b6  
b7CWJW/med  
17AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.  
DEPT: ISD, CRD, CMO

20 MAR 23 1968

100-447251

HOW FORM:

DATE FORM

BY:

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

105-165  
ORIGINAL FILE

SF 100-53841  
WJW/mad

of the organization because "people seem to misinterpret the definition of what self-defense is all about."

Submitted herewith are 13 copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above. Copies of this LHM are being furnished to Army, Navy, OSI, Secret Service, and the USA, San Francisco because of the threat of a racial disturbance during the "Stop the Draft Week" demonstrations scheduled for 4/26-30/68.

The enclosed LHM is not classified confidential because it does not contain information from security, racial, or established sources which need to be concealed.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California  
March 21, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
EAM/MLT/EHL

Black Panther Party (BPP),  
also known as Black Panther  
Party for Self-Defense

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

Bobby George Seale

Reference is made to San Francisco, California  
memorandum dated March 15, 1968.

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

The March 20, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco  
Chronicle," San Francisco, California, daily newspaper, page  
3, columns 5-7, contains an article captioned, "Panther's New  
Gun Build-Up," which states in part as follows:

"The militant Black Panther Party for Self Defense is  
forming an extensive arsenal and recently acquired 65  
pistols from a Reno store, police officers charged  
yesterday....

"In addition, police said, there has been a sharp  
increase in the number of rifles and shotguns - which  
do not need to be registered - throughout the East  
Bay."

b6  
b7C

On March 20, 1968, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, advised that

DECLASSIFIED

100-447251

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

at 5:00 p.m. on that date, Bobby George Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, also known as Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, held a press conference at the St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, 27th and West Streets, Oakland, California. At this press conference, Seale denied that the BPP is building arsenals of weapons but readily admitted that the BPP was distributing weapons to black people so that they could have these in their homes for the defense against attacks by racists. Seale further stated that he could not understand why there was such an uproar about Negroes possessing guns while members of the white community were allowed to possess guns without any protests being made.

Unless otherwise indicated, the information set forth below was furnished by [redacted] [redacted] Oakland Police Department, on March 21, 1968:

b6  
b7C

At the March 16, 1968, session of the Peace and Freedom Party State Convention, held at the Richmond Auditorium, Richmond, California, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, BPP, gave a speech in which he read from a document entitled, "Black Paper - Revolution in the White Mother Country and National Liberation in the Black Colony." Excerpts from his speech are set forth as follows:

"The Black Panther Party believes that the era in which we now struggle can be characterized as the Age of Showdown - between Oppressed People Everywhere and the Racist Imperial Power Structure. The era can be further defined as that in which significant sectors of the exploiters have turned away from the system, have declared war upon the system that has warped their lives and tainted their existence at the same time that it was doing the same thing and worse to those whom it oppresses. We recognize these alienated people as allies or potential allies in a struggle against a common enemy.

"We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition, our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother contry and national liberation for the black colony....

"Ideally, we need a revolutionary organization that is able to, guided by revolutionary ideology and comprehending the necessity involved, move in two directions at the same time....

"The Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in the Bay Area (San Francisco, Alameda, and Contra Costa Counties, California) have been experimenting over the past few months with a very narrow coalition around a very broad subject. The focal point of the coalition is now, and always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications....

"We have offered our leader, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, as a candidate for the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County, and we have offered our Chairman, Bobby Seale, as a candidate for the 17th Assembly District. In San Francisco, we have offered our communications secretary, Kathleen Cleaver, for a candidate in the 18th Assembly District. The advantages in doing this are manifold. First and foremost, we are interested in setting Huey P. Newton free."

Also at this session of the Peace and Freedom Party Convention, Richmond, California, Eldridge Cleaver presented specific proposals which were adopted. These included the following:

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

"That the Peace and Freedom Party join with the Black Panther Party and the 'Stop the Draft Week' Organizers and participate in the 'Stop the Draft Week' demonstrations, April 26-30, 1968, to focus attention and to supply pressure on the demands that the troops of the power structure be withdrawn from Vietnam and from the Black Colony.

"That the Peace and Freedom Party support the Black Community's demand that those who police the Black Communities must live in the Black Communities."

The Peace and Freedom Party also adopted the motions on the free Huey P. Newton issue from the Minority Liberation Workshop, but amended the motion, "Huey Newton must be set free by any means necessary," to read to the effect that Huey Newton must be set free by any means best suited for the cause of Negro liberation.

Also at the March 16, 1968, session of the Peace and Freedom Convention, Bobby George Seale, in the capacity of Chairman of the BPP, gave a short talk in which he stated that the BPP was acting independently but was interested in supporting the Peace and Freedom Party on a coalition basis for the purpose of providing Negro liberation. He stressed the fact that the BPP will always concentrate their efforts on their own problems.

At the Peace and Freedom Convention, Richmond, California, Robert Avakian presented a proposal entitled, "Support the April Days" which was prepared by Avakian and Steve Hamilton of the Peace and Freedom Movement Radical Caucus, Contra Costa County, California. This proposal, which was passed by the convention, reads in part as follows:

"The next proposed 'Stop the Draft Week,' April 26-30, provides the Peace and Freedom Movement with a very important opportunity to involve itself in serious, radical action against the draft and Vietnam war and the military (police) occupation of the Black Community. Members of PFM are already working with STDW and have urged that the April demonstrations adopt a dual political focus: end the draft, withdraw the troops from Vietnam; free Huey, and the occupation of the ghettos. This means

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

that not just the induction center (and perhaps the Oakland Army Terminal) but the City Hall, the Oakland Police Station, and the Alameda County Courthouse would be targets for the demonstrations. The object will be to raise 1,000 or more people at the entrance to these buildings with the intention of closing them down for the day since the operations inside are criminal. (The courthouse, for example, is where Huey Newton and the leaders of the last STDW were indicted by a stacked grand jury; Huey is still held prisoner in the courthouse jail.) Selection of several targets - all in downtown Oakland, but far enough apart to prevent the police from concentrating their force in one central area - will automatically spread out the police, thin their lines of attack and greatly increase the problems of coordination and communication for them....

"Already, there are very strong indications from Panthers themselves that if support for black liberation and free Huey is raised as an equal demand with self determination for the Vietnamese and resistance to the draft, they will organize the black people from all over the Bay Area to actively participate in the April demonstrations."

At this convention, Eldridge Cleaver indicated that BPP would conduct demonstrations at the Alameda County Courthouse, Oakland, and at the Oakland Police Department during the April 26-30, 1968, "Stop the Draft Week" demonstrations, but would not actively participate at the Oakland induction center.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense is included in the appendix pages attached 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.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

4/16/68

b6  
b7C

Director, FBI (100-447251) - /

1 - [REDACTED]

REC-125

LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ReSFlet 3/27/68 captioned "LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver,  
RM - BPPSD."

Referenced letter includes a list of telephone  
numbers of individuals called from subject's telephone during  
December, 1967, as furnished by the Oakland Police Department.  
It is noted that this list includes the name [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

San Francisco should immediately prepare and submit  
a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination indicating  
that subject has possibly been in contact with [REDACTED]

Your letterhead memorandum should also include a  
characterization of subject and his wife.

1 - Boston

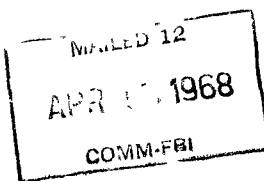
ABF:df *df*  
(5)

NOTE:

Subject is on the Security Index.

*A*

Olson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



66 APR 16 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/27/68

FROM: *CWB*  
*gc* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPPSD  
(BU 100-447251)  
(SF 100-55520)

b6  
b7C

On February 26, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, furnished a list of telephone numbers and subscribers thereto which were called from telephone number 863-6459, the telephone of LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER [REDACTED] at 850 Oak Street, Apartment 11, San Francisco, California, during the period December 12 - 25, 1967.

On February 17, 1968, LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was publicly identified at the HUEY NEWTON Defense Fund rally of the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) held at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California, as the Minister of Information of the BPPSD. *we*

The November 23, 1967 issue of the "Black Panther Party--Black Community News Service," official publication of the BPPSD, listed KATHLEEN NEAL as the Assistant Editor of that publication and listed the Editor of that publication as Minister of Information (Underground).

- 4 - Bureau (RM)  
6 - Boston (RM)  
4 - Chicago (RM)  
3 - Cincinnati (RM)  
4 - Los Angeles (RM)  
3 - Memphis (RM)  
7 - New York (RM)  
3 - Washington Field (RM)  
3 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520) (1 - 157-1057)  
(1 - 100-58841)

WJW/sms #10 (37)

REC 48

100-447251-9  
5 MAR 28 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

REC COPY FILED IN 157-8943-1

SF 100-55520  
WJW/sms

The January 25, 1968 issue of the "Daily Californian," University of California at Berkeley student newspaper, on Page 3, Column 1, identified KATHLEEN CLEAVER as the Communications Secretary of the BPPSD.

A characterization of the BPPSD is attached hereto.

The telephone numbers and the subscribers thereto as referred to above are set forth as follows:

BOSTON OFFICE

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

Dorchester, Massachusetts  
Est. 6/67 - Good Acct.

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

Roxbury, Massachusetts  
Est. 9/63 -

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

Dorchester, Massachusetts  
Est. 12/64 -

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Brookline, Massachusetts  
Est. at least since 8/67 -

[redacted]

[redacted] work

CHICAGO OFFICE

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

Evanston, Illinois  
Est. 8/67 -

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

SF 100-55520  
WJW/sms

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Chicago, Illinois  
Est. 3/67 - Employed - [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

CINCINNATI OFFICE

513-766-0240  
NP

Coin Telephone  
Old Mill Restaurant and Motel -  
Bill Name - Columbus Pike,  
[REDACTED] Cedarville,  
Ohio

b6  
b7C

LOS ANGELES OFFICE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Los Angeles, California  
Est. 4/62 - Unemployed

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Altadena, California  
Est. 5/63 - [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

MEMPHIS OFFICE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Nashville, Tennessee  
Est. 5/66 - Non-Paid Disc.  
12/20/67 - [REDACTED]  
College

b6  
b7C

NEW YORK OFFICE

212-865-5328

[REDACTED]

New York, New York  
Est. 2/2/67 - [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

SF 100-55520  
WJW/sms

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

New York City, New York  
Est. 12/2/66

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

New York City, New York  
Est. 1/66 - Unemployed

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

New York City, New York  
Est. 2/25/57 - [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Zingg and Company  
Add. List Zinco (Cheese)  
Swiss Cheese Importers  
144 Reade Street  
Manhattan  
Est. 6/26/58

b6  
b7C

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Washington, D. C.  
Est. 9/23/64 - Unemployed

The above data is being furnished to the indicated  
offices for information purposes only.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

601 JB 4-15-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B  
TAM/MLT/EHL

, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #5348 W 10	10-31-52	susp Narc Act felony delinq	2-62
SO Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #B-245360	11-5-52	700 M WIC-Narc	rel to custody of Preston School of Industry Ione Calif
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr #227400	2-13-54	susp Narc Act (felony)	St Prison D45 6-9-54 (Cs162601) on chg of susp 11500 H & S
SO Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #B-245360/ B-305651	2-16-54	poss of narc (M)	rel to custody of Calif Inst for Men Chino Calif
Calif St Bu	Leroy E Cleaver #A-29498	6-18-54	poss Narc (11500 H & S Code)	6 mos to 10 yrs 12-3-56 paroled
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #LA 227 400 C	11-3-57 11-4-57	susp aslt with int to murder viol St Parole Gltty D44 3-11-58 Cs19666 Fnd Gltty ADW/ic Murd (Ct 3) Fnd Gltty ADW (Ct 4, 5	St Pr cc cc w/ unexpired parole time, Ct 6, 7-N
SO Los Angeles Calif	LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver #B-245360/ B-515769	11-6-57	aslt w/ commit mur aslt w/ commit rape (2 cts) & aslt w/ deadly weapon (2 cts)	rel to custody of Calif Inst for Men Chino Calif

*dm*  
MCT-15  
NOT RECORDED  
APR 23 1968

*file 100-447251*  
*R M*

Notations indicated by \* ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The furnished has been determined individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

66 APR 30 1968

b6  
b7C

16-70382-2 U S GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

601 JB 4-15-68

2

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
St Bu Sacramento Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #A-29498-A	3-20-58	PV (aslt with intent to commit murder 4 cts & aslt w/a deadly weapon with prior felony conviction pled & proven each ct, all con- current & concur- rent with present term)	6 mos to 14 yr 4 cts & 6 mos to 10 yrs all concurrent & concurrent with present term. 12-12-66 par
PD Sacramento Calif	Eldridge Cleaver #S-14017	5-2-67	182.1 PC Black Panther	rel per Dist Atty no complaint Enrt Calif St Par Rel from custod both on 5-3-67
PD Oakland Calif	Eldridge Cleaver #200160	4-7-68	3 cts 187 PC (att murder)	

Notations indicated by \* ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 601 JB 4-15-68  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

3

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	FLASH: If arrested prior to 3-20-71 Notify Div of Adult Par Dept of Corr Sacramento Calif inf rec 12-20-66.			<i>no pend T</i>

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 these 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

601 JB 4-15-68

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.  
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.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC: Div of Adult Par Dept of Corr Sacramento Calif				

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.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

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

601 JB 4-15-68

1-BU

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	SECURITY FLASH: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Any information or inquiry received refer one copy of record to Subversive Control Section Domestic Intelligence Division and two copies to BFD San Francisco File #100-55520 Bu File #100-447251 inf rec 6-2-67. Aliases: Eldridge Cleaver			
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

601 JB 4-15-68

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. 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.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC: FBI San Francisco				
CC: Internal Sec Section Dom Intell Div				
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.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)  
ATTENTION: RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
SAC, NEW YORK (100-87235)

4/25/68

*mm*  
PURCHASE OF BOOKS  
BOOK REVIEWS

ReBulet, 3/28/68.

Submitted herewith is a copy of "Soul On Ice" by  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and a copy of "My Silent War" by KIM PHILBY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

2-Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)  
1-New York

EKD:jrk  
(3)

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED  
203 APR 30 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-46855-544

*41*  
MAY 6 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/DHE 4/18/68

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251)  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

Card filed.  
Card sent 00  
w/ attached  
by 5/13/68

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

## AGITATOR RABBLE//ROUSER INDEX

☒ New Subject ☐ Change ☐ Delete

Name <b>LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER</b>		FBI Number																								
Aliases <b>ELDRIDGE CLEAVER</b>																										
Citizenship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien																										
Subject also on <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SI <input type="checkbox"/> RI	Race <b>Negro</b>	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female																								
Organizational Affiliation <table border="0"><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 01 ANP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 07 KLAN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 12 PLP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 17 SNCC</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 02 AVN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 08 LA</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 13 PRN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 18 SWP</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 03 BNAT</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 09 MIN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 14 RAM</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 19 WWP</td></tr><tr><td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 99 MISC (Specify)</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS</td><td></td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			<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 checked="" type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC	<input type="checkbox"/> 99 MISC (Specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS		<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE			
<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 checked="" type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC	<input type="checkbox"/> 99 MISC (Specify)																							
<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS																								
<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE																										
Date of Birth <b>8/31/35</b>	Place of Birth <b>Little Rock, Arkansas</b>																									
Position in Organization <b>Minister of Information</b>	Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern) <b>Staff Writer Ramparts Magazine 301 Broadway San Francisco, California EX 101</b>																									
Residence Address <b>Apt. 11, 850 Oak Street San Francisco, California</b>																										

REGISTERED MAIL

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco

APC/jr  
(3) 66 MAY 1 6 1968

APR 22 1968

129500  
REC-52  
100-447251-10  
APR 22 1968  
RACIAL INT. SECT.  
STAMP

SF 100-55520  
APC/jr

Subject is Minister of Information, BPP, is a spokesman for black revolution, and the author of "Soul on Ice," a current book which will appeal to black militants.

*The Black Panther Party is a black  
nationalist extremist group with  
a record of resistance.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/3/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1584) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LE ROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPPSD  
(BU 100-447251)  
(SF 100-55520)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL



b6  
b7C

Re SF letter to Bureau 3/27/68.

WFO indices contain no information identifiable  
with

Inquiry was made with the Metropolitan Police  
Department, the U. S. Park Police, and the Washington, D. C.  
Credit Bureau concerning with negative results.

No further investigation is being conducted by  
the WFO.

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (1 - 100-55520) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-58841) (RM)
  - (1 - 157-1057) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

ERW:lat  
(8)

REC 29

EX 109

100-447251-11  
15 MAY 7 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



59 MAY 13 1968

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

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-8943-



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

SAC, San Francisco (100-5520)

5/16/68

REC-134

1 - Mr. R.M. Horner

Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM -

Reurlet 5/6/68.

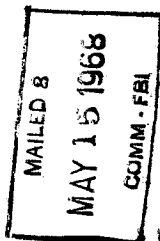
Provided full security is assured, authority is granted to review the record of toll calls from the subject's telephone.

RMH:lst  
(4)

NOTE:

The subject is an officer of the Black Panther Party, a black nationalist extremist organization with a record for violence. He has been in jail since 4/7/68 on attempted murder charges arising from a gun battle between BPP members and Oakland, California Police. Review of toll call records desired in order to identify other black nationalists with whom subject may be in contact. San Francisco advises that records can be obtained from an established source and that full security is assured.

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



MAY 21 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CCM ok

WHL

MAY 16 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI <sup>fd 217 to SF 5-10</sup> (100-442751) <sup>be</sup> DATE: 5/6/68

ABP: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTYALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHLReBulet to San Francisco dated 4/22/68 captioned,  
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY - RM".

Referenced letter directed that San Francisco submit a request to review income tax returns of each Black Panther Party (BPP) leader with the objective of determining if any leader is in violation of the Internal Revenue laws. Referenced letter also directs that a request should also be made to review telephone company toll records on each BPP leader in an attempt to identify other black nationalist extremists.

The Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP. He is currently in jail as a result of an arrest by the Oakland PD on 4/7/68 on 3 counts of attempted murder.

In accordance with relet, the Bureau is requested to have the Subject's income tax return reviewed. The Bureau is also requested to grant authorization to review telephone company toll calls made from the Subject's phone in 1/68 up to the date of his arrest.

b7D

3 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
FL:cg  
(3)

REC-104

100-447251-12

EX-116

4 MAY 8 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SAC, Boston

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

5/24/68

TAM/MLT/EHL

REC-134

Director, FBI (100-447251)-12

EX-116

1 -

1 - Mr. R.M. Horner

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ReSFlet 3/27/68. copy to Boston. which  
identifies [redacted] Massachusetts,  
as one of the individuals who received telephone calls  
from the subject's home during the period 12/12-25/67.

b6  
b7C

The report of SA [redacted] dated 11/14/62,  
at Birmingham concerning [redacted]  
IS-G. contains a reference to [redacted] described

[redacted] No derogatory information  
concerning [redacted] was set out. It could not be determined  
if this individual is identical with the [redacted]  
referred to above.

b6  
b7C

In addition to verifying the [redacted]  
[redacted] you should contact racial informants to  
determine if they have any pertinent information concerning  
him.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_ 1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_ RMH:srs (6)

Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_

Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DRS

to F  
out Rm Int

He  
WVC

RECEIVED  
MAY 24 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60302 AHC  
TAM/MLT/EHL DATE: 5/6/68

FROM :

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT:

LEROI ELDRIE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

ReBulet of 4/16/68, which directs San Francisco  
to prepare an LHM indicating that the Subject was possibly  
in contact with [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies  
of an LHM captioned [REDACTED] suitable for dissemination.

The source mentioned in the LHM is [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Oakland Police Department, Oakland,  
California.

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (Encl. 8) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
FL:cg  
(3)

REC-12

EX-105

100-447251-13

4 MAY 9 1968

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

Let to SAC 185  
RMH. Ord 5-23-68  
24

1 - destroyed  
2 - destroyed



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

May 6, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

b6  
b7C

A source advised that a telephone number subscribed  
to by [redacted]



Leroy Eldridge Cleaver has been  
publicly identified as the Minister  
of Information of the Black Panther  
Party (BPP).

A characterization of the BPP is  
contained in the appendix 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.

ENCLOSURE

100 447251-13



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

San Francisco, California

May 6, 1968

Title

b6  
b7C

Character

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned as  
above at San Francisco,  
California.

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

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

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

May 17, 1968

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

LEREOY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

BY LIAISON

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

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver  
850 Oak Street, Apt. 11  
San Francisco, California  
Social Security Number not available

b6  
b7C

ORIGINAL AND 1 FURNISHED TO INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

RMH:lst  
(8) *1st*

*5-24-68*

NOTE:

See memorandum Mr. G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan,  
dated 5/16/68, captioned as above, prepared by RMH:lst/lmr.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 1 1968 311  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

DATE: 5/16/68

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

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.

Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, a black nationalist extremist organization, in Oakland, California. He has gained recent notoriety as the author of a book, "Soul on Ice," which expresses his antiwhite, black nationalist views.

Cleaver was released from prison in 12/66 after serving eight years of a fourteen-year sentence for assault with intent to murder. He became a staff writer for "Ramparts" magazine and became active in the Black Panther Party. He is presently in jail and is charged with violation of parole and attempted murder, a result of a gun battle between Black Panther Party members and the Oakland, California, police on 4/27/68.

In connection with our intensive investigations of black nationalist leaders, we are attempting to determine their sources of income. If the returns show payments from the Black Panther Party to these leaders, it may assist in determining the funds which have been available to the Black Panther Party. We anticipate that because of the irresponsibility of these leaders, some will not have filed income tax returns, or may have falsified them, in which event we will, of course, see that prosecution for any such violation is pushed, which will serve to have an adverse affect on their activities.

## ACTION:

If approved, this memorandum should be referred to the Liaison Section to make the necessary contact with the Internal Revenue Service.  
100-447251

Enclosure

RMH:lst/lmr (6)

REC-115

100-447251-14

5-24-68

MAY 28 1968

5-RM HORNER



FBI WASH DC

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

JUN 13 1968

FBI SAN FRAN

1258AM URGENT 6-13-68 RLO

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BPP  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

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	_____

REMYTEL SIX TWELVE SIXTY-EIGHT.

CLEAVER APPEARED FOR NEWS CONFERENCE IN OFFICE OF HIS ATTORNEY  
IN SAN FRANCISCO AT APPROXIMATELY FIVE P.M., SIX TWELVE SIXTY-  
EIGHT WEARING BLACK LEATHER JACKET, TYPICAL BLACK PANTHER ATTIRE.  
SIX THIRTEEN SIXTY-EIGHT ISSUE OF SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE CONTAINS  
HEADLINE READING "TOP PANTHER FREED." ARTICLE INDICATES CLEAVER  
BITTER ABOUT OAKLAND POLICE, STATING "I EXPECT TO SEE THE OAKLAND  
POLICE DEPARTMENT CAVE IN ANY DAY NOW." WITH REGARD TO OAKLAND  
POLICE CHIEF CHARLES GAIN, "I EXPECT TO SEE THEM KICK HIM OUT;  
THAT HAS TO HAPPEN." IN ANSWER TO QUESTION REGARDING APRIL SIX,  
ONE NINE SIX EIGHT SHOOTOUT WITH OAKLAND POLICE RESULTING IN  
PENDING CHARGES OF ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, CLEAVER  
STATED "MY PART IN THAT WAS DUCKING BULLETS." ACCORDING TO  
ARTICLE CLEAVER STATED THAT HE DOES NOT INTEND TO HIDE BUT EXPECTS  
TO STAND UP TO POLICE.

LHM FOLLOWS.

REC 8

EX-115

END

BJP

25 JUN 17 1968

31 JUN 25 1968  
P C C ROOM 839 68D

b6  
b7c

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 6/13/68

Transmit the following in  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

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	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM dated 4/12/68,  
captioned BPP which concerns the 4/6/68 shoot out the  
Subject and other members of the BPP had with the Oakland  
Police.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM  
captioned as above suitable for dissemination.

b6  
b7C

EX-115

REC 8

100-447-21-11

15 JUN 17 1968

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (RM) (Encls. 8)  
2 - San Francisco  
FL: cmg  
(5)

C. C. - Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~SEC~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,DEPT: ISD, ~~SEC~~ 1014

HOW FORW: R-5

DATE FORW: 6-17-68

BY: R. M. H. - J. H.

1cc Audit + LHM 804

Approved: *[Signature]*

70 JUN 21 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 13, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Copies of this memorandum are being provided to intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy and Air Force, San Francisco, California.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Oakland, California, advised on June 11, 1968, that Superior Court Judge Raymond J. Sherwin, as a result of a hearing on the legality of the revocation of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver's parole, had that day ordered Cleaver released. Cleaver will be released to the custody of the Alameda County Sheriff's Office on June 12, 1968. He will be held in lieu of \$50,000. bond by the Sheriff's Office on the charge of assault with intent to commit murder, which stems from the April 6, 1968, shoot-out he and other members of the Black Panther Party had with the Oakland Police Department.

The following is an article appearing in the June 12, 1968, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle captioned "Judge Tells State to Free Cleaver."

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

100-447251-16

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Judge Tells State to Free Cleaver

Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the Black Panther party, was ordered released from prison yesterday by a judge who said he was being held because of his "political activities."

Cleaver, a 33-year-old writer and militant black leader, has been in custody since April 6 at the California Medical Facility in Vacaville.

He was charged with violation of parole and taken to the facility after an hour-long gun battle between Panthers, including Cleaver, and a squad of Oakland police officers.

### WOUNDED

Cleaver was wounded in the battle.

Before he can actually be freed, however, Cleaver must post \$50,000 in bail or an assault charge stemming from the April 6 Oakland shootout.

His attorney, Charles Garry, said efforts were being made by the Black Panthers to raise the bail, and that it was possible Cleaver might be released today.

### ORDER

The order for Cleaver's release came from Superior Court Judge Raymond J. Sherwin of Solano county, and it followed a four-hour hearing Monday on a petition for release through writ of habeas corpus.

The petition was filed by Garry, who contended that Cleaver was being held because of his association with the militant Panthers. Garry further contended that imprisonment of Cleaver was hindering attorneys' preparation for the assault trial.

The California Adult Authority maintained that Cleaver, on parole from an earlier assault conviction, had violated his parole by possessing a gun, by associating with individuals of bad reputation, and by failing to cooperate with his parole officer.

In ruling for Cleaver, Judge Sherwin said:

"The peril of his parole

See Back Page

## Cleaver-- Release Is Ordered

### From Page 1

status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing his political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries.

"Not only was there absence of cause for cancellation of the parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement of this state."

During the Monday inquiry, Deputy Attorney General Edward O'Brien argued that the State had a right to hold Cleaver simply on the report of violation until a final hearing on revocation could take place.

O'Brien said that an appeal of Judge Sherwin's decision would be made with the state District Court of Appeals.

Cleaver is the author of "Soul on Ice", an account of his life and prison experiences. During his stay at Vacaville, Cleaver announced that he would seek the Peace and Freedom party's nomination to run for the presidency.

His wife, Kathleen, was a write-in candidate for the Assembly in the June 4 primary election.

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

SAN FRANCISCO  
CHRONICLE  
P. 1.

Date: 6/12/68  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor:  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office:  
☐ Being Investigated

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The June 13, 1968, four star final issue of "The San Francisco Chronicle," a newspaper published daily in San Francisco, California, bears headline which reads, "Top Panther Freed." The article which follows the headline is captioned "See-Saw Battle to Free Cleaver" and relates essentially the same information concerning the background of Cleaver's case as the article included above. In addition, it reports the results of a press conference given by CLEAVER in his San Francisco attorney's office at 5:00 p.m. on June 12, 1968.

The article reads in part as follows:

"Asked about the fued between the Black Panthers and the Oakland Police, Cleaver said:

"'I expect to see the Oakland police department cave in any day now.'

"He said he failed to understand how a community that large and diverse could continue to tolerate such a 'brutal' police chief as Chief Charles Gain.

"Nor, said Cleaver, could he understand how the community could tolerate such a 'racist' police department as Oakland's.

"'I expect to see them kick him (Chief Gain) out. That has to happen,' Cleaver said.

"Cleaver told representatives of the mass media gathered in Garry's book-lined library that he doesn't intend to hide and that he will stand up for his rights if he is bothered by police.

"He was asked about the April 6 shoot-out and his part in it.

"'My part in that,' he replied without hesitation, 'was ducking police bullets.'"

The article continues stating: "Yesterday, Judge Sherwin told The Chronicle he set the bail on the parole

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

status question at only \$25. plus a \$2.50 penalty assessment for a state police training fund because \$50,000. bail had already been set on Cleaver's other charges."

Cleaver appeared for the press conference wearing a black leather jacket.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached.

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.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60300 AUC  
Domestic Intelligence Division  
TAM/MLT/EHL

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 6-13-68

The Black Panther Party (BPP), referred to in the attached, is a militant San Francisco based black nationalist organization. The shooting incident referred to is one of several wherein armed BPP members have become involved with the police. Subject is leader of the organization.

Subsequent information indicated that at the press conference, he said he expected to see the Chief of Police of Oakland, California, "kicked out." Cleaver stated his part in the shooting incident was "ducking bullets."

We will continue to follow subject's activities and pertinent information developed will be furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit and interested Divisions of the Department.

WLS:lrb

WCS  
mtd

G. H. R.



FBI WASH DC

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

JUN 13 1968

FBI SAN FRAN

8:58PM DEFERRED 6/12/68 JXR TELETYPE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

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 ☒

LEROEY ELDRIGE CLEAVER;

RACIAL MATTER - BLACK

PANTHER PARTY

RM BPP

ARTICLE APPEARING IN SIX-TWELVE-SIXTYEIGHT ISSUE OF SAN FRANCISCO  
CRONICLE CAPTIONED "JUDGE TELLS STATE TO FREE CLEAVER" STATES SUPERIOR  
COURT JUDGE RAYMOND J. SHERWIN, FAIRFIELD, CALIFORNIA, ON SIX-ELEVEN-  
SIXTYEIGHT ORDERED RELEASE OF CLEAVER AS RESULT OF A HEARING ON LEGAL  
OF REVOCATION OF HIS PROLE. JUDGE SHERWIN REPORTEDLY STATED CLEAVER WAS  
BEING HELD BECAUSE OF HIS "POLITICAL ACTIVITIES." CLEAVER WILL BE RE-  
LEASED BY STATE OF CALIFORNIA TO ALAMEDA COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE  
WHERE HE WILL BE HELD IN LIEU OF FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS BOND ON  
CHARGE OF ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER WHICH STEMS FROM THE APRIL SIX,  
SIXTY EIGHT SHOOT-OUT HE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY HAD WITH OAKLAND POLICE.

LEARNED THROUGH A PRETEXT CALL TO CLEAVER'S ATTORNEY'S OFFICE  
THIS DATE AT FIVE PM THAT CLEAVER WAS RELEASED ON FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS  
BOND AND WAS AT THAT MOMENT HOLDING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN HIS ATTORNEY'S  
OFFICE.

MEMO  
LHM FOLLOWS.

REC-15

10 JUN 17 1968

END.

BJP

FBI WASH DC

P CC- ROOM 835 9&D  
JUN 24 1968

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

JUN 14 1968

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	_____

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE

1  
FBI SACTO  
1:30 PM URGENT 6/14/68 RIM  
TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO  
FROM SACRAMENTO(157-291) P

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BLACK PANTHERS. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

ON THIS DATE, LES SMITH, CHIEF OF CAMPUS POLICE, UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC, STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN HUNDRED PERSONS ARE ON THE CAMPUS ATTENDING A NORTHERN CALIFORNIA - NEVADA ANNUAL CONFERENCE MEETING OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH. THEY ARE HAVING A CONFERENCE TONIGHT DEALING WITH URBAN UNREST, AND THE SCHEDULED SPEAKER, U. S. SENATOR FRED HARRIS, OKLAHOMA, CANCELLED AT THE LAST MINUTE. THE SPEAKER THEY OBTAINED, REPORTEDLY FOR A FIVE HUNDRED DOLLAR FEE, IS CAPTIONED SUBJECT.

LHM CONCERNING SUBJECT'S APPEARANCE WILL BE SUBMITTED.

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC

P

MCT-12

REC-32

EX 106

15 JUN 17 1968

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9821 26/1968

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 6/18/68

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-291) (P)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(OO: SF)

Remytel 6/14/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM and for San Francisco three copies of LHM pertaining to subject's appearance at Stockton, California, on 6/14/68.

For the information of San Francisco, at the request of the Oakland, California, Police Department, the Stockton, California, Police Department arranged to tape record CLEAVER's speech and were to make a copy of the tape available to the Oakland Police Department.

It is noted that CLEAVER stated during his speech that the Black Panthers would establish a chapter of their organization in Stockton, California. Sacramento has previously alerted racial informants and stays in contact with these informants in order to ascertain if there is any indication of the Black Panthers successfully organizing within the Sacramento Division.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 8)
- 3 - San Francisco (RM) (Enc. 3)
- (2 - 100-5520) (CLEAVER)
- (1 - 157- ) (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
- 3 - Sacramento
- (2 - 157-291)
- (1 - 157-52)

RCR:nme  
(9)

Approved:

57 JUL 2 1968

Special Agent in Charge

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

AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV.  
DEPT: ISD, C. 8

HOW FORM: 8/5

DATE FORM: 6/18/68

BY: [Signature]

ENCLOSURE

ST-103  
REC 36

100-447251-18

16 JUN 20 1968

b6  
b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Sacramento, California  
June 18, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

This memorandum has been furnished to the 115th Military Intelligence Group, Sacramento, California; Office of Special Investigations, 19th District, Travis Air Force Base, California, and Naval Investigative Service Office, San Francisco, California.

The June 14, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record," a daily newspaper of general circulation, Stockton, California, contained an article setting forth that on the evening of June 14, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver would address a symposium on urban unrest at the University of the Pacific (UOP), sponsored by the Northern California - Nevada Conference of the United Methodist Church. The article described him as the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party and further stated he would share the platform with Grover Bagby of Washington, D. C., Associate General Secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns. Cleaver was to be the replacement for another speaker who had canceled his speech due to illness. The article further stated that Reverend Cecil Williams, a Negro Minister of Glide Methodist Church, San Francisco, California, helped arrange Cleaver's appearance.

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

On June 14, 1968, Les Smith, Chief of Police, UOP, Stockton, California, advised that the UOP administration was not aware that Cleaver was to speak on campus until the morning of June 14, 1968. He stated it was a last minute

COPIES DESTROYED

343 MAY 3 1971.

100-447251-18  
ENCLOSURE

RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

arrangement made by the Methodist Conference and he understands Cleaver will be paid \$500 for the appearance.

On June 17, 1968, [REDACTED] Stockton, California, Police Department, advised that Cleaver used some profanity in one portion of his speech and spoke about the necessity of violence. He stated the ministers attending the speech gave Cleaver a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

b6  
b7C

The June 15, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record" contained an article pertaining to Cleaver's speech. This newspaper set forth Cleaver told the assembly that the black men would use any means to get their share of America's affluence and further stated his organization would be going to Stockton. The newspaper stated further that

"The theme of 'police brutality' dominated his talk. Other speakers on the discussion of urban unrest also voiced concern over law enforcement as it exists today.

"At the close of the program Cleaver said the Black Panthers, a militant Oakland Negro power group, will establish a chapter in Stockton.

"Cleaver described police in the United States as 'an occupying army, controlled from the white suburbs.'"

"The first step in getting equality for black people is to expel this army, he said.

"We are not going to accept any fast shuffles or undue delays,' Cleaver said.

"If we can't have it, you can't either,' he told the predominantly white audience.

RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

"Cleaver repeatedly raised the specter of violence by black people in getting their objectives, but drew applause when he said at one point:

"'We must stop killing black people; we must stop killing brown people; we must stop killing yellow people; we must stop killing people.'

"Dr. Grover Bagby, associate general secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns in Washington, D. C., said that 'America is in for revolution of its entire social fabric-or destruction.'

"There is all too heavy an infiltration of racist and authoritarian elements into police forces, Dr. Bagby said.

"POLICING POLICE

"He noted that police brutality is difficult to prove, and hit at the lack of outside authority to look into police operations.

"'Who polices the police? The police police the police,' Bagby said.

"In a discussion following the two talks, Bagby said he feels significant improvements in American society will come in the next five or six years.

"But, he added, the changes may come at a high cost in bloodshed." J

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.

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.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL DATE 6/24/68

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC Moore*

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

It is being recommended that information concerning the subject and a speech he gave on 6/14/68 before a clergymen's conference in Stockton, California, be furnished to the Crime Records Division for possible referral to a news contact.

b6  
b7C

## BACKGROUND:

The subject is a convicted rapist who was released on parole in 1966 after serving eight years of a 14 year sentence in California penitentiaries. He became a leader of the Black Panther Party of Oakland, California, the most violent black nationalist extremist group in the United States. His parole was revoked after his arrest on 4/6/68 when he participated in a 90 minute gun battle between Black Panther members and the Oakland, California police, during which he was wounded. He was freed on 6/12/68 by a California judge who claimed Cleaver's parole had been revoked because of "political activities." He is free under \$50,000 bond on a charge of assault to commit murder arising from the 4/6/68 gun battle.

## DETAILS:

On 6/14/68 Cleaver was paid \$500 to speak at a conference on urban unrest held during the annual Northern California-Nevada conference of the United Methodist Church at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California. He replaced U. S. Senator Fred R. Harris (D-Oklahoma), the scheduled speaker, who cancelled at the last minute.

## Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

RMH:1km

AUG 7 1968

CONTINUED-OVER

16 JUN 28 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Cleaver is reported to have used profanity during his speech to the ministers and spoke about the necessity for violence. He described the police as "an occupying army." A police department source said the ministers gave Cleaver a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

*cont'd*  
Cleaver shared the platform with Dr. Grover Bagby, Associate General Secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns in Washington, D. C., who was quoted as stating, "America is in for revolution of its entire social fabric- or destruction," and "There is all too heavy an infiltration of racist and authoritarian elements into police forces." He hit at the lack of outside authority to look into police operations.

b6  
b7C

OBSERVATIONS:

The complete inappropriateness of using a person as disreputable as Cleaver to speak at a religious gathering, the shocking example of ministers applauding his statements, and the verbal attack on the police by Bagby are matters which should be referred to a friendly news source for appropriate editorial comment.

A memorandum on unwatermarked paper containing information concerning the speech, details of which have appeared in the press, is enclosed. Public source background material concerning the Black Panther Party is being forwarded to the Crime Records Division separately.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum and its enclosure be forwarded to the Crime Records Division for action in line with the above.

*WCH*  
*AS*  
*AK*  
*✓*  
*TSB*  
*DS*

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL June 25, 1968

**ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

The June 14, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record," a daily newspaper of general circulation, Stockton, California, contained an article setting forth that on the evening of June 14, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver would address a symposium on urban unrest at the University of the Pacific (UOP), sponsored by the Northern California - Nevada Conference of the United Methodist Church. The article described him as the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party and further stated he would share the platform with Grover Bagby of Washington, D. C., Associate General Secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns. Cleaver was to be the replacement for another speaker who had canceled his speech due to illness. The article further stated that Reverend Cecil Williams, a Negro Minister of Glide Methodist Church, San Francisco, California, helped arrange Cleaver's appearance.

The UOP administration reportedly was not aware that Cleaver was to speak on campus until the morning of June 14, 1968. His speech was a last minute arrangement made by the Methodist Conference. It is understood that Cleaver was to be paid \$500 for the appearance.

A member of the audience advised that Cleaver used some profanity in one portion of his speech and spoke about the necessity of violence. He stated the ministers attending the speech gave Cleaver a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

The June 15, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record" contained an article pertaining to Cleaver's speech. This article says Cleaver told the assembly that the black men would use any means to get their share of America's affluence and further stated his organization would be going to Stockton. The newspaper stated further that:

RMH:1km (7)

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

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

ENCLOSURE

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

59 JUL 10 1968

RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

"The theme of 'police brutality' dominated his talk. Other speakers on the discussion of urban unrest also voiced concern over law enforcement as it exists today.

"At the close of the program Cleaver said the Black Panthers, a militant Oakland Negro power group, will establish a chapter in Stockton.

"Cleaver described police in the United States as 'an occupying army, controlled from the white suburbs.'

"The first step in getting equality for black people is to expel this army, he said.

"We are not going to accept any fast shuffles or undue delays,' Cleaver said.

"If we can't have it, you can't either,' he told the predominantly white audience.

"Cleaver repeatedly raised the specter of violence by black people in getting their objectives, but drew applause when he said at one point:

"We must stop killing black people; we must stop killing brown people; we must stop killing yellow people; we must stop killing people.'

"Dr. Grover Bagby, associate general secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns in Washington, D. C., said that "America is in for revolution of its entire social fabric-or destruction.'

"There is all too heavy an infiltration of racist and authoritarian elements into police forces, Dr. Bagby said.

RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

"POLICING POLICE

"He noted that police brutality is difficult to prove, and hit at the lack of outside authority to look into police operations.

"' Who polices the police? The police police the police,' Bagby said.

"In a discussion following the two talks, Bagby said he feels significant improvements in American society will come in the next five or six years.

"But, he added, the changes may come at a high cost in bloodshed."

DATE: 01-24-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3-3-11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
~~SECRET~~

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>6/28/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/17 - 6/20/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka Eldridge Cleaver</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>j1</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>RM - BPP</b>	b6 b7C

REFERENCE: Report of SA , 5/9/67, at  
San Francisco.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Agents who overheard the Subject announce the merger of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are SA , and SA .

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- 5 - Bureau (RM)(100-447251)
- 1 - Secret Service, (RM)  
San Francisco (Class 3 & 5C)
- 3 - San Francisco (100-55520)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-447251-19 REC 54

12 JUL 1 1968

ST 102

REC-50

## Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ND, NM, ARS, SS, 3, 5C
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	7-8-68
How Fwd.	
By	F-1 RTH - jwc

Notations

~~SECRET~~

RACIAL INT. SECT.

75 JUL 18 1968

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

This report.

(BY REQUEST)

100-55520-187

(BY REQUEST)

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

~~SECRET~~ - B -  
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-55520-272

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

100-55520-218

[REDACTED]

s

[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

(S)

b1

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

Will follow and report results of action to revoke Subject's parole which was revoked as a result of the shootout with the Oakland, California Police Department and subsequently adjudged illegal.

~~SECRET~~

- C -

COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-55520

FL:jl

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 \_\_\_\_\_.
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)  
information furnished by [REDACTED]  
if disclosed, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_.  
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)  
of his inflammatory remarks concerning local law enforcement agencies whom he calls "pigs".  
It is not believed that he would be cooperative.
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)  
the Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP.  
(SF 2341-R)
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.  
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

b2  
b7D- D\* -  
COVER PAGE~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 28, 1968

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,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

~~SECRET~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-18-2005Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco  
(Class 3 & 5C)(RM)

Report of:

Date:

6/28/68

b6

Office:

SAN FRANCISCO

b7C

Field Office File #: 100-55520

Bureau File #:

100-447251

Title:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Synopsis:

CLEAVER resides at 2500 Filbert Street, San Francisco, California, and is employed as a senior editor for "Ramparts" at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California. He was

b6  
b7C

He has held positions of "Editor" and San Francisco Branch Captain of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and is presently Minister of Information of that organization. He has attended at least seven meetings and numerous public rallies of the BPP in period from 6/8/67 to 2/25/68, several at which he spoke. He spoke as a representative of the BPP at several YSA-SWP sponsored forums. Since his parole on 12/12/66, from an assault to commit murder conviction, he has been arrested on two occasions; once on 5/2/67 when several members of the BPP were arrested as a result of an armed appearance in the California State Legislature at Sacramento, California (charge later dismissed) and once on 4/6/68, for assault with intent to commit murder when he and several members of the BPP had a shoot-out with the Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California. His parole was revoked on 4/7/68, but the revocation was adjudged without merit and he was ordered released on 6/11/68. CLEAVER then posted \$50,000 bail on the 4/6/68 shoot-out charge and trial on this charge is pending. Statements attributable to him by the press and other sources are set out. In view of Subject's arrest in Oakland, California on 4/6/68 as a result of a shoot-out with the Oakland Police Department, SUBJECT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

- P -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

The Subject resides at 2500 Filbert Street, San Francisco, California and is employed as a Senior Editor for "Ramparts" at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California.



6/20/68

b2  
b7D

"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...."

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

B. Marital Status

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[Redacted]

1/17/68

[Redacted]

b2  
b7D

[Redacted]

5/31/68

A characterization of the BPP  
is contained in the Appendix  
of this report.

MRS. LEROY E. L. BRIDGE ~~LEAVEN~~  
II. CONNECTIONS WITH THE BPP

A. Positions Held

b6  
b7C

Subject is Editor of the "Black Panther", the  
newsletter of the BPP.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

5/1/67

Subject is Editor of the "Black Panther" and  
San Francisco Branch Captain of the BPP.

b2  
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

[Redacted]

7/9/67

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP.

[REDACTED]  
1/4/68

Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP.

[REDACTED]  
6/18/68

B. Meetings Attended

b2  
b7D

The Subject attended a BPP meeting held at BPP Headquarters on Grove Street in Oakland, California on June 8, 1967.

[REDACTED]  
6/10/67

The Subject attended a BPP meeting at the BPP Headquarters on Grove Street in Oakland, California on June 10, 1967.

[REDACTED]  
6/12/67

b2  
b7D

The Subject attended a BPP public meeting held at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, on December 24, 1967. He spoke at this meeting with regard to HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP who is presently incarcerated awaiting trial for the murder of an Oakland Police officer in Oakland, California. He stated if HUEY goes down we will all go down with him.

[REDACTED]  
1/2/68

The Subject attended BPP meetings held at St. Philip's Church, 22nd and Grove Streets, Oakland, California, on January 14, 1968; January 21, 1968; January 28, 1968, and February 11, 1968. He spoke at each of these meetings.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
1/15/68      1/29/68  
1/22/68      2/12/68

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
2/16/68

The Subject acted as Master of Ceremony at a BPP sponsored rally for "HUEY NEWTON's Defense Fund" held at the Oakland Auditorium Arena on February 17, 1968. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the main speaker.

[REDACTED]  
2/28/68

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
3/1/68

[REDACTED]  
3/4/68

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC).

A characterization of the SNCC is included in the Appendix of this report.

Subject attended a HUEY NEWTON birthday party sponsored by the BPP to raise funds for NEWTON's legal defense on February 19, 1968. Subject introduced H. RAP BROWN who was a surprise guest at the party.

[REDACTED]  
2/19/68

b2  
b7D

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

H. RAP BROWN was the National  
Chairman of SNCC at the time  
of this party.

[REDACTED]  
2/19/68

Subject attended a BPP gathering on February 25,  
1968, in the vicinity of 47 Potomac Avenue, San Francisco,  
California. The purpose of the gathering was to discuss  
retaliatory measures to be taken against the Berkeley Police  
Department in connection with the recent arrest of BOBBY  
GEORGE SEALE, [REDACTED] and four others. The Subject  
was present at this gathering but did not speak.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
2/26/68

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE is Chairman  
of the BPP.

[REDACTED]  
2/26/68

The Subject attended a BPP public rally held at  
the Berkeley City Courthouse on February 26, 1968 to protest  
the arrest of BOBBY GEORGE SEALE and others on February 25,  
1968.

[REDACTED]  
3/1/68

b2  
b7D

C. Appearances as a Representative of the BPP

A flyer captioned "Socialist Calendar", distributed  
by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) during May of 1967,  
announced the Subject would speak on May 4, 1967, on "The  
Last Year of Malcolm X" at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco,  
California, under auspices of the YSA.

[REDACTED]  
5/8/67



A characterization of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) appear in the Appendix.

MALCOLM X is characterized in the Appendix section under the caption of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated, and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. Characterizations of those organizations and the Nation of Islam are included in the Appendix.

An article appearing in the May 22, 1967, issue of "The Militant", the weekly newspaper of the SWP captioned "S.F. Symposium on Malcolm Book" reads in part as follows:

"The development of the ideas of Malcolm X was the subject of a Militant Labor Forum held here on Thursday, May 4.

"The speakers were George Novack, Marxist scholar, and Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver is a staff writer for 'Ramparts' magazine, and chairman of the Black House, a center for militant Afro-Americans in San Francisco.

"The discussion centered around 'The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary,' the recently published book by George Breitman.

"Cleaver praised the book for taking a vast amount of material--speeches, statements, interviews--and organizing it so as to clarify the development of Malcolm's ideas... While in prison, Cleaver had gone along with the Malcolm faction at the time of the split (with Nation of Islam).

SF 100-55520

FL:jl

"'Waiting on salvation paralyzes,' Cleaver said. 'The Black Muslims captured a lot of energy-- the energy of black militants--but they focused it in the hereafter. Malcolm's break focused that energy in the here and now. He no longer carried the message down the pipeline from Allah to Elijah Muhammad to himself.'"

Militant Labor Forum is the name used by the YSA and SWP to sponsor its public meetings.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) a characterization of which appears in the Appendix.

The Subject spoke at a YSA sponsored public forum at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California on May 4, 1967. He discussed the arrest of BPP members who had made an armed appearance at the California State Capitol in Sacramento, California on May 2, 1967, and appealed for funds to be used for the legal defense of those arrested. He stated that he was unable to speak well on his scheduled topic "The Last Year of Malcolm X" due to his recent arrest in Sacramento and his inability to prepare.

[REDACTED]  
5/8/67

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
5/11/67

Subject is scheduled to speak at noon on the lower plaza at the University of California, Berkeley, California on May 10, 1967, as a representative of the BPP. This appearance is sponsored by the YSA.

[REDACTED]  
5/9/67

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

Subject and BOBBY SEALE appeared as BPP representatives<sup>7</sup> and spoke at a YSA forum held at 2338 Market Street, San Francisco, California on January 5, 1968. At this forum the Subject said that a person cannot support TROTSKY or LENIN and support HUEY NEWTON. He said the black people are in colonies within a mother country. When asked what form he would like to see this country in, he could not answer and appeared to have no program for actual change. J

[REDACTED]  
1/8/68

b2  
b7D

The Subject appeared and spoke as a representative of the BPP at a Militant Labor Forum at 2338 Market Street, San Francisco, California, on January 5, 1968. The Subject told of how when he got out of jail he searched for an organization to identify himself with. He checked into many, but when he found the BPP he knew he had found the ultimate and that there was no place to go from there. He stated that he regarded both NEWTON and SEALE as completely unselfish people and mentioned that he had been a great admirer of MALCOLM X who he said rightly abandoned praying to Allah to pick up the gun. He referred to STOKELY CARMICHAEL as their international ambassador. He also spoke of the oppression of the black people and of how they built this country so that the white man could live well. J

[REDACTED]  
1/8/68

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]  
1/16/68

[REDACTED] on January 11, 1968, also reported the Subject's appearance at the Militant Labor Forum on January 5, 1968.

An article captioned "Panthers to Defend Newton in Noon Rally" appeared in the January 23, 1968, issue of "The Pioneer", The California State College at Hayward school newspaper. This article reads in part as follows:

SF 100-55520  
FL:JL

"Who is Huey P. Newton?

"Two officials of the Black Panther Society for Self-Defense will answer that question Thursday noon in MA 1055.

"Bobby Seale, Chairman of the party, and Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, will speak on the topic of Huey Newton, Panther Defense Minister, who is presently being tried for the murder of an Oakland policeman...

"The Thursday event is being sponsored jointly by Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Student Union."

A characterization of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) appears in the Appendix.

The Black Student Union (BSU) is a militant black nationalist organization formed on numerous college campuses throughout the country.

An article appearing in the March 1, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Sunday Examiner" and "Chronicle" captioned "Berkeley Professors Seek to Block Pro-Viet Cong Rally" reads in part as follows:

"A number of irate University of California professors are preparing to seek a court injunction tomorrow morning to head off a pro-Viet Cong rally scheduled for Pauley Ballroom on the Berkeley campus tomorrow night..."

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

"The announced program included 'songs and music from revolutionary Vietnam' and features a number of speakers, some with Communist or militant backgrounds.

"They include. . . Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, leaders in the militant Black Panther movement."

#### D. Other BPP Activities

Subject and [redacted] are endeavoring to agree on a joint plant for defense of the arrested members of the BPP who were arrested as a result of an armed appearance at the California State Capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The plan calls for the SWP to assist in raising money and for the SWP to promise not to endeavor to control or dominate the BPP organization. The SWP intends to support the BPP members on the Constitutional issue of their right to seek redress of grievances before the State Legislature whether their appearance was with or without guns. [redacted] is a member of the SWP.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted]  
5/15/67

[redacted] Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Oakland, California, advised that HUEY NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP is presently incarcerated as a result of an indictment returned on November 13, 1967, by a Grand Jury for murder of an Oakland Police Officer on October 28, 1967.

The Subject visited NEWTON at the jail on the following dates:

December 8, 1967  
December 20, 1967  
January 3, 1968  
January 5, 1968

January 19, 1968  
January 24, 1968  
February 5, 1968  
February 16, 1968  
February 23, 1968  
February 28, 1968  
March 1, 1968

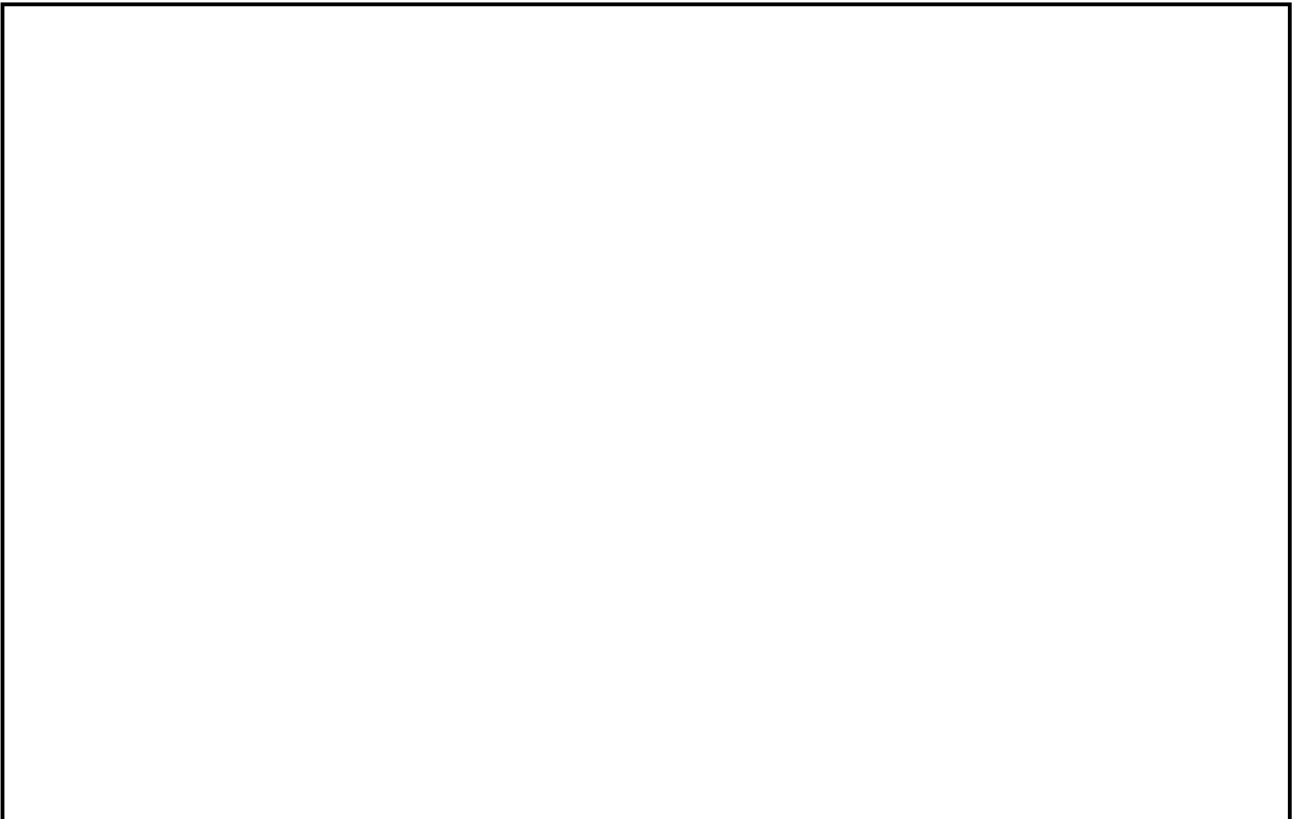
SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

On February 17, 1968, Agents of the FBI were present at a HUEY P. NEWTON Defense Fund Rally held at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California, where they overheard the Subject announce that a merger of the BPP and SNCC had taken place.

### III. PAROLE STATUS

#### A. Background of Conviction on March 11, 1958, Incarceration and Release on Parole

The Subject's FBI Identification Record indicates<sup>7</sup> he was arrested on November 3, 1957, for assault with intent to commit murder. The facts surrounding this arrest are as follows:




b6  
b7C  
b7D

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Subject was convicted and served eight years of a fourteen year sentence. He was paroled on December 12, 1966.

  
1/17/68

b2  
b7D

B. Arrest in Sacramento, California  
on May 2, 1967

At approximately twelve noon on May 2, 1967, a group of twenty-four Negro males who identified themselves as

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

members of the BPP made a protest march and appearance at the California State Capitol, Sacramento, California. The purpose of their appearance was to protest an assembly bill being introduced on that date by Assemblyman DON MULFORD. The bill being introduced by Assemblyman MULFORD prohibited the instruction in the use of firearms for the commission of the crime of riot. It further prohibited the carrying of a loaded firearm on one's person in a public street or in a public place within any city.

On arriving at the Capitol, one group remained on the main floor of the Capitol Building, while a second group composed of approximately twelve men went to the Assembly Chambers on the second floor of the building. This group was armed with rifles, shotguns and handguns. The group forced its way past two sergeants-at-arms and entered the floor of the Assembly Chamber. They were subsequently removed by members of the State Police and the Sergeant-at-Arms. At that point the entire group left the Capitol grounds and entered five vehicles which had been used for their trip to Sacramento.

Shortly after leaving the Capitol Building the group congregated at a service station located on the corner of 15th and "L" Streets which is on the northeast corner of the State Capitol grounds. Officers of the Sacramento Police Department arrived at the scene and observed the group with the guns in their possession standing at the intersection. The entire group consisting of 24 Negro men were arrested by the officers and twelve firearms consisting of four handguns, five rifles and three shotguns were confiscated. The group was taken to the Sacramento City Jail and each individual was charged with violation of Section 182.1 of the California Penal Code, which is conspiracy, the specific charge being to disturb the State Assembly while in session. The Subject was charged with violation of Section 3056 of the California Penal Code (Parole Violation).

On May 1, 1967, "Ramparts" contacted a parole officer in the Department of Corrections in San Francisco, requesting permission for the Subject, then a staff writer for the magazine, to attend the session of the California State Legislature on May 2, 1967, which would be concerned that day



SF 100-55520

FL:jl

with police and community relations. Early on May 2, 1967, the Subject received the permission requested. Subsequent to the Subject's arrest at Sacramento a "Ramparts" attorney protested that CLEAVER was with a group of white reporters on the scene and that no white reporter was arrested, that he presented his press card to the arresting officers who disregarded it with an insult, that he was mistreated by the police and discriminated against because he was a Negro. The attorney claimed to have several white witnesses to back up his statement and succeeded in getting the charge against the Subject reduced from a felony to a misdemeanor.



5/3/67

b2  
b7D

On May 4, 1967, the Subject appeared in Superior Court, Sacramento County, Sacramento, California, at which time charges were dismissed and Subject remained on parole.

C. Arrest in Oakland, California  
April 6, 1968

On April 6, 1968, at approximately 10:30 p.m., the Subject, along with seven other men tentatively identified as Black Panthers were arrested in Oakland, California by officers of the Oakland Police Department. The arrest came after 90 minutes of gun battle in which two police officers were wounded, one suspect BOBBY JAMES HUTTON was killed, and two suspects were wounded. The Subject was one of the wounded.

b6  
b7C

According to the police the altercations started when two police officers were fired upon when they stopped to investigate a suspicious person. The Subject was positively identified by [redacted] of the Oakland Police Department as having in his possession a carbine rifle and an automatic pistol at the time of surrender. The Alameda County District Attorney issued a complaint alleging violation of Section 271 of the Penal Code (Assault with Intent to Commit Murder) against CLEAVER and the others. Additional charges are

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

pending. The Subject was removed to a Department of Corrections facility for detainment. Special action was taken by the Adult Authority on April 7, 1968, to cancel his parole.

[REDACTED]  
5/6/68

BOBBY HUTTON was treasurer of  
the BPP at the time of his death.

[REDACTED]  
b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

On April 10, 1968, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Oakland Police Department, Oakland,  
California, advised that investigation by the Oakland Police  
Department subsequent to the April 6, 1968, arrest of  
the Subject as a result of the shoot-out with the Oakland  
Police Department has disclosed the following facts:

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

b6  
b7C

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

They then proceeded to North Oakland and spotted two  
police officers as they were getting out of their patrol car.  
The BPP members got out of their cars unnoticed by the officers.  
By jumping fences and going through backyards they endeavored

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

to maneuver themselves into a position to shoot at the officers. Before they could get set up, the officers were back in their car and departed. No shots were fired and the officers never became aware of the presence of the BPP members. The officers had responded to a missing persons complaint and had only remained at the location of the complaint for a short time because they were informed upon arrival that the missing person had returned home.

After previously cruising around North Oakland, the BPP members decided to rendezvous in the vicinity of 30th and Union Streets, Oakland. Shortly after they arrived in that location, the aforementioned shooting incident took place.

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

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

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

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

An article appearing in the April 26, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco, California, captioned "Exclusive Talk with Cleaver" reads in part as follows:

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

"A Black Panther official shot during the 90-minute gun battle with Oakland Police on April 6 called the 'official' version of that incident a 'tissue of lies' yesterday.

"In an exclusive interview in the Alameda County Jail, Eldridge Cleaver, 32, party Minister of Information, said:

"Bobby Hutton, 17, killed by police bullets, was 'told to run for a squad car' and, while his hands were raised, and he was unarmed, officers shot him down.

"The Panthers, in three cars, were out collecting food for a picnic for the following day when a squad car abruptly pulled up 'and suddenly a gun exploded right in my face.'

"With one or two possible exceptions, the arsenal that police claim was confiscated at the scene of the shoot-out --near 1228 - 28th street-- was actually taken from a parked Panther car's locked trunk, miles away and hours later.

"Following the 'police ambush' of some eight Panthers, officers made no attempt to immediately allow Cleaver and Hutton out of the house they were 'holed up in' but, instead, poured a fusillade of bullets in through its walls.

"Cleaver spoke shortly before the Grand Jury transcript was released and was thus unable to speculate on the testimony of fellow Panthers who told police that the group had been looking for trouble before the shooting started.

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

"He is being held in lieu of \$75,000 bail on charges stemming from the incident.

"In an interview room, Cleaver, the articulate author of 'Soul on Ice' who served nine years in prison for assault with a deadly weapon, maintained trouble was the furthest thing from the Panthers' minds the night the shooting started.

"'I was never armed,' he said, 'because Huey P. Newton (party founder) had laid down orders that, as a parolee, I should not be armed.'

"Cleaver admitted that young Hutton had a rifle in the house. After police began firing, he said Hutton exchanged shots with police.

"'But before we came out of the house I took Bobby's gun and threw it out and the police saw me throw it out,' Cleaver said.

"The trouble began about 9:30 p.m., when, Cleaver said, a squad car pulled up alongside three Panther cars parked on 28th street.

"'We had been gathering provisions for the sisters (women members) and were on our way for a load of potatoes.'

"Cleaver said he saw a policeman get out of a squad car, which had suddenly pulled up, 'heard some loud talk' from a policeman, and then the shooting began."

#### E. Action Taken To Gain Cleaver's Release

A flyer captioned "Release Eldridge Cleaver! An Appeal For Letters Demanding Justice From the California

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

Adult Authority" written and distributed by Mrs. KATHLEEN  
CLEAVER reads in part as follows:

"Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, author of the best-seller 'Sout on Ice,' staff writer for Ramparts Magazine, and member of the State Steering Committee of the Peace and Freedom Movement, is now being held a political prisoner at the State prison hospital at Vacaville, California. In a massive attack by 50 police on a group of Black Panthers in West Oakland on the night of April 6, Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton were trapped in the basement of a house that was bombarded with machine guns, tear gas, and finally set afire. Seventeen-year-old Bobby Hutton was murdered by the police while surrendering. Eldridge Cleaver was shot in the leg . . .

"After serving ten years of a 1-14 year sentence in California prisons, Eldridge was released on parole for four years. He had been consistently denied parole by the Adult Authority during his imprisonment as punishment for his political activities while in prison. . .

"The clearly calculated attempt to liquidate the leadership of the Black Panther Party, starting in October with the attempt to murder Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, in the streets, followed by the frame-up of Bobby Seale, Chairman, in February . . . culminating in the attempt to murder Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information . . . as intensified as the political power and organizational strength of the Party has grown. This, coupled with the flagrant irregularities in the arrest and charging of Eldridge Cleaver, the generalized harassment of the Black Panther Party, and the recent move to bring a Grand Jury indictment against the Panthers involved in the shoot-out. . . reveals a planned and consistent attempt to destroy our organization."

SF 100-55520

FL:jl

The flyer goes on to request that everyone write a letter or send a telegram to the Chairman of the California Adult Authority in Sacramento, California, demanding the re-instatement of Eldridge Cleaver's parole and condemns their collusion with the Oakland Police Department and its attempt to liquidate the leadership of the BPP. The flyer also asked for contributions to the BPP Defense Fund.

An article appearing in the May 21, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" captioned "New Legal Bid to Free Cleaver" reads in part as follows:

"Attorneys for Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver filed a petition in Fairfield yesterday for a writ of habeas corpus to release their client.

"Charles Garry charged that his client, arrested in the April 6 Oakland shoot-out, is being unlawfully held because his parole -- Cleaver is an ex-felon--was 'unlawfully canceled.'

"Cleaver has denied he carried guns the night of the shooting. The California Adult Authority summarily revoked his parole on April 7, though Cleaver has not yet been tried on the gun charges.

"Garry also attacked the Authority's parole revocation on other grounds dealing with his association with Panthers, whom the State termed 'individuals of bad reputation,' plus a third charge that Cleaver failed 'to co-operate with his parole agent.'"

As of May 19, 1968, the California Adult Authority, who is responsible for passing on the Subject's parole or revocation thereof, had received over 384 letters seeking the release of the Subject. The correspondence included many educators, professionals and prominent citizens from all over the country.

5719768

b2  
b7D

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

An article appearing in the June 1, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco, California, captioned "Panthers' Fiery Rally For Cleaver" reads in part as follows:

"The Black Panthers staged a fiery, hour-long rally here yesterday afternoon to whip up support for the release of their jailed minister of information, Eldridge Cleaver.

"More than 200 persons showed up for the event, in front of the office of the California Department of Corrections . . . at 71 Eleventh Street.

"The speakers were Kathleen Cleaver, wife of the jailed Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale, and Stokely Carmichael black power leader and former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"Mrs. Cleaver and Seale made bitter attacks against 'pigs (police) and racists' and vowed that they and other Panthers would arm themselves to keep from being exterminated. . .

"Carmichael spoke briefly and sardonically:

"'Well, we're just here to support Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton to free them. Demonstrations won't do it. We know what'll do it, and we're gonna take care of business. That's all.'"

An article appearing in the June 13, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" captioned "Judge Blocks Protest, Cleaver Free on Bail" reads in part as follows:

"Solano County Superior Judge Raymond J. Sherwin, declared Tuesday that Cleaver, 33, was being unjustly held as a 'political prisoner' in the State Medical Facility at Vacaville. . .



"California Adult Authority had canceled Cleavers parole on an earlier conviction because of his alleged participation in the April gun battle. . .

"Judge Sherwin ordered his release saying the evidence failed to support the Adult Authority's action.

"The peril of his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing his political goals--goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries.

"Not only was there absence of cause for cancellation of the parole, it was a product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement of this state," said the judge."

#### IV. STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTABLE TO CLEAVER

---

##### A. Articles Written by Cleaver

An editorial captioned "Huey Must Be Set Free!" appearing in the November 23, 1967, issue of "The Black Panther--Black Community News Service," which bears the words "Minister of Information, Black Panther Party" as the writer, reads in part as follows:

"Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, lies in the hospital at San Quentin State Prison, with a gunshot wound in his stomach, inflicted by an Oakland cop. An Oakland cop is dead and buried and a second cop lies somewhere in some hospital with three bullet wounds in his body. Huey has been charged with the murder of the first cop and the shooting of the second.

"The shooting occurred in the heart of Oakland's black ghetto. Huey is a black man, a resident of Oakland's black ghetto, and the two cops were white and lived in the white suburbs. On the night that the shooting occurred, there were 400 years of oppression of black people by white people focused and manifested in the incident. We are at that crossroads in history where black people are determined to bring down the final curtain on the drama of their struggle to free themselves from the boot of the white man that is on their collective neck. Huey Newton knew that the chief instrument of oppression of black people in America is the police departments of the cities. Through murder, brutality, and the terror of their image, the police of America have kept black people intimidated, locked in a mortal fear, and paralyzed in their bid for freedom. He knew that the power of the police over black people has to be broken if we are to be liberated from our bondage. These gestapo dogs are not holy, they are not angels, and there is no more mystery surrounding them. They are brutal beasts who have been gunning down black people and getting away with it. They call this 'justifiable homicide' carried out by an officer of the law in the line of duty. Black people understand that this is very true--but not in the way that the lying mass media would have people believe.

"The 'duty' that these wretched jackals are carrying out is to keep the niggers in check; the peace that they are charged with keeping is the peace of the power structure, the peace of the Bank of America and General Motors. To perform their duty, they must necessarily disturb the peace of black people. In fact, black people have had no peace since the first day they set foot on this bloody Babylonian soil called America. Peace is what black people seek, what they are determined to have. Peace is what is being withheld from black people.

"Every week, from every corner of America, we hear the reports of how some cop has shot and killed some black man, woman or child. We are sick and tired of hearing such news and we don't want to hear any more. The only way that is can be from now on is that there will be no more reports of black people being massacred or we want to hear more reports about more dead cops shot down by black men. There can be no two ways about it, there can no longer be a double standard, one for black people and one for white people, one for cops with guns and one for black men with guns. Either human life is sacred or it is not. If human life is sacred then we must demand that black life also be considered sacred.

"The racist dog Oakland cops say that this dead cop is the first one who has been killed 'in the line of duty' in twenty eyars. Yet that same Oakland police force has shot and killed scores of black men and women in that same period. What about them? Don't they count? Who is keeping the statistics about them? And what are we supposed to do about that? Are we supposed to just sit back calmly and add another digit to the statistics everytime another black person is killed by an Oakland cop? We know that that is what they want us to do -- but we are here to say that those days are gone! Does everybody understand that? THOSE DAY ARE GONE! THE DAY WHEN A COP CAN SHOOT A BLACK MAN, WOMAN, OR CHILD DOWN IN COLD BLOOD AND HAVE IT RULED JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE IS GONE FOREVER. FROM NOW ON WE SAY: ONE MAN, ONE LIFE!"

b2  
b7D

On May 16, 1968, [redacted] Campus Police, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California, provided a copy of a flyer which was released on the campus by the Black Student Union. This flyer is captioned "Credo for Riotors and Looters" and indicates it was written by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party.

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

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

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

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

SF 100-55520

FL:jl

B. Statements Attributed to Cleaver  
In Newspaper Articles

An article appearing in the May 22, 1967, issue of "The Militant" weekly newspaper of the SWP captioned "San Francisco Symposium on Malcolm X" reads in part as follows:

"Eldridge Cleaver blamed the police for the near hysterical reactions against the Black Panthers. 'If they had known the law', said Cleaver, 'it never would have happened. We have no choice but to fight this out to the bitter end and the only end is the complete exoneration of all of those who protested and participated in the exercise of their rights.'"

An article captioned "Black Panthers To Use Violence" which appeared in the November 28, 1967, issue of "The Daily Californian", the University of California at Berkeley newspaper reads in part as follows:

"'There will be no more rocks and bottles. Now it's hand grenades, dynamite, and machine guns.'

"That was the essence of a recent interview with the Minister of Information of Oakland's Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, a radical Black organization.

"Speaking anonymously, 'for reasons of compelling security,' the Minister said, 'It's going to be a blood bath.'

"He was referring to the building confrontation between whites and militant blacks in the nation's ghettos--particularly in Oakland.

"Explaining the Panther view of the racial situation, he said, 'The police are viewed as the occupying army in a colonial situation.'

"The basic demand is 'withdraw or be driven out. . .'

"'The incident occurred in the Black community. The cops are mercenaries who must be driven out,' the Information Minister said. . .'

"Concerning the possibility of a violent upheaval in Oakland, he said, 'It's inevitable.'

"'Black people have traveled the whole spectrum of protest from marches to sit-ins to stones and bricks and nothing has worked.

"'We have made a great effort to tell the people in Oakland that rocks and bottles won't do anything. It's going to be guns,' he warned.

"The Minister offered many reasons for the violent nature of the predicted upheaval.

"He said the 'Oakland cops are savage and brutal --worse than anyone else maybe excepting Mississippi cops. Where the occupying army is the most brutal is where the response will be most implacable.'

"'It will be a blood bath,' he reaffirmed."

An article captioned "Panther Warns Negroes" which appeared in the "Berkeley Daily Gazette" of Berkeley, California, on March 2, 1968, indicates that CLEAVER delivered an anti-police--pro-student talk to the University of California on Sproul Hall steps in which he advised students to bring pressure on local city councils and school

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

boards to bring about a peaceful resolution to civil rights tensions. The article indicates he had harsh words for Negroes who corroborated with police and advised Panthers to greet police officers with a shotgun if any should seek entry to their residence.


An article captioned "Panther Leader Asks Ballot on Separation" appeared in the March 25, 1968, issue of "The Militant". This article indicates that CLEAVER called for a plebiscite to be held in black communities throughout the nation to decide whether "they want to be separated into a sovereign nation of their own."

CLEAVER stated that in this black colony only black colonial subjects would be allowed to participate in determining their national destiny.

An article captioned "Panther Philosophy Outlined" which appeared in the March 15, 1968, issue of "The Advocate" the Contra Costa College Newspaper, San Pablo, California, quoted CLEAVER as having said that if HUEY NEWTON, Defense Minister of the BPP, who is accused of killing an Oakland policeman is killed, there will be a civil war in the United States.

#### C. Speeches Made

At the BPP meeting held at St. Philip's Church in Oakland, on January 21, 1968, CLEAVER spoke for about 20 minutes stressing the importance of raising funds for the defense of HUEY NEWTON and concerning this he stated the Black Panther Party members "should feel justified to rob, steal, and if necessary, to kill in order to get what they need for the support of their organization."

  
1/22/68

b2  
b7D

At the Black Panther Party meeting held at St. Philip's Church in Oakland, on February 11, 1968, CLEAVER gave a 20 minute talk. The theme of his talk was that the BPP

SF 100-55520

FL:jl

is a revolutionary political organization and the members of the Party should feel justified in stealing, robbing or carrying anything they need from "the man" because white people have for 400 years cheated and stolen from the black race.



2712768

b2  
b7D

At the March 16, 1968, session of the Peace and Freedom Party State Convention, held at the Richmond Auditorium, Richmond, California, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, BPP, gave a speech in which he read from a document entitled, "Black Paper - Revolution in the White Mother Country and National Liberation in the Black Colony." Excerpts from his speech are set forth as follows:

"The Black Panther Party believes that the era in which we now struggle can be characterized as the Age of Showdown - between Oppressed People Everywhere and the Racist Imperial Power Structure. The era can be further defined as that in which significant sectors of the exploiters have turned away from the system, have declared war upon the system that has warped their lives and tainted their existence at the same time that it was doing the same thing and worse to those whom it oppresses. We recognize these alienated people as allies or potential allies in a struggle against a common enemy.

"We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition, our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the black colony . . .

"Ideally, we need a revolutionary organization that is able to, guided by revolutionary ideology and comprehending the necessity involved, move in two directions at the same time . . .



"The Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in the Bay Area (San Francisco, Alameda, and Contra Costa Counties, California) have been experimenting over the past few months with a very narrow coalition around a very broad subject. The focal point of the coalition is now, and always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications . . .

"We have offered our leader, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, as a candidate for the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County, and we have offered our Chairman, Bobby Seale, as a candidate for the 17th Assembly District. In San Francisco, we have offered our communications secretary, Kathleen Cleaver, for a candidate in the 18th Assembly District. The advantages in doing this are manifold. First and foremost, we are interested in setting Huey P. Newton free."

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]  
Oakland Police Department  
Oakland, California  
3/26/68

#### V. MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

On March 22, 1968, the California Adult Authority authorized the Subject to travel to New York City.

[REDACTED]  
3/27/68

b2  
b7D

Four Black Panther Party members, including the Subject, were in New York City during March, 1968, primarily to arrange matters relating to a book recently written by one of the BPP members. While these individuals were in

SF 100-55520  
FL:jl

New York they also attended a rally for MAX STANFORD.

[REDACTED]  
4/24/68

MAX STANFORD is the leader of  
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).  
A characterization of RAM  
appears in the Appendix.

b2  
b7D

The Subject had an introductory subscription to  
"The Militant".

[REDACTED]  
4/5/68

An article captioned "Cleaver Running for President"  
appearing in the May 14, 1968, edition of the "San  
Francisco Chronicle" reads in part as follows:

"Eldridge Cleaver, the imprisoned  
Black Panther leader, announced his  
candidacy yesterday for the presidency  
of the United States.

"Cleaver will run against Comedian  
Dick Gregory for the nomination next  
July of the Peace and Freedom Party,  
which is on the ballot in California,  
New York and three other states."

An article captioned "Panthers Run Cleaver  
For President" appearing in the May 18, 1968, issue of  
the "People's World" reads in part as follows:

"The Black Panther Party also announced  
May 13, the candidacy of Cleaver, the party's  
minister of information and author of 'Soul on Ice,'  
for the U.S. presidency.

SF 100-55520

FL:jl

"Cleaver's candidacy, said Mrs. Kathleen  
Cleaver at a San Francisco press conference  
May 13, was in response to the 'bullets, bombs  
and bullshit' with which America's rulers have  
met the mounting fight for national  
liberation here and around the world."

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.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 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 program.

1.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX



2.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On February 28, 1966, a second confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Harlem, New York.

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

Characterizations of MMI and NOI are set out separately.

APPENDIX

1.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

APPENDIX

2.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it will most likely be where STANFORD resides.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

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."

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

---

APPENDIX

---

1.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

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

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

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

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

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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

APPENDIX



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

June 28, 1968

Title	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Report of SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span> dated and captioned as above, at San Francisco.

b6  
b7C

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *not*

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251) DATE: 6/28/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
Eldridge CleaverCards UTD  
Cards Sent 00  
11/18/68  
aa

(12)

2  
mas

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"/> Tab Detcom <input type="checkbox"/> Delete Detcom
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> SWP	<input type="checkbox"/> JFG	<input type="checkbox"/> SPL
<input type="checkbox"/> WWP	<input type="checkbox"/> SDS	<input type="checkbox"/> PLP	<input type="checkbox"/> ANA
<input type="checkbox"/> NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> RAM	<input type="checkbox"/> SNC	<input type="checkbox"/> POC
		<input type="checkbox"/> PPA	<input type="checkbox"/> BNT
		<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous ( <i>specify</i> ) _____	
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.		Residence Address  2500 Filbert Street San Francisco, California 100-447251- NOT RECORDED	
Key Facility Data		8 JUL 1 1968	
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility _____	

REGISTERED MAIL

 100-447251-2 - Bureau (RM) (Encs. 2)  
 1 - San Francisco  
 FL:jl  
 (3)
ENCLOSURE DETACHED  
AND HANDLED SEPARATELY

54 JUL 9 1968

 INT SEC.  
 Ransel Intell. Sec.  
 [Signature]
b6  
b7C



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

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

June 28, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT:

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

REFERENCE:

San Francisco letter, 12/26/67.

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: 2500 Filbert Street  
San Francisco, California

Employment:

Copy to SS  
by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action  
date 7/8/68  
by Epg/mh

54 JUL 9 1968

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.

100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED  
8 JUL 1 1968

INT 800

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Director, FBI (105-165706) EHL

7/2/69

Legat, Bern (157-7) (RUC)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - UNDERGROUND  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBulet 6/18/69.

Since [redacted] sources do not appear to be in a position to furnish information concerning a Black Panther underground apparatus or data regarding the manner in which LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER managed to make his way to a sympathetic foreign country, they are not being contacted in this matter.

b7D

The Embassy has been requested separately to alert the [redacted] to Bureau interest in CLEAVER.

- ③ - Bureau  
(1 - Liaison)  
1 - Bern  
HDG:rn  
(4)

FISO  
60 JUL 17 1969

100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED  
183 JUL 14 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-1343

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

FBI

Date: 7/3/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)  
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)(C)  
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL  
RM - SNCC

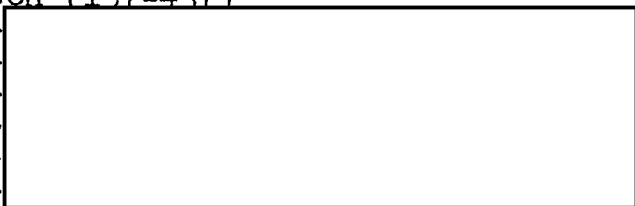
Re Boston teletype to Director dated 6/29/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning visit of STOKELY CARMICHAEL to Boston, Mass., on 6/28/68. Copies are designated for WFO(00) and Atlanta (Info). Local dissemination is being made to NISO, OSI, 108th MI Group, and USA, Boston.

The letterhead memorandum is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since the information it contains, furnished by the sources mentioned, could logically result in their identification and jeopardize their future activities.

4-Bureau (100-446080) (enc. 11) (RM)  
(1 - 100-447251)  
2-WFO (100-43503) (enc. 2) (RM)  
1-Atlanta (100-6812) (enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
10-Boston (157-437)

(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -  
(1 -



(157-637) (LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER)

RWK:nr  
(17)

b6  
b7C

CARBON COPY

NOT RECORDED

152 JUL 11 1968

ENCLOSURE

51 JUL 18 1968

Special Agent in Charge

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

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-1763

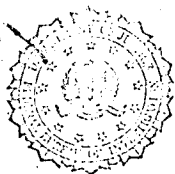
BS 157-437

These sources are in the order mentioned:

b2  
b7D



Surveillance was taken up at the YMCA, Roxbury, Mass., on 6/28/68. CARMICHAEL was not observed to leave the YMCA.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

July 3, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-18-2005

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On June 26, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the United Front, an organization made up of representatives of some of the Negro civil rights groups in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and organized at the suggestion of Stokely Carmichael to build Black Power, planned to meet on the evening of June 28, 1968, at 7:30 PM at the YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury. The co-chairmen of the United Front, [redacted] [redacted] announced that Stokely Carmichael would be present to address the group.

b6  
b7C

Source advised that [redacted] is a militant Negro and a member of the Boston Chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

A characterization of SNCC appears in the appendix.

Source advised that [redacted] is a militant Negro [redacted] of the Boston Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

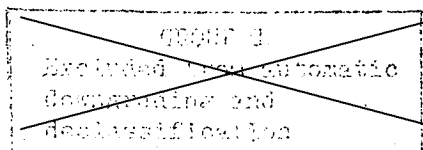
b6  
b7C

On June 28, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was observed at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, by [redacted] of the Massachusetts State Police. Carmichael was observed entering a car driven by an unidentified male Negro appearing to be between the age of twenty-five - thirty years. The car bore Massachusetts registration [redacted]

b6  
b7C

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE



ENCLOSURE



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Records of the Registry of Motor Vehicles,  
100 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts, checked on  
June 13, 1968, show this plate was issued to [redacted]  
[redacted] Roxbury, for  
a 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

On July 2, 1968, [redacted] identified  
a photograph of [redacted] as the driver of the  
above-described 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

b6  
b7C

On July 2, 1968, the first source advised that  
[redacted] is the head of the Boston branch of SNCC.

On February 26, 1968, [redacted]  
[redacted] Oakland,  
California Police Department, advised  
that during the period December 12-25,  
1967, a telephone call was made from the  
telephone of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver [redacted]

[redacted] San Francisco,  
California, to [redacted] The subscriber  
to this number is [redacted]

b6  
b7C

On July 2, 1968, [redacted] was interviewed  
at his place of employment, the Cambridge Research Laboratory,  
Wanscom Air Force Base, Bedford, Massachusetts. He stated that  
[redacted] owns a 1965  
Plymouth sedan, white, and is a friend of [redacted]  
[redacted]

Another friend [redacted] who  
attended Michigan State University, Lansing, Michigan, with  
[redacted] believes that [redacted] is active in SNCC  
affairs and, on occasion, [redacted] stays at the [redacted] residence  
when he is in Boston, Massachusetts. [redacted] believes that  
[redacted] may have been staying at his residence during the  
period December 12-25, 1967.

b6  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] stated he is not acquainted with Stokely Carmichael and that he is not involved in any way with SNCC. [redacted]  
[redacted]

On February 17, 1968, LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver was publicly identified at the Huey Newton Defense Fund rally at the Black Panther Party For Self Defense (BPPSD) held at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California, as the Minister of Information of the BPPSD.

The November 23, 1967 issue of "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," official publication of BPPSD, listed Kathleen Neal as the assistant editor of that publication and listed the editor of that publication as Minister of Information (Underground).

The January 25, 1968 issue of the "Daily Californian," University of California at Berkeley student newspaper, on page 3, column 1, identified Kathleen Cleaver as the Communications Secretary of the BPPSD.

A characterization of the BPPSD is found in the appendix.

On June 28, 1968, an unidentified male employee of the Roxbury YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, advised that Stokely Carmichael had entered the YMCA about 8:15 PM on that date and was attending a meeting in one of the conference rooms in the YMCA. This meeting concluded at 10:50 PM.

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX1.BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

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

1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

979602

7-11-68

Director, FBI (100-447251)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Rerep SA  dated 6-28-68.

b6  
b7c

Page 10 of the report shows that the subject was scheduled to speak on 3-25-68 at California State College at Hayward and at a pro-Viet Cong rally on 3-2-68. No information was set out as to whether or not he appeared. Clarify in the next report.

On page 23 reference is made to a rally for the subject held in San Francisco on 5-31-68. This information is attributed to the "San Francisco Chronicle." It seems unlikely that a public demonstration of this kind would not have been covered by any source of your office and, if it was, the information should have been attributed to that source. When reporting such an occurrence which was not covered by any source of your office or any police source, it would be useful to include a statement to that effect in the cover page of the report to show that the use of a newspaper account, rather than a report from an informant or a source, was justified.

The same observations are pertinent with regard to the report of a speech made by the subject at the University of California on or about 3-2-68.

You should continue to obtain details concerning the subject's arrests, it being noted that he had narcotic and burglary arrests in Los Angeles between 1950 and 1954,

RMH:mk1  
(4)

ST-113

REC-35

JUL 12 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JUL 1 1968  
COMM - FBI

11  
10  
9  
8  
7  
6  
5  
4  
3  
2  
1

F-171  
JUL 18 1968  
man

100-447251-20

44  
ONE

Letter to San Francisco  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

in view of the prominence of the subject in the black nationalist movement and his leadership position in the Black Panther Party. Such data should be obtained for information and for possible future use.

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 01-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

DATE 7/18/68

DATE: 7/18/68

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-637) (C)

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re Bureau letter to Boston dated 5/24/68 in captioned matter; Boston airtel and LHM to Director dated 7/3/68 captioned: "STOKELY CARMICHAEL; RM - SNCC," cc to Bufile in captioned matter.

It is noted that referenced LHM dated 7/3/68 on pages 2 and 3 contained the results of interview with [redacted], which leads to the conclusion that the telephone calls made to his residence during the period 12/12 through 12/25/67 were made either to [redacted]

b6  
b7C

References in referenced Bureau letter to Boston dated 5/24/68 in paragraphs 2 and 3 concerning [redacted] do not appear to be such as to warrant SGE investigation.

Information in Boston files concerning [redacted] depicts him to be a very responsible and cooperative individual who enjoys an excellent reputation.

The following confidential informants, who are familiar with racial and black nationalist activities in the Boston area, were contacted on dates indicated and could furnish no pertinent information concerning [redacted]

b6  
b7C

## SOURCE

## DATE

b2

## AGENT

[redacted]

7/9/68

b6

b7C

SA

b7D

7/9/68

SA

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Boston (157-637)  
(1 - 157-638)

RMK:mej  
(4)

REC 17

14 JUL 19 1968

57 JUL 31 1968



5010-108

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

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
806

BS 157-637

SOURCE

DATE

7/9/68

7/12/68

AGENT

SA

SA

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

In view of the above, it is not felt that  
[ ] is the proper subject for a letter and memorandum  
under the SGE character; and such will not be submitted  
UACB.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/ELH 157-637

TO : SAC, Boston (Your file 157-637) DATE: 7/9/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-44725)

Room No. Room 804

SUBJECT:

Keray Eldridge C. Cleaver  
RM-OPP

☒ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)

Rebulet 5/24/68 requesting letter on  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

- ☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

- ☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted on or about  
☐ report ☐ will be submitted 7-30-68  
☒ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter

Reporting employee \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation  
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo  
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ 90-day progress letter by \_\_\_\_\_

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PROSECUTION <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
JUL 10 1968	
FBI - BOSTON	
(Date)	

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

FBI WASH DC

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

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	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED JUL 22 1968  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
FBI BOSTON EHL

TELETYPE

428PM URGENT 7/22/68 1P PJS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 & SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520  
FROM BOSTON 157-637

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RACIAL MATTERS DASH BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY.

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN THE  
PAST ADVISED TODAY THAT LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, A LEADER  
OF THE BPP IN SAN FRANCISCO, WILL SPEAK AT A RALLY AT THE  
BOSTON COMMON, BOSTON, MASS., TONIGHT AT SEVEN THIRTY P.M.  
THE RALLY IS BEING SPONSORED BY THE BPP, SNCC AND PEACE  
AND FREEDOM PARTY. CLEAVER WILL SPEAK IN BEHALF OF HUEY  
P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND. HUEY NEWTON IS INCARCERATED IN  
ALAMEDA COUNTY JAIL, OAKLAND, CALIF., AWAITING TRIAL ON  
CHARGE OF MURDER OF AN OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER.

CLEAVER ALSO PLANS TO SPEAK IN ROXBURY, MASS. AT SEVEN  
P.M., TONIGHT IN THE HOPE OF ATTRACTING LARGE NEGRO SUPPORT  
AT THE COMMON RALLY.

BOSTON FOLLOWING CLOSELY. LOCAL AGENCIES AND BOSTON  
P.D. ADVISED.

END

GMA

FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

57 JUL 30 1968

REC-58

15 JUL 24 1968

b6  
b7C

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 BSC

FBI WASH DC  
TAM/ELT/EHL

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 \_\_\_\_\_

FBI SAN FRAN

334PM DEFERRED 7-22-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) BOSTON (157-637) & NEW YORK  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 1P

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RE BOSTON TEL THIS DATE.

ADVISED SUBJECT

DOES NOT HAVE HIS PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO BOSTON FROM NEW YORK.  
HE REQUESTED HE BE ADVISED IF SUBJECT DOES APPEAR IN BOSTON THIS  
DATE.

FOR INFO BOSTON, SUBJECT MAY BE ACCOMPANIED IN NEW YORK BY

[REDACTED] OF THE BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY, EITHER OF WHOM MAY APPEAR IN HIS STEAD. HE HAS AUTHORITY  
FOR NEW YORK TRIP.

FOR INFO NEW YORK, BOSTON SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT TO SPEAK  
AT BOSTON COMMON, BOSTON, TONIGHT AT SEVEN THIRTY P.M.

END

LPT

FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR

51 AUG 9 1968

1968

FBI WASH DC

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

JUL 22 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI BOSTON

1135PM URGENT 7-22-68 WMG

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520  
FROM BOSTON 157-637

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER RM-BPP.

RE BOSTON TEL INSTANT.

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST,  
ADVISED TODAY THAT LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, A LEADER OF THE BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY (BPP) FROM SAN FRANCISCO CALIF. DID NOT APPEAR ON  
THE BOSTON COMMON, BOSTON MASS. AS SCHEDULED. THE SOURCE ADVISED  
THAT FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE, MOSTLY WHITE, GATHERED ON THE BOSTON  
COMMON AT APPROXIMATELY EIGHT THIRTY P.M. TODAY AND LISTENED TO  
LOCAL NEGRO LEADERS SPEAK MAINLY ABOUT BLACK POWER GENERALLY.  
RUMORS CIRCULATED AMONG THE CROWD THAT CLEAVER WAS ON AN AIRPLANE  
CIRCLING BOSTON BUT THE PLANE WOULD NOT LAND FOR SOME UNEXPLAINED  
REASON.

REC 49

SOME OF BOSTON'S LOCAL NEGRO LEADERS ADDRESSED THE RALLY, JUL 24 1968  
INCLUDING LEROY BOSTON, WHO REPRESENTED THE BOSTON CHAPTER OF THE  
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE; HE MADE THE USUAL  
"BLACK POWER" TYPE SPEECH DURING WHICH HE EMPHASIZED BLACK SELF-HELP  
AND CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY BY BLACKS. REVEREND VERNON

END PAGE 10VE

54 AUG 1 1968

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	_____

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

PAGE TWO

CARTER, A LOCAL NEGRO CHURCHMEN ALSO SPOKE ALONG THE SAME LINES.

THE RALLY BROKE UP AT APPROXIMATELY NINE FORTYFIVE P.M. AND  
THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS AND NO ARRESTS. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

SLB

FBI WASH DC

*cc Mr. Trainor*

F B I

Date: 7-23-68

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-637) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP  
OO: SAN FRANCISCOALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/2/82 BY sp5 jg/rpRe Boston teletype to Bureau and San Francisco  
dated 7-22-68.Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies  
of an LHM concerning subject's proposed appearance at  
a rally on the Boston Common, 7-22-68. Four copies of  
the LHM are enclosed for San Francisco.b2  
b7DA source utilized in the LHM is Copies of the LHM are being disseminated locally  
to the following:

108th MI Group, Boston

NISO, Boston

USA, Boston

Secret Service, Boston

OSI, Westover AFB, Mass.

1cc Airtel to LHM 804 980

AGENCY: ~~AC~~ ~~SEC. SERV.~~, SEC. SERV.DEPT: ISD, ~~CRD~~, ~~DAO~~ ~~DDT~~ 4HOW FORW: R/SDATE FORW: 7/25/68BY: RMH/SPK

REC 11

100-447251-25

JUL 25 1968

b6  
b7C

- 3-Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 4-San Francisco (Enc. 4) (RM)
- (2 - 100-55520) (CLEAVER)
- (1 - 157- )
- (1 - 157- ) (BPPSD)
- 4-Boston
- (1 - 157-637)

b6  
b7C

//ENCLOSURE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

- (1 - 100-35267) (SNCC)
- (1 - 100-38509) (Peace and Freedom Party)

M

Per



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts

July 23, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5/JP/vp  
ON 3/2/82

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

A source advised on July 22, 1968, that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, a leader of the Black Panther Party (BPP), in San Francisco, California, was scheduled to speak that evening at a rally on the Boston Common, Boston, Massachusetts at 7:30 p.m. According to the source, the rally was being sponsored by the BPP, the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) and Cleaver was to speak in behalf of the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund.

Huey P. Newton is currently incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California awaiting trial on the charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

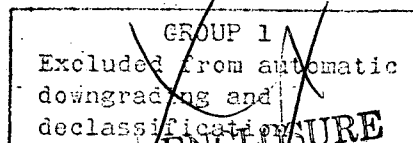
The source further advised that Cleaver also planned to speak in Roxbury, Massachusetts at 7:00 p.m., that evening in the hope of attracting a large amount of Negro support for the Common rally.

Later on July 22, 1968, the source advised that Cleaver did not appear on the Boston Common as scheduled. Rumors circulated among the crowd that an airplane containing Cleaver was circling Boston but would not land for some unexplainable reason. According to the source, approximately 500 people, mostly white, gathered on the Boston Common and listened to Boston local Negro leaders speak about black power generally. The source advised that although there were about 2,000 people in the area of the rally, only about 500 seemed to be sitting down and attentive to the speakers.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 MAY 3 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



100 - 447251 - 25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

*memo*  
Among Boston's local Negro leaders who addressed the rally were Leroy ~~Boston~~, who represented the Boston chapter of SNCC and Reverend Verner ~~Carter~~, a local churchman and civil rights advocate. Both of these speakers talked about black power, emphasizing the need for black self help and urged control of the black communities by blacks.

The rally broke up at approximately 9:45 p.m., without incidents or arrests.

*memo*  
On July 23, 1968, a source advised that he had later learned that the rally was also addressed by Bobby ~~Seale~~, a DPP official from Oakland, California who advocated in his speech that people should carry guns for self-defense against their oppressors. Seale also stated that power for people comes out of the barrel of a gun and that a bloody revolution is the only way to get a new government to the people.

It is noted that Bobby George ~~Seale~~ is further described in the characterization of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense which is attached hereto. *Lyons*

Also attached hereto are characterizations of the SNCC and the Peace and Freedom Party.

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

APPENDIX

PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY

On March 21, 1968, a source furnished a document captioned "A Brief History of the Peace and Freedom Party." This document states as follows:

The history of the Peace and Freedom Party would be a lot easier to write if it had started at a certain place on a certain date and grown according to a strategy determined by certain people in some central office. Then it would only be necessary to fill in names and dates. But in fact the Party has pretty much grown up by itself all over the state in different counties at different times, without any central planning and certainly without any central source of funds.

The Peace and Freedom Party has been able to spring up like wild flowers because the peace and freedom MOVEMENT is something much bigger than any organization. The movement has consisted of student free-speech fights, civil rights actions, black power organizing, and a broad wave of protest against the war ranging from circulating of petitions to draft resistance.

In 1966 outspoken peace candidates contested the Democratic primaries in six different Congressional Districts in California and in many other places throughout the nation. These candidates did not expect to win; their purpose was to crack open the war "consensus." They made encouraging showings ranging from 40 per cent to 48 per cent of the vote. This first electoral expression of the peace and freedom movement went under the name of New Politics. These campaigns left behind ongoing organizations in some areas, and informal lines of communication between "New Politics" activists in others.

In September, 1966, these groups called a statewide conference on Power and Politics in Los Angeles, which passed a resolution against supporting either Brown or Reagan for Governor. While of little practical significance it showed evidence of a new mood - to work for political independence rather than forever choosing between "lesser" and "greater" evils.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2.

APPENDIX

PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY

By the summer of 1967, some New Politics people wanted to keep running contests inside Democratic primaries, and others wanted to run independent candidates. Those interested in independent campaigns checked the laws and found that there were only two ways to do it at a state-wide level; either by collecting 670,000 petition signatures or by registering 67,000 voters into a new party. At a meeting in September, about 125 people attended and voted to launch a re-registration drive to create a Peace and Freedom Party and qualify it for the ballot.

This September meeting, held in San Luis Obispo, passed a resolution for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and in support of the Black Power movement. This resolution was intended to establish the general political orientation of the Peace and Freedom registration drive, for it was understood that a specific platform could only be worked out at a broad, representative convention of the party.

It was impossible at the San Luis Obispo meeting to set up a state-wide office for central coordination of the drive. The participants went back to their respective counties and organized registration drives there, raising funds and publishing literature as individual counties. By the end of November, registration drives were going on in 19 different counties; 25,000 Californians had registered Peace and Freedom; and the groundwork had been laid for a big December push. On December 3, representatives from 15 counties met to report on progress, exchange advice, and set February 22-25 as the dates for a statewide Peace and Freedom Party Convention. This is the history of the Party in California.

The Peace and Freedom Party, growing out of the anti-war movement as it does, takes the position that the U.S. never had any legitimate business in Vietnam, has no legitimate business there now, and ought to get out forthwith.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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

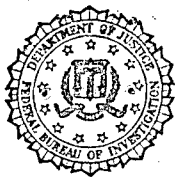
A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel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

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

July 23, 1968

Title

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character

RACIAL MATTERS - BPP

Reference

Letterhead memorandum  
dated and captioned as  
above at Boston,  
Massachusetts.

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

FBI WASH DC

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

JUL 23 1968

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

340PM URGENT 7-23-68 TE

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), NEW YORK, NEWARK AND BUFFALO  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM-BPP.

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 \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

RE NEWARK TELETYPE ENTITLED, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY"  
AND SAN FRANCISCO PHONE CALL THIS DATE.

SUBJECT, MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BPP, DOES NOT  
HAVE PERMISSION FROM PAROLE OFFICER, SAN FRANCISCO, TO TRAVEL  
TO NEWARK. PAROLE OFFICER REQUESTS HE BE ADVISED IF SUBJECT  
DOES APPEAR OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK, OTHER THAN XEROX CO., ROCHESTER,  
NEW YORK, JULY TWENTYSIX.

CLEAVER DESCRIBED NMA, BORN EIGHT THIRTYONE THIRTY-  
FIVE, SIX FEET TWO INCHES, ONE EIGHTYFIVE POUNDS, BLACK HAIR,  
ABOUT TWO INCHES AFRICAN CUT, MUSTACHE AND BEARD.

PHOTO AND DESCRIPTION OF BOBBY GEORGE SEALE IS IN  
BLACK NATIONALIST ALBUM.

REC-23

b6  
b7C

DESCRIBED NMA, BORN

4 JUL 26 1968

NEWARK SUTEL IF CLEAVER APPEARS NEWARK AS SCHEDULED.

END

LPT

FBI WASH DC  
MR. TRAINOR  
53 AUG 5 1968 ROOM 836 9&D

ENCIPHERED

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 \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

WASHINGTON --02--

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

NEQ YORK --02--

2:06 AM URGENT 7/24/68 EJC

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520), NEW YORK AND BUFFALO  
SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEWARK (157-2679) (PLAIN TEXT)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BPP

RE SF TEL TO BUREAU SEVEN TWENTY THREE SIXTY EIGHT.

AT THIS TIME NEWARK HAS NO INFORMATION REGARDING ATTENDANCE OF CLEAVER AT BPP MEETING NEWARK, NJ, SEVEN TWENTY THREE SIXTY EIGHT.

END

WA RM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

NY..

REC- 71

100-447251-27

4 JUL 26 1968

**TELETYPED TO:**

700 11 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100

SF  
~~248~~  
 AUG 2 1968  
 COMM 836 9&D

DATE: 02-21-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/CA/EL

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

Classification per OGA letter  
dated 01-30-2006

FBI NEW YORK

6-04 PM URGENT 7-25-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO (CODE)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON  
ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
FROM NEW YORK 100- IP

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; [REDACTED] RACIAL MATTERS.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE IN THE PAST, ADVISED  
INSTANT DATE CLEAVEER DEPARTED NYC AFTERNOON OF INSTANT DATE  
FOR OAKLAND CALIFORNIA VIA COMMERCIAL AIRLINE. NAME UNDER  
WHICH HE IS TRAVELLING UNKNOWN. (U)

SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED [REDACTED]

OF BPP. (U)

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

EX-114

REC 44

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

END

WA...R RELAY  
FXX JDR

OCT 15 1968

FBI WASH DCX  
TELETYPED TO:

85 AUG 5 1968

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP3D/CJ 12/28/80  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 7/25/88

SECRET

VIA TELETYPE

JUL 25 1968

ENCIPHERED

CONFIDENTIAL

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

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-157



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

JUL 26 1968

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 \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

1006AM DEFERRED 7-26-68 JIVEHL

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), ALBANY, BUFFALO, NEW YORK, LOS ANGELES

AND SAN DIEGO

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P) 1P

LEROI ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] ADVISED SUBJECT OBTAINED  
PERMISSION TO TRAVEL ROCHESTER, NEW YORK THIS DATE AT INVITATION  
XEROX COMPANY; THENCE TO SYRACUSE, NEW YORK JULY TWENTY SEVENTH  
FOR A PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AFFAIR. HE ALSO HAS AUTHORITY TO  
TRAVEL LOS ANGELES JULY TWENTY EIGHT FOR A P&F PARTY MEETING AT  
SIX ONE NINE SOUTH BONNIE BRAE AND SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, AT  
TWENTY NINE ZERO SEVEN IMPERIAL BOULEVARD.

CLEAVER IS MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
AND P&F PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

ABOVE FOR INFO OF RECIPIENT OFFICES. SAN FRANCISCO SHOULD  
BE PROVIDED WITH COPIES OF ANY RESULTING COMMUNICATIONS.

END

JTM

FBI WASH DC

51 AUG 1 1968  
ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C

REC-21

EX-100

100-447251-28  
12 JUL 29 1968

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

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 \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

JUL 27 1968

TELETYPE

FBI ALBANY ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

916 PM DEFERRED 7/27/68 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520

FROM ALBANY 100-20283 1P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL TO DIRECTOR JULY TWO SIX, LAST.

SUBJECT AND WIFE KATHLEEN APPEARED AS SPEAKERS AT PEACE AND  
FREEDOM PARTY RALLY AT LINCOLN SCHOOL AUDITORIUM, SYRACUSE, N.Y.,  
ON AFTERNOON OF JULY TWENTYSEVEN, INSTANT. SUBJECT AND PARTY,  
WHICH INCLUDED THREE OR FOUR GUARDS, TRAVELED FROM ROCHESTER, N.Y.

TO SYRACUSE IN SIXTYTHREE BLUE CHEVROLET SEDAN BEARING NEW JERSEY  
LICENSE [REDACTED] SUBJECT DELIVERED A MODERATELY  
MILITANT SPEECH FOR ABOUT ONE HOUR IN WHICH HE DISCUSSED COLLATION  
OF PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AND BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP). HE  
DENOUNCED THE POLICE IN VEHEMENT AND OBSCENE LANGUAGE. MAJORITY  
OF SPEECH DIRECTED TOWARDS THE RELEASE OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER  
OF DEFENSE, BPP, CURRENTLY INCARCERATED OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

NEWARK IDENTIFY OWNER OF ABOVE CHEVROLET AND CHECK INDICES.

SYRACUSE PD, NYSP AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE COGNIZANT.

LHM FOLLOWS. AIR MAIL COPY TO NEWARK WITH XEROX COPY OF REF.

TEL. (P)

END

SAA

FBI WASH DC

1968

56 AUG

cc - Mr. Trainor

b6  
b7C

REC-27 100-447251-29  
1 AUG 1 1968  
500 12/15/7

TELETYPE  
1968  
ENCIPHERED

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 \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

WASHINGTON DC ---02---

1:43 AM URGENT 7-30-68 BRS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) PLAINTEXT  
FROM SAN DIEGO (100-13978)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY--LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER--RM.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE JULY TWENTY SIX.

CLEAVER ARRIVED SAN DIEGO THREE PM JULY TWENTY NINE INSTANT  
AND WAS INTERVIEWED AT CHANNEL EIGHT TELEVISION FOR NEWS SPOT  
TONIGHT. HE WILL SPEAK AT EIGHT THIRTY PM AT LIFE SCIENCE BUILDING,  
ROOM THREE HUNDRED, SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE TODAY. ABOVE FURNISHED  
BY [REDACTED] (PROB.) SAN DIEGO PD AND SO AND  
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES ADVISED. PENDING

END

RM FBI WASH DC

22 AUG 1 1968

NOT RECORDED

150 AUG 5 1968

54 AUG - 9 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-4825-20

FBI

Date: 7/31/68

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
 FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20283)(P)  
 SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
 RM - BPP

(OO:SAN FRANCISCO)

Re Albany teletype dated 7/27/68, no copy for  
 Los Angeles and San Diego, San Francisco teletype dated  
 7/26/68, and New York teletype dated 7/31/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau and interested offices  
 are appropriate copies of an LHM in captioned matter relative  
 to the subject's appearance in Syracuse, New York, as a  
 speaker on 7/27/68.

The LHM is classified Confidential since the disclosure  
 of information from [redacted]

[redacted] (a source of continuing value,

CC: 3-Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)  
 1-Buffalo (Enc. 1)(RM)(Info)  
 1-Los Angeles (Enc. 1)(RM)(Info)  
 2-Newark (Encs. 2)(RM)  
 2-New York (Encs. 2)(RM)  
 1-San Diego (Enc. 1)(RM)(Info)  
 2-San Francisco (Encs. 2)(RM)(100-55520)  
 6-Albany (1-100-19262)  
 (1-100-19262 sub 8)

REC-30

16 AUG 2 1968

Bishop

RAB:kte

(1-100-Black Panther Party)

b6  
b7CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-19-81 BY 2842 pmv mabm

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

61 AUG 9 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

1cc b6 b7C  
 AGENCY: ACISI, OSI, SEC. SERV.  
 DEPT: ISD, [redacted]  
 HOW FORW: B/S  
 DATE FORW: 8/5/68  
 BY: [redacted]

AL 100-20283

could adversely affect the internal security of the United States. Sources referred to in the LHM are as follows:

1. [redacted]  
[redacted] Syracuse, New York.
2. [redacted]  
[redacted] Syracuse [redacted]
3. [redacted]  
[redacted], NYSP.
4. [redacted] Syracuse,  
New York [redacted]
5. [redacted]  
[redacted] Syracuse, New York PD.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

In an effort to evaluate information furnished by NYO source, as outlined in referenced teletype it should be noted that the American Legion held State convention in Syracuse, New York, during period of BPP visit which was highlighted by a parade from 7:00 p.m., to 11:00 p.m., 7/26/68. [redacted] and Albany Security Index subject was observed marching in this parade together with other members of Eastwood American Legion Post which has been involved in some phase of Minutemen activity. During the parade, as noted in LHM, BPP advance party visited Peace and Freedom office and later stayed overnight at residence of [redacted] [redacted] Syracuse, New York. Both these locations are some distance removed from parade route.

b6  
b7C

AL 100-20283

Neighborhood source and [redacted]  
[redacted] have reported nothing to indicate  
unusual convergence of autos at these places.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Police coverage at Lincoln Auditorium, Syracuse,  
New York, [redacted]  
maintained coverage both inside and outside during CLEAVER's  
speech. No incidents or unusual activities observed by  
SA [redacted]  
across from auditorium. BPP guards upon conclusion of  
affair appeared relaxed and jovial; there was considerable  
chatting outside auditorium after affair concluded without  
overt evidence of animosity on the part of Rally participants.

Numerous photos were taken of persons in attendance  
at function and will be furnished NYO and other offices for  
display to sources, if appropriate.

Copies of the LHM have been disseminated to  
108 MIG, U. S. Secret Service and AUSA, all Syracuse, New York.

Syracuse PD and NYSP were alerted to CLEAVER's  
visit and liaison was maintained with these agencies during  
his stay at Syracuse.

Information copies are being furnished to Buffalo,  
Los Angeles and San Diego in view of subject's scheduled visits  
to their divisions.

NEWARK

Will identify owner of 1963 blue Chevrolet, bearing  
New Jersey license [redacted] search indices and furnish  
pertinent information to OO.

b6  
b7C

AL 100-20283

ALBANY

AT SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Will maintain liaison with racial and police sources in effort to further evaluate information furnished by NYO source.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Albany, New York

July 31, 1968

LERCY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

On July 26, 1968, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past related that arrangements had been made for the appearance of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER as principal speaker at the Peace and Freedom Rally to be held at the Central Technical High School, Lincoln Auditorium, Syracuse, New York, at 3:30 p.m., on July 27, 1968. CLEAVER, who is Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party (BPP) is the presidential candidate for the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP).

The BPP is characterized on the appendix page.

Source observed that according to the participants coming out of the auditorium, the sponsoring group was the Syracuse University Committee on Equality (SUCE). Source noted that this is a student approved organization and was acceptable to the Board of Education as a legitimate sponsoring organization. He noted, however, [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SDS is characterized on the appendix page.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COPIES DESTROYED  
343 MAY 3 1971

DECLASSIFIED ON 6-19-81  
2842 pm/mc/em

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification  
ENCLOSURE

100-447251-30



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

On July 26, 1968, a second Confidential Source who has furnished reliable information in the past, related that an advance contingent of CLEAVER's supporters had arrived in Syracuse on that date to make necessary preparations and effect necessary security prior to CLEAVER's arrival. Source identified the group as consisting of six persons. Three were Negroes and presumably were BPP guards, one was a white female described as being in her early 20's and having blond hair, one was a Puerto Rican and one was a white male, further descriptive data not known. Arrangements had been made for the advance party to stay at the residence of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Source stated that CLEAVER was scheduled to appear in Rochester, New York, on July 26, 1968.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On July 27, 1968, a third Confidential Source, who has furnished reliable information in the past stated that CLEAVER and six other persons departed Rochester, New York, at about 11:00 a.m., destined for Syracuse, New York, on July 27, 1968, in a 1963 blue Chevrolet sedan, bearing a current New Jersey license number [REDACTED]

On July 27, 1968, a fourth Confidential Source, who had furnished reliable information in the past, reported that a blue Chevrolet sedan, bearing New Jersey license [REDACTED] was seen parked in front of the residence of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Syracuse, New York, on the evening of July 26, 1968. Several Negroes, who were occupants of the car were observed entering the [REDACTED] residence.

On July 27, 1968, a fifth Confidential Source who has furnished reliable information in the past, related that CLEAVER and his wife, KATHLEEN appeared as speakers

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

at the Central Technical High School on the afternoon of July 27, 1968. CLEAVER, announced candidate for President on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket addressed a group of about 200 persons for about one hour. He called for a widening of this coalition of the BPP and the PFP. CLEAVER denounced the police in vehement and obscene language. The majority of his speech was directed to the efforts of the BPP and its supporters to achieve the release of HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP, who is presently incarcerated in Oakland, California, on a charge of the murder of an Oakland police officer.

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

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

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

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

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

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Fort Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2015 BY 60309 AUC  
Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

7/31/68

Date

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is minister of information Black Panther Party (BPP), Oakland, California, and is on parole. He received parole officer's permission to visit Xerox Corporation, Rochester and Syracuse, New York.

Buffalo being instructed to alert sources for possible formation of BPP branch. Details concerning attached will be furnished intelligence agencies, and the Department.

RMH:chs

*hr* *WCS*  
*Burd*

UNCLASSIFIED

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

JUL 31 1968

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	

FBI WASH DC

FBI-BUFFALO

645PM URGENT 7-31-68 DAT

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), ALBANY, NEW YORK, NEWARK SAN FRANCISCO.  
FROM BUFFALO (157-649)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-23-80 BY SP3 DB/BA

*RACIAL MATTER*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM-BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

RE SF TEL, JUL TWENTYTHREE LAST, & NY TEL, JUL THIRTY LAST.

SOURCES ROCHESTER, NY, ADVISE CLEAVER, WIFE CATHLEEN, AND ONE

[REDACTED] ARRIVED ROCHESTER VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FROM SAN FRAN-  
CISCO, CALIF., DURING AM, JUL TWENTYSIX LAST. UPON ARRIVAL, GROUP  
REGISTERED MIDTOWN PLAZA HOTEL; LATER, SAME DATE, CHANGED TO  
SHERATON, ROOM THREE ONE ZERO.

CLEAVER, WIFE, [REDACTED] *NEGRO MALES* THREE UNIDENTIFIED N/MS AND ONE UNIDEN-  
*WHITE FEMALE* TIFIED W/F DEPARTED ROCHESTER, JUL TWENTYSEVEN LAST, AT ELEVEN FIF-  
TEEN AM, DESTINED FOR SYRACUSE, NY IN NINETEEN SIXTYTWO CHEVROLET,  
NJ LIC. [REDACTED] DRIVEN BY ONE UNIDENTIFIED N/M.

SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATION INDICATES TWO OF ABOVE UNIDENTIFIED

N/MS MAY POSSIBLY BE [REDACTED] BPP 25 AUG 7 1968

CLEAVER'S VISIT TO ROCHESTER SPONSORED BY AND PAID FOR BY XEROX  
CORP. IN CONNECTION "EARN AND LEARN PROGRAM" ("EALP").

END PAGE ONE

COPY SENT TO [REDACTED] *re ante-restraints.*  
*XOR 8/1/68.*  
5. gth

XEROX  
JUL 31 1968  
57 AUG 13 1968

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

PAGE TWO

ACCORDING TO SOURCES, XEROX CORP., "EALP" COMPRISED APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED FORTY TEENAGERS, AGES SIXTEEN TO EIGHTEEN, MAJORITY OF WHOM ARE NEGRO, WHO ARE ENGAGED IN SUMMER EMPLOYMENT AT XEROX. CLEAVER ADDRESSED GROUP JUL TWENTYSIX LAST. ARRANGEMENTS FOR

b6  
b7C

ACCORDING TO SOURCES, CLEAVER'S ADDRESS TO "EALP" GROUP DEFINITELY CAMPAIGN SPEECH BEHALF BPP AND ATTEMPT AT RECRUITING MEMBERS OF GROUP INTO BPP.

CLEAVER INDICATED TO GROUP IF THEY JOIN BPP, THEY WOULD BE TAUGHT TO SHOOT AND USE FIREARMS, MAKE FIRE BOMBS, WOULD BE UNIFORMED, TRAINED AND TAUGHT TO KILL. CLEAVER INDICATED BPP HAS GUNS AND MATERIAL NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE ABOVE.

CLEAVER ALSO ADVISED GROUP BPP HAS MADE PROGRESS IN HARLEM IN THAT FEW CHAPTERS ALREADY ESTABLISHED THERE.

NEW YORK STATE POLICE (NYSP) AND ROCHESTER POLICE BUREAU WERE ADVISED OF CLEAVER'S VISIT TO ROCHESTER PRIOR TO HIS ARRIVAL.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED] NYSP, AT REQUEST [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] XEROX CORP., ATTEMPT TO ATTEND JULY TWENTYSIX MEETING OF "EALP"; HOWEVER, HIS ENTRY PROHIBITED BY [REDACTED] WHO, UPON LEARNING OF [REDACTED] IDENTITY, BECAME INCENSED AT PRESENCE OF NYSP OFFICER AND INDICATED [REDACTED] PRESENCE WOULD BE VIOLATION CLEAVER'S CIVIL RIGHTS AND IF [REDACTED] INSISTED ON BEING PRESENT, HE [REDACTED] WOULD NOT PERMIT CLEAVER TO SPEAK. AS RESULT ABOVE, [REDACTED] DID NOT ATTEND.

b6  
b7C

INFORMATION CONCERNING [REDACTED] BEING FURNISHED NYO IN EVENT THEY ARE DESIROUS OF FURTHER IDENTIFYING HIM.

IF NOT ALREADY KNOWN, NYO SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
FOR INFORMATION NYO, PHOTOS INDIVIDUALS BELIEVED TO [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] OBTAINED BY NYSP AND WILL BE FURNISHED FOR POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE IN IDENTIFICATION.

b6  
b7C

NEWARK REQUESTED TO DETERMINE REGISTERED OWNER OF NINETEEN SIXTYTWO CHEVROLET WITH NJ LIC. [REDACTED]

ABOVE FURNISHED FOR INFORMATION.. DETAILED COMMUNICATION FOLLOWS.

END

JTM

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL  
WASH 1

RECEIVED  
JUL 31 1968  
FBI - NEW YORK

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

1216AM DEFERRED 7-31-68 WMS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 (PLAINTEXT) ALBANY, BUFFALO, AND SAN FRANCISCO

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

G.C. MOORE

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

Handwritten initials

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER RM-BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CONFIDENTIAL AND RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED SEVEN THIRTY LAST  
THAT CLOSED MEETING HELD BPP HDQTS. BKLYN., NY, EARLY AM, JULY  
TWENTY EIGHT LAST. [Redacted] RELATED ATTEMPTS TO  
ORGANIZE BPP SYRACUSE, NY, JULY TWENTY SIX AND TWENTY SEVEN LAST  
AND OF CONTACT WITH ELDRIDGE CLEAVER "THERE". [Redacted] CLAIMED  
CLEAVER INVOLVED IN FILMING SEGMENT FOR TELEVISION SHOW SPONSORED  
BY XEROX CORP. AND CREATED INCIDENT BY IGNORING SCRIPT. [Redacted] CLAIMED  
CLEAVER THREATENED TO BURN "SYRACUSE, XEROX, AND THE PRESIDENT OF  
XEROX".

NOT RECORDED

152 AUG 9 1968

6 AUG 8 1968

b6  
b7C

SOURCE ADVISED [Redacted] REEATED THAT ORGANIZING NOT CONDUCTED  
SINCE PANTHERS SURROUNDED AT UNDISCLOSED ADDRESS, SYRACUSE BY  
"MINUTEMEN" OCCUPYING ABOUT FIFTEEN AUTOS AND SPENT NIGHT OF JULY  
TWENTY SIX, SIXTY EIGHT HIDING IN HOUSE IN COMPLETE DARKNESS  
FEARING FOR THEIR LIVES SINCE BPP MEMBERS ONLY ARMED WITH KNIVES  
AND HAD NO FIREARMS. [Redacted] VOWED TO RETURN TO SYRACUSE SOON

b6  
b7C

(DATE NOT SPECIFIED) ARMED AS HEAVILY AS POSSIBLE TO GET "LEADER

END PAGE ONE TELETYPE TO:

51 AUG 15 1968

\* Per Supervisor [Redacted]  
at NYO on 8/6/68, this is [Redacted]  
[Redacted] who is under investigation. J. M.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-161321

PAGE TWO

OF MINUTEMEN" AND RESUME ORGANIZING PLAN. SOURCE DESCRIBED CLEAVER  
AS MINISTER OF INFO, BPP.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RESFTEL JULY TWENTY SIX SIXTY EIGHT.

SOURCE USED ABOVE IS [REDACTED] WHO IS

ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOPE ADDITIONAL INFO RE CLEAVER'S ACTIVITIES  
IN SYRACUSE.

ALBANY BEING ADVISED SINCE POSSIBLITY [REDACTED] WAS CONFUSED IN  
LOCATION OF CLEAVER'S ACTIVITY.

END

RM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

27 JUL 1968  
RDM 836 92D

8-5-68

b6  
b7C

airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

1 -

To: SACs, Newark (157-2679)  
Buffalo (157-649)

From: Director, FBI (100-447251) — 32

EX-100  
REC-82  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Reurtel 8-1-68.

Newark recontact New Jersey Division of Motor Vehicles (DMV). Explain that this matter is urgent and determine whether steps can be taken to expeditiously secure the desired registration data. If the DMV is unable or unwilling to assist your office, determine whether it is possible to ascertain the office issuing the pertinent license number. If this is possible, obtain the location of the issuing office and set out an appropriate lead.

Keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent developments.

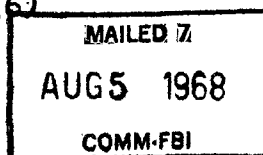
Buffalo is referred to its teletype dated 7-31-68, which identifies the pertinent license number as both [redacted] If the former number is correct, the Bureau and Newark should be immediately advised.

b6  
b7C

ERS:jkb jkh  
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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



56 AUG 14 1968  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

He

git

Airtel to SACs Newark  
Buffalo  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

NOTE:

Captioned subject, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, his wife and others traveled on 7-27-68, from Rochester, to Syracuse, New York, in an automobile bearing New Jersey license [redacted] Newark has advised this is a new license issue not yet in file and that it will take from six to eight weeks to arrive in file. The Black Panther Party is a racial extremist group made up of individuals who are extremely violence prone. It is essential that we identify the owner of this vehicle and determine his activities since he is probably a Black Panther Party member.

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AM  
TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 1 1968  
ENCIPHERED

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	_____

✓(WASHINGTON---1---

AM URGENT 11318-1-68 VMD

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251), ALBANY (100-20283), AND

BUFFALO (157-649) PLAINTEXT

FROM NEWARK (157-2679) (P)

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM-BPP.

*G.C. [Signature]*

RE ALBANY TEL JULY TWENTY SEVEN LAST, NO CC BUFFALO;  
AND BUFFALO TEL JULY THIRTY ONE LAST, NO CC LA.

DMV, NJ, ADVISES NJ LIC [REDACTED] IS NEW  
ISSUE LIC AND NOT IN FILE.

b6  
b7C

DMV, NJ, ADVISES NEW LIC ISSUES TAKE FROM SIX TO EIGHT  
WEEKS TO ARRIVE IN FILE.

b6  
b7C

WHEN AVAILABLE, NJ LIC, INFO, WILL BE OBTAINED AND  
FURNISHED.

MAIL COPIES TO SF AND LA.

END

WLM FBI WASH DC

EX-100

REC 821

100-447251-32

6 AUG 6 1968

cc-MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

*(Postal, DMV, Newark - Ann Haggard - 8-5-68)*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251 )

DATE: 8/5/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) - P

Card UTD

Card sent 00

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
RM - BPP

AGITATOR

**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"/> 02 AVN	<input type="checkbox"/> 08 LA	<input type="checkbox"/> 13 PRN
<input type="checkbox"/> 03 BNAT	<input type="checkbox"/> 09 MIN	<input type="checkbox"/> 14 RAM
<input type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC
<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS
<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE		<input type="checkbox"/> 17 SNCC
		<input type="checkbox"/> 18 SWP
		<input type="checkbox"/> 19 WWP
		<input type="checkbox"/> 99 MISC (Specify)
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Position in Organization	Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)	
Residence Address 2500 Filbert Street San Francisco, California		

## REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San FranciscoFL/jm  
(3)

53 AUG 20 1968

AUG 1 2 12 PM '68

NOT RECORDED

AUG 7 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
DATE: 8-1-68

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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

The subject is author of a reported best-selling book, "Soul On Ice" (McGraw-Hill, 1968), a review of which is set out below.

## BACKGROUND:

Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, a black extremist group with headquarters in Oakland, California. He is also reported to be employed by "Ramparts" magazine. He was released from prison in California in 1966 after serving eight years of a fourteen-year sentence on a charge of assault with a deadly weapon which grew out of an attempted rape. He became involved in a gun battle with Oakland police in April, 1968, and his parole was revoked but he was released when a California judge ruled that the state had not shown failure of rehabilitation and that the revocation of his parole was actually based on his "political activities."

## BOOK REVIEW:

"Soul On Ice" is a series of essays written by Eldridge Cleaver while in prison. Cleaver explained he became a rapist "consciously, deliberately, willfully, and methodically" and assaulted white women as an "insurrectionary act."

Cleaver educated himself while in prison. He read and liked Karl Marx because Marx supported Cleaver's hatred for American capitalism. He went through a variety of religious experiences and eventually settled on the Nation of Islam (NOI).

RMH:sc:ted  
(7)

- 1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
- 1 - (Room 714)
- 1 - Mr. R.M. Horner

REC 36

157-9599-4  
100-447251-32X  
12 AUG 6 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

b6  
b7C

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

AUG 13 1968

AUG 7 1968

UNREC COPY FILED IN 100-468553-

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

He claimed he was the NOI leader in San Quentin Prison and while there defected to Malcolm X.

Much of the book is the usual extremist diatribe against the white race. Cleaver calls the "central event of our era" the racial liberation movement abroad and the Negro revolution at home. He refers to American Negroes as the "black Trojan Horse" and prophesied impending doom for the white imperialists.

The Bureau is referred to on page 87 as follows: "Robert F. Williams was forced to flee to Cuba with the combined terrors of the FBI and the minions of Southern justice snapping at his heels." The Director is referred to on page 113 as follows: "FBI's J. Edgar Hoover, America's flattest foot, periodically issues grave reminders that the left-wingers, having mastered deceit, are almost succeeding in subverting this, and are busily boring from within to take over that."

The book has little value from a racial intelligence standpoint.

ACTION:

None.

WA      P      WCD      JAS/APB      AS

1/2/68



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED **FBI**  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Date:

8/6/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL - REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (157-649) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

b6  
b7C

ReBuairtel, 8/5/68.

For information of Bureau and Newark, correct license  
number relating to this matter is New Jersey license

- ③ - Bureau (AM-RM)  
1 - Newark (157-2679)) (AM-RM)  
1 - Buffalo

WJC:afe  
(5)

REC-34

100-447251-33

17 AUG 8 1968

b6  
b7C

E.C. Bishop

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 8/6/68

Transmit the following in 2005 BY 60309 AUG  
TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-20283) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

b6  
b7C

Re Albany airtel and LHM, 7/31/68.

On 8/2/68,

[redacted] NYSP, Syracuse, N. Y., furnished SA [redacted]  
[redacted] photographs of persons observed entering or leaving  
the Lincoln Auditorium, Central Technical High School, South  
Warren and Adams Streets, Syracuse, N. Y., on the afternoon  
of 7/27/68, during the period of subject's appearance there  
as speaker.

The enclosed photographs numbered 1, 17, 20, 32, 45,  
47, and 48, were obtained from a confidential look-out across  
the street from the side and front entrance of the auditorium.  
Power lighting conditions coupled with the tinted glass windows  
in the plant were contributory factors in the poor quality of  
some of the photographs. However, it is felt that the enclosures  
are suitable for identification purposes and it is requested  
that they be displayed to sources in the BPP.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - New York (Encs. 7) (RM)
  - 1 - Buffalo (157-649) (RM)
  - 1 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
  - 2 - Albany
- RAB:lma  
(9)

EX-100

REC-42

100-447251-34

25 AUG 8 1968

b6  
b7C

C. C. Bishop

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

53 AUG 7 1968

AL 100-20283

Movies were also taken by BCI, NYSP, which will be reviewed at the earliest opportunity. Appropriate action will be taken if results are suitable for identification purposes.

8/7/68

CODE

RADIOGRAM

URGENT

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO SAC HONOLULU <sup>2</sup>

b6  
b7C

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

REURTEL AUGUST ONE LAST ENTITLED "PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY."

BUREAU IS MOST INTERESTED IN ACTIVITIES OF CLEAVER.

ENDEAVOR TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE COVERAGE AT PUBLIC MEETINGS FEATURING  
CLEAVER TO DETERMINE STATEMENTS WHICH MAY BE MADE IN VIOLATION OF  
STATUTES OF BUREAU'S JURISDICTION OR INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS OF  
INTEREST TO THE BUREAU. ENDEAVOR TO OBTAIN VERBATIM TRANSCRIPTS  
OF SUBJECT'S REMARKS IF FEASIBLE. IF NOT, OBTAIN SUCH COVERAGE  
AS IS PRACTICAL.

ERS:lmr

(4) *lmr*

NOTE:

Cleaver, Minister of Information for Black Panther Party (BPP),  
is scheduled to speak as guest of Peace and Freedom Party at public  
gathering on 8/8/68 and at State Convention of Peace and Freedom  
Party 8/10/68. Peace and Freedom Party was recently formed in  
Hawaii and is made up mostly of members of Committee to End the  
War in Vietnam and Students for a Democratic Society. The BPP is  
the most violent black extremist group in the U. S. If radiogram  
contact ~~missed~~, send by urgent teletype (coded)

EX-100

REC-1  
100-447251-35  
22 AUG 13 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 7 1968  
ENCIPHERED

53 AUG 2 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDate: **8/12/68**Transmit the following in DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL**

(Priority)

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)****FROM: SAC, NEWARK (157-2679) -RUC-****SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RM-BPP**  
**(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)**

Re Newark airtel, 8/9/68.

**RE: NEW JERSEY LICENSE** [REDACTED]b6  
b7C  
b7DRecords of LDB 3. Hackensack, N.J. as confidentially  
made available by [REDACTED]3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Albany (100-20283) (RM)  
2 - Buffalo (157-649) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)  
2 - Newark  
WHP:ca  
(11)

EX-100 [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

REC-34

100-447251-36

22 AUG 13 1968

O. C. Bishop

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

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

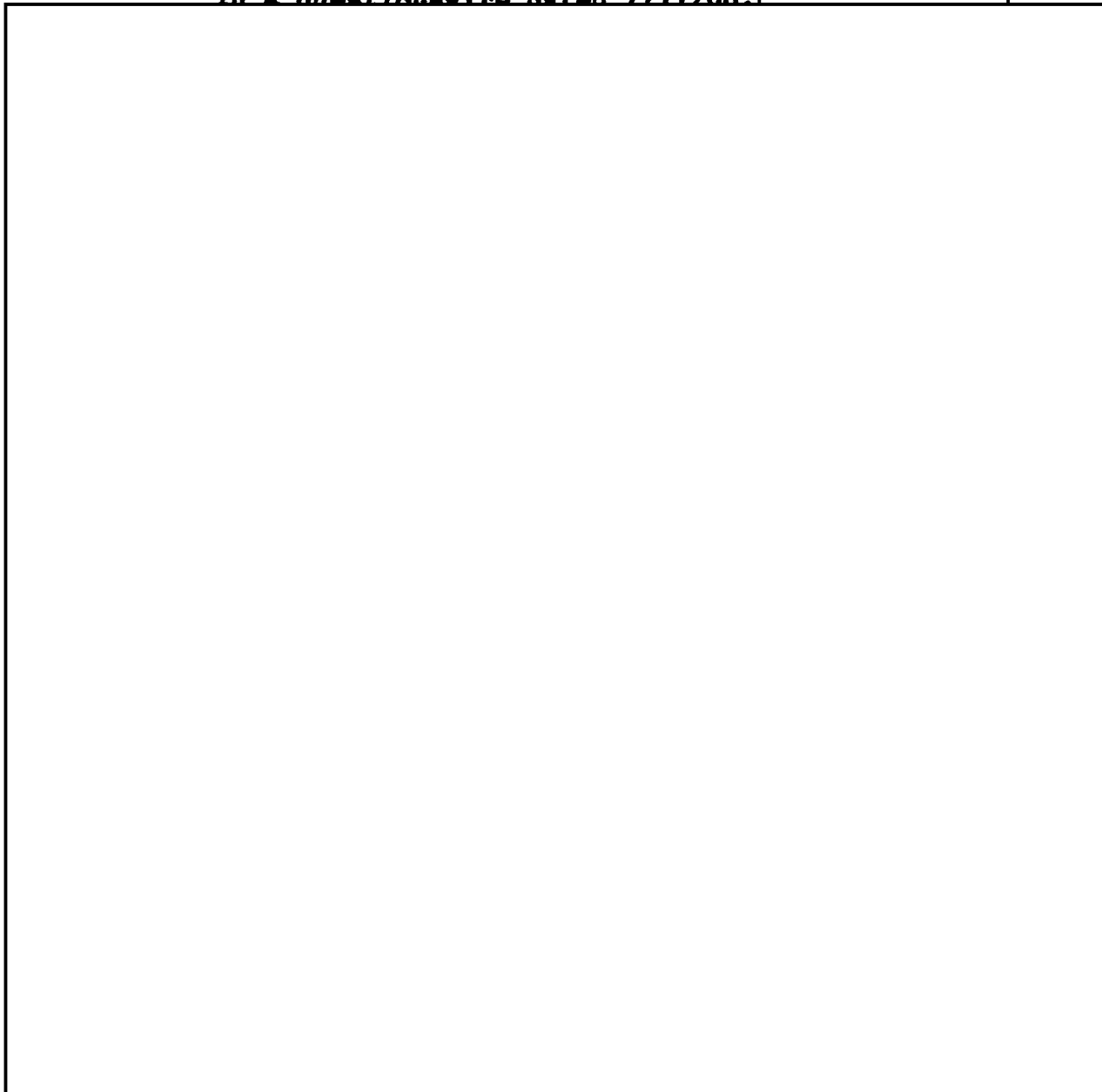
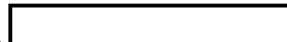
Per \_\_\_\_\_

70 AUG 20 1968

b6  
b7C  
b7D

**NK 157-2679**

**In a questionnaire dated 7/11/68.**



b6  
b7C  
b7D

**NK 157-2679**



F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date:

8/8/68

Transmit the following in

DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (157-649) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPPb6  
b7C

ReBuairtel, 8/5/68, and BUairtel, 8/6/68.

Automobile license [redacted] (NJ) incorrectly furnished to Bureau and Newark. Correct number is [redacted] Newark has been appropriately advised, and responsible personnel charged with error.

- ③ - Bureau (AM)  
1 - Newark (157-2679) (AM)  
1 - Buffalo

CES:afe  
(5)b6  
b7C

100-447251  
NOT RECORDED  
20 AUG 10 1968

RAIDING UNIT. SECT.

53 AUG 13 1968

Approved: *NW*

Special Agent in Charge

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



F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 8/9/68

Transmit the following in 2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM SAC, NEWARK (157-2679) (P)

SUBJECT LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
RM-BPP  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)Re Albany tel 7/27/68.  
Buffalo tel 7/31/68.

Re New Jersey Motor Vehicle License

is of the DMV, Trenton, NJ, reflect that NJ  
license is for a 1963 blue Chevrolet issued to  
NJ. The license  
was issued at Englewood, NJ, on 7/3/68. Driver's license  
records reflect that

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C

, NJ, PD, advised on 8/8/68  
that the 6/54 census reflects that

3-Bureau (RM)  
2-Albany (100-20283) (RM)  
2-Buffalo (157-649) (RM)  
2-San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)  
2-Newark

20 AUG 10 1968

b6  
b7C

WHP/MP  
Special Agent in Charge

INT. SECT.

NK 157-2679

On 2/16/66, the Boston Office by letter (copy to SF) in matter captioned "COMINFIL, STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, Harvard-Radcliffe Chapter; IS-C" advised that a source of Boston furnished a report on this group, which identified members of the Executive Committee of this chapter. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

The records of the Alumni Office, Harvard University, reflect [redacted]

Reference is made to Pittsburgh's letter dated 10/21/65 to Bureau (copy to SF) in matter captioned [redacted] which set forth information from Pittsburgh informants relative to a Plenum held in Detroit on 9/10/65. Among those present, according to sources was one [redacted] On 5/10/66, these same Pittsburgh sources advised Pittsburgh Office that they knew of only one [redacted] from NJ; that he was to attend a school in Massachusetts. He was described as a [redacted]

b6  
b7C

The above for information, in view of the possibility that the 1963 Chevrolet could have been used by [redacted]

b6  
b7C

As of 8/8/68, DMV, Trenton, NJ, records reflect two additional cars registered to [redacted] i.e. 1957 4 door grey Ford, NJ license [redacted] and 1962 two door gold Chevrolet, NJ license [redacted] Registered to [redacted] is a 1967 two door blue Ford. NJ license [redacted] No car registered to [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Investigation continuing Newark. INS file on [redacted] license holder of pertinent car, will be reviewed as soon as file is available. Newark also attempting to locate Selective Service records for [redacted] for further background information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC

8/19/68

b6  
b7C

Airtel AM/MLT/EHL

1 - Mr.

TO: SAC, Detroit

FROM: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Reurairtel 8/17/68 concerning the Peace and  
Freedom - Citizens for New Politics, National Political  
Convention at Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/17-18/68.

A detailed LHM should be submitted under the  
subject's caption expeditiously. Insure that any statements  
of the subject which were inflammatory or might be  
considered revolutionary in character are quoted if possible.

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

RMH:mfs  
(5) *mfs*

NOTE:

Cleaver is an official of the BPP and is candidate  
for President on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. His  
speech included attacks on the Oakland Police Department  
and said BPP can appeal to white middle class only with guns.  
He described BPP members as revolutionaries, not radicals,

NOTE CONTINUED - PAGE TWO

REC 13

EX-103

AUG 20 1968

MAILED 19  
AUG 1 1968  
COMM - FBI

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

57 AUG 22 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Detroit  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

NOTE CONTINUED:

and indicated black people want "both life and a gun or the means to get one." He stated he was ready for revolution now.

The Criminal Division has indicated interest in Cleaver's activities and statements.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHE

August 15, 1968

MCT-41 100 - 447251-39  
REC 4

b6  
b7C

LA-114 [redacted]

Orlando, Florida 32809

Dear [redacted]

b6  
b7C

I have received your letter of August 10th and the self-addressed, stamped envelope which you so thoughtfully enclosed.

Although I would like to be of assistance regarding your inquiry, information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret I cannot comment as you desire and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have material in our files relating to the Methodist Church.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

b6  
b7C

MAILED 7  
AUG 15 1968  
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles show no record for [redacted] Leroy Cleaver is well known to the Bureau and is on the Security and Agitator Index of the San Francisco Office. Bufiles show no record of the Northern California-Nevada Conference of United Methodist Church. The self-addressed stamped envelope is being utilized in reply, with zip code being added.

ALA:mer (3)  
mrv

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

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D  
AUG 14 2 14 PM '68  
TEB/11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY **TRUE COPY**  
TAM/MLT/EHL

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]  
Orlando, Florida 32809

August 10, 1968

J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

*Leroy E. Cleaver*  
I have read the two articles written by Walter Winchell  
pertaining to the \$500.<sup>00</sup> paid to Leroy Cleaver for a speech given before  
the Northern California Nevada Conference of United Methodist Church. *ad*

My husband and I have been Methodists for over 25 years.  
We are alarmed at what could be happening to the denomination we support  
and believe in. We want to know whatever you can tell us. It is most  
vital that we do whatever we can to prevent such practices.

Our children have been brought up as Methodists and have  
had instilled in them the pride of being a Methodist and serving God.

*2/2/68*  
I know how busy you are trying to uphold the laws of this  
Great Country of ours and at all times try to present to the people those  
things of which we are not aware.

REC 4 MCT-41 100 - 44725-39  
I am sending a self addressed envelope with the sincere  
request that you furnish me with all the information you can about the above  
incident and any other related incidents.

Sincerely

12 AUG 19 1968

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]  
Orlando, Florida

ITC  
8-14-68  
mer

EX-114

Ack  
ALA:mer  
8-15-68  
mm

Orlando, Florida, 32809

W-13  
J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

August 10, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have rec'd the two articles written by Walter  
Kinchell pertaining to the \$500.00 paid to Leroy  
Cleaver for a speech given before the Northern California  
Nevada Conference of United Methodist Church.

My husband and I have been Methodists for over  
25 years. We are alarmed at what could be happening  
to the denomination we support and believe in.  
We want to know whatever you can tell us. It  
is most vital that we do whatever we can to  
prevent such practices.

Our children have been brought up as Methodists  
and have had instilled in them the pride of being  
a Methodist and serving God.

I know how busy you are trying to uphold the  
laws of this Great Country of ours and at all times  
try to present to the people those things of which  
we are not aware.

I am sending a self addressed envelope with  
the sincere request that you furnish me with  
all the information you can about the above incident  
and any other related incidents.

CORRESPONDENCE

Sincerely,

b6  
b7C

Orlando, Florida

ITC  
8-14-68  
mmAck  
ALH:mm  
8-15-68return envelope  
sent

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC

FBI

Date: 8/16/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (157-649)(P)

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
RM - BPP  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

b6  
b7C

Re Newark airtel, 8/9/68.

For information of Newark, [redacted]  
Rochester PD, Rochester, N.Y., one of officers who observed  
CLEAVER and party, prior to their departure from Rochester,  
N.Y., 7/27/68, advised unsub white woman, a member of this  
party was described as follows:

Race  
Sex  
Height  
Build  
Hair  
Complexion  
Age  
Dress

White  
Female

[redacted]

[redacted] also advised vehicle with New Jersey license  
[redacted] was driven by the unsub Negro male and two unsub  
white women sat in the front seat between the driver and  
either [redacted]

b6  
b7C

- ③ - Bureau (AM-RM)  
2 - Newark (157-2679)(AM-RM)  
2 - Buffalo

HHH;db1  
(7)

REC 43

AUG 19 1968

b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

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

RACIAL INT. SECT.

6 AUG 27 1968



F B I

Date: 8/22/68

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM: SAC, OMAHA (157-new) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
Eldridge Cleaver  
RM - BPP

b6  
b7C

Information has been obtained from racial sources and local news media that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, may be a speaker at the Nebraska State Convention of the Peace and Freedom Party, to be held 8/24/68 at Fontenelle Park, Omaha, Nebraska.

Coverage will be afforded this convention and pertinent information obtained therefrom regarding the subject will be furnished the Bureau and San Francisco.

- ③ - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL - AIR MAIL)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (REGISTERED MAIL - AIR MAIL)  
4 - Omaha (2 - 157-new  
1 - 157-403  
1 - 157-425)

GDW/jj  
(9)

REC-1

100-447251-41

ST-101

15 AUG 24 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/24/82 BY SP8 BTJ/CA/

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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

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

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 8/21/68

Transmit the following in DATE 01-24-2006 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (157-356) (RUC)  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP  
(OO: San Francisco)

b6  
b7C

Re San Francisco teletype to the Bureau and SAC's,  
7/26/68, and San Diego teletype to the Bureau and San Francisco,  
7/30/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11) copies of  
a letterhead memorandum regarding LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's  
speech in San Diego, 7/29/68.

Two (2) copies of the enclosed letterhead memo-  
randum furnished to San Francisco, and one (1) copy to  
Los Angeles, for information in view of Black Panther Party  
activities in those cities.

Copies of this letterhead memorandum have been  
furnished locally to the U. S. Attorney, 115th MI Group,  
Naval Investigative Service Office, Office of Special  
Investigations, and U. S. Secret Service.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11) (AM-REGISTERED)  
1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (Info) (AM-REGISTERED)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Enc. 2) (AM-REGISTERED)  
6 - San Diego  
    (1 - 157-356) (LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)  
    (1 - 100-14061) (PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY)  
    (1 - 14-91) (THE RESISTANCE)  
    (1 - [redacted])  
    (1 - 100-13978) (BLACK PANTHERS)  
    (1 - 66-1313)

b6  
b7C

REC 22

100-447251-42

2 AUG 23 1968

b6  
b7C

EMP:klb

(12) C. C. - Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, GRC, RAO, PDC

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW: 8/21/68

BY: [signature]

57 SEP 4 1968

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

SD 157-356

First source quoted in attached letterhead memorandum is [REDACTED] Second source is [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] (PROB) has advised that [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

The attached letterhead memorandum is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" inasmuch as information is contained therein which if revealed might reveal the identity of sources of continuing value to the Bureau.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Diego, California  
August 21, 1968

**CONFIDENTIAL**

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-23-2005

SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

The Peace and Freedom Party of San Diego sponsored LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) of the San Francisco-Oakland area and Peace and Freedom Party Presidential candidate, to speak at San Diego State College on July 29, 1968, at 8:30 PM.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

Mr. CLEAVER arrived in San Diego aboard a commercial plane and was met by an unidentified member of the Peace and Freedom Party. This individual brought CLEAVER to Station KFMB, Channel 8 Television, at 1405 Fifth Avenue, for an interview with HAROLD KEEN. This interview is as follows:

Mr. KEEN: *Self*

There have been threats, either open or implied, that if HUEY NEWTON is found guilty of murdering a white police officer at his trial which is now underway in Oakland, that the Black Panthers might stage some sort of violence. What is your reaction to that?

Mr. CLEAVER:

Well, my reaction to any inquiries of that type is that it would be absurd to discuss that if we in fact have some planned violence, because one of the things we're not interested in and that is committing suicide.

Mr. KEEN:

COPIES DESTROYED  
343 MAY 3 1971

Do you have faith in the American trial system?

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

**CONFIDENTIAL**

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

Mr. CLEAVER:

No I don't have any faith in the American trial system as constituted. Some of the principles of jurisprudence of this country I could accept them as being valid, but we have to deal with racism involved in the whole judicial process so that it becomes a little more complicated.

Mr. KEEN:

Is separation from the whites rather than the old civil rights cry of integration the new demand of the black militants?

Mr. CLEAVER:

I don't think that this is the united demands of the black militants. There have been some black militants who have always had this particular position, and there are all kinds of positions taken by black militants, but the Black Panther Party takes the position on that question that the only way to solve that is to have a U. N. (United Nations) supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black communities of the country to allow black people to go in and cast their ballots, to determine whether or not they want to be integrated into this country or whether or not they want to be separated. We feel that in the past there have been too many organizations, too many people coming along speaking in the name of black people, saying that black people want to be integrated, black people want to be separated, without ever in fact consulting black people. So we feel that the only logical way to deal with this is to allow black people themselves to state for themselves what they would like their future to be.

Mr. KEEN:

If the black people vote in such a plebiscite for separation, would this mean a separate nation within the United States or some other place?

SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

Mr. CLEAVER:

Well, it depends on what was placed on the ballot, if it was worded that way, then that was to be what they would be voting for.

Mr. KEEN:

What are the Black Panthers advocating in that connection? Do they have the...

Mr. CLEAVER:

The Black Panther Party advocates U. N. supervised plebiscite. We feel that it would be our responsibility to create conditions where such a plebiscite could be held. For that reason we went to the United Nations recently and discussed this problem amongst others with friendly members of the United Nations. One of the other very important things that we want to have U. N. observer teams stationed throughout the large cities and some of the rural areas of this country to observe the aggression of the racist police departments against the black communities, because we feel that the situation in this country constitutes a threat to world peace, because it's very likely that a civil war or a race war could develop in this country, and I feel that we're on the brink of that, and it seems to me that the power structure wants that, because they're certainly doing everything to provoke it.

Mr. KEEN:

Some black nationalist leaders have advised their people to get guns, have advocated a violent revolution, have urged the burning and shooting-type of approach. What do the Black Panthers stand for in that connection?

SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

Mr. CLEAVER:

Well, we certainly do advocate self-defense for black people. We urge every black family to have in his house guns, and we tell them the most effective type of guns, shotguns, rifles, pistols, of particular calibers, that they can use to defend themselves and also to arm the black community, because we feel that the racist power structure is going to continue to keep this occupying army of police in the community to continue to assault the community and bully the black community, and that the only way that we're going to be able to deal with the situation is to arm the black community to such an extent that the difference between 20 million unarmed black people and 20 million armed black people could be used to force the power structure to grant black people their desires and needs, or else to face the political consequences.

Mr. KEEN:

Then you are opposed to any gun control laws such as are now being considered?

Mr. CLEAVER:

No, no, but I think it's kind of absurd to talk about gun controls in the present context. I would be in favor with the destruction and ridding from the planet earth of all weapons made to kill men, but in the situation that we face today when the police departments are escalating their numbers in the black communities, they're being armed with tanks, armored cars and all type of atrocious weapons to be used against us, it seems to me to be stupid to be in favor of any legislation that would leave the black community unarmed while the racist oppressors are arming themselves to the teeth. I would be in favor of gun

SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

control if it would systematically provide security for all...

Mr. KEEN:

Have you given up hope on any form of co-operation between the black community and the white community to establish peace between them in this country and for the blacks to have equal opportunity?

Mr. CLEAVER:

Well, I've given up hope on certain elements within the white communities. There are certain elements within the white communities that I have total respect for and particularly people in the Peace and Freedom Party, some of the people like in the SDS, young students, and so forth. We have working relationships with these people. We respect them and we feel that their fate is bound up with ours and they feel the same way, so it's not a question of the black community and the white community. We have enemies within the black community and we have enemies within the white community. The black community is subjected to what we call community imperialism, which means that certain elements within the white community, like the businessmen who extort the black community and the political leaders who manipulate the political power of the black community, hold all levers of power and money, all wealth, in their hands, and so that the black community has been turned into a market at this time with a large amount of unemployment within the black community, and without any political power, without any control over the police departments, without any control over the political process or the economic process, then we're just at the mercy of certain elements within the white community. These elements we oppose and we're very glad to have allies within the white



SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

community to help us isolate these enemies and to deal with them, because they have to be dealt with, because we intend to have liberation for black people, if it means picking up guns and using those guns, we say that the oppressor has no right which the oppressed are bound to respect.

Mr. KEEN:

Are the Black Panthers organizing a unit in San Diego?

Mr. CLEAVER:

Yes.

Mr. KEEN:

Is it very large?

Mr. CLEAVER:

Well, it's not as large as - it's very new, you see.

Mr. KEEN:

And this is one reason why you were down here, in addition to speaking at a public meeting?

Mr. CLEAVER:

Well, my primary objective for coming down here is to speak at a thing for the Peace and Freedom Party. I've been prevented from doing this in the past by my parole officials, because they've decided to interfere in my political activities, but a judge has rebuked them and cited them and ordered them to appear in his court to show cause why they should not be held in

SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

contempt of court, so that now they have relented  
and they allow me to travel, so I'm here to do  
that.

A characterization of the Students for a Democratic  
Society (SDS) is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

A portion of HAROLD KEEN's interview with LEROY  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was shown on TV Channel 8 in San Diego at  
6:25 PM on July 30, 1968.

Approximately 325 people, 75% of them white, and  
25% of them Negroes, attended CLEAVER's talk at San Diego  
State College.

*Call*  
[redacted] all connected with "The Resistance"  
in San Diego, attended this speech. Also attending were  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

CLEAVER spoke on how the black community must arm  
themselves and predicted a war between the black and the  
whites in the United States. He continually referred to  
the white power as "pigs" and to anyone having command  
over Negroes as being "pigs," including police officers,  
city administrators, and the average white man on the  
street. Mr. CLEAVER remarked that he feels the Peace and  
Freedom Party and the Students for a Democratic Society are  
friends in their movement. CLEAVER let it be known that  
a BPP group was being formed in San Diego.

A second source stated that approximately 575  
people attended CLEAVER's talk in Room 300, Life Science  
Building, San Diego State College, on July 29, 1968. This  
source said CLEAVER talked about forming a coalition  
between the BPP and the Peace and Freedom Party to achieve  
a national unification and recognition important to his  
campaign for President of the United States. He stated  
that he had not been invited by President JOHNSON to a  
briefing session for major Presidential candidates. He

SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

pointed out that ROCKEFELLER, NIXON, and other major Presidential candidates had been invited, and that he had not. In a question and answer session following the speech by CLEAVER, CLEAVER made a statement that HUEY NEWTON, imprisoned Black Panther at Oakland, Florida, must be freed from jail. Someone in the audience asked him, "By any means possible?" To this question, CLEAVER answered, "Yes," and reiterated that in the event that HUEY NEWTON is sentenced to die, he would be removed from the jail by force.

*copy* This second source stated that CLEAVER stayed at the home of [redacted] (phonetic), who lives in the vicinity of San Diego [redacted] after his speech at the college. [redacted] told this second source that CLEAVER was staying with her and her husband because he was afraid he would be arrested by the San Diego Police Department if anyone knew where he was staying.

b6  
b7C

The following newspaper article appeared in "The Daily Californian," an El Cajon, California daily newspaper, on July 30, 1968:

## Black Panther Candidate

# Here's How

## He Stands

By DEL HOOD  
The Daily Californian

SAN DIEGO—Eldridge Cleaver for President?

It sounds like a put-on equal to comedian Pat Paulsen's campaign for the presidency.

But Cleaver isn't a comedian. He is minister of information for the Black Panthers, a group of militant Negro nationalists, and he is that organization's candidate for President of the United States.

The Black Panther Party has not qualified for the ballot, so Cleaver's political base is narrow. He is not overly optimistic about being the voters' choice this November.

"I know they are not ready for me," Cleaver said. "I'm not ready for them. I'm not ready to cater to their opinions."

But Cleaver, wearing a blue turtle-neck sweater and liberally sprinkling his speech with obscenities, was at San Diego State College Monday night trying to broaden his support.

He appealed for a coalition between his Black Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party, a left-wing organization which succeeded in qualifying for the ballot last spring by getting the required number of signatures.

"What we want to do is to destroy the Republican party," Cleaver said. "We want to destroy the Democratic party because it is a conspiracy against the people."

His favorite word for describing the people he doesn't like is "pigs."

"If there is not going to be freedom for the black people in this country, there will be no freedom for anybody," Cleaver said. "If the black people are going to be destroyed, let everybody be destroyed."

The Black Panther Party platform, in addition to asking for full employment, decent housing and education, calls for exempting all black men from military service and releasing all Negroes held in jail or prisons.

Its cause celebre at the moment is the trial of Huey Newton, an Oakland leader of the Black Panthers who is accused of murdering a policeman.

Many of those in the audience, which spilled over from a large lecture room to sidewalks outside, wore "Free Huey" buttons.

"Whether America goes to the right or to the left is the question that is going to decide what happens in the world," Cleaver said. "We want it to go to the left."

Cleaver added, "We do not want to be part of a situation that would deliver us to the Gestapo's gas chambers."

"We want to get into the position where this country cannot move against us without destroying itself."

One of the Black Panther party's platform planks strongly emphasizes arming its members to "protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary."

Cleaver, author of a best-selling book, "Soul on Ice," denied that the Black Panther party is a racist organization.

"We are not a racist society," he said. "We will not stoop to the level of the KKK (Ku Klux Klan) because it is much too low. But there are some things worse than the KKK and that's HHH (Hubert Horatio Humphrey)."

In the question and answer period, Eldridge fielded questions about Vietnam and possible coalition partners, but he was stumped when somebody asked him what he would do about the Mideast problem.

"I do not know what the solution to that problem is," Cleaver said.

He described the Vietnam War as an "escape mechanism" for the Establishment.

"They want to make a stand for freedom but not here," he said.

Outside the lecture room, petitions were being signed to recall Gov. Ronald Reagan. That drive ends Wednesday.

If Cleaver gets the Peace and Freedom party nomination, he may have some difficulty conducting a campaign. A convicted rapist who has been released from prison, he has to get permission from his parole officer to travel.



Daily Californian Photo

## Black Panther Speaks Here

Eldridge Cleaver, nominee of the Black Panther party for President of the United States, makes a point as he addresses an overflow crowd of several hundred Monday night at San Diego State College. He was seeking a coalition of his organization with the Peace and Freedom party to "rearrange everything in this country from top to bottom." Cleaver admits his chances for election are not very bright.

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.

## APPENDIX

### BLACK PANTHER PARTY, also known as 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.

## APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~





In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California  
August 21, 1968

Title      SPEECH BY LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
             SPONSORED BY PEACE AND FREEDOM  
             PARTY, JULY 29, 1968

Character

Reference   Letterhead memorandum dated and  
             captioned as above at San Diego.

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 (105-165706 sub 26)

DATE: 7/6/70

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1618) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) and for San Francisco four copies of an LHM regarding captioned matter.

A copy of the LHM is being transmitted to Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the local military intelligence agencies.

b6  
b7C

The recording was made by SE [REDACTED] Los Angeles Division. The tape has been reviewed several times and it is noted some remarks by CLEAVER appearing in the LHM are not logical.

CONSIDER CLEAVER ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Encl. 9)
  - ① - 100-447251 ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
- 4 - San Francisco (RM) (Encl. 4)
  - (2 - 157-1899 BPP)
  - (1 - 100-55520 ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
  - (1 - 88-12329 ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
- 3 - Los Angeles
  - (1 - 157-2323 ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
  - (1 - 88-15756 ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED  
152 JUL 9 1970

TGM/clis  
(10)

ENCLOSURE



JUL 15 1970

F472 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-26-1338



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Los Angeles, California

July 6, 1970

979602

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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

The individuals mentioned below are described as follows:

Eldridge Cleaver, the BPP Minister of Information, is a Federal fugitive residing in Algeria.

David Hilliard, is the BPP Chief of Staff.

Huey Newton, is the BPP Minister of Defense, presently serving a sentence for manslaughter of an Oakland Police Officer.

On June 19, 1970, Eldridge Cleaver was interviewed by Hilly Rose, of KABC radio Los Angeles. The results of this interview were recorded from the radio show by a representative of the FBI. The interview is as follows:

ROSE: Eldridge, today in Washington, D. C. on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial Dave Hilliard made a speech saying they were going to have a new constitutional convention on Labor Day in Philadelphia. I understand thats your basic idea. Can you tell me something about it?

CLEAVER: Well, we take the position that given the history of our people in the struggling and suffering we've done, it is very clear that there is nothing available inside of the American system to give us the type of security and protection that we want and need and it is absolutely clear that the Constitution of the United States which is supposed to be the basic law of the land, it well may be the basic law of the land but it doesn't help us out. It doesn't subscribe to our best interests against the things that have come up.

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ROSE: What do you expect to happen from this new...?

CLEAVER: In view of the system as a whole and particularly against this little trick bag, they let down on us about where we live, and things of that sort. You know what I am talking about.?

ROSE: Yes, Eldridge! What do you expect to happen from this convention? What will happen after the new constitution is written?

CLEAVER: Well, you see there, it's my opinion that the convention will be held after the victory of the people over the pigs who have usurped the power of government in Babylon. I don't want to see people retreating to a contradictable position as though it were just a little novelty or something that they can go and visit.

ROSE: That's what I am trying to find out Eldridge. What specifically is going to happen once this new constitution is written? How are you going to implement it?

CLEAVER: I say that you have to understand we're not talking about having a meeting and making thinkers and everybody gives their little heat off their chest and going back about your business. We are talking about a convention that will have the power to implement any resolution or decisions passed at the convention themselves but it can only be a revolutionary people constitutional convention. It has to be set up in spite, in spite of the attitude of the pigs. I'd say that it is very likely that will happen.

ROSE: Well, what specifically do you think will happen then? Do you think there will be an armed uprising as there was in the 1700's. (Question repeated).

CLEAVER: I think that if it is absolutely necessary for the people to rise up and take the power into their own hands. And the manner in which they rise up always depends

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

upon how the enemy is moving against them at a given time. You know? If the enemy advises them, and allows them to go around and to present grievances without any type of problems then I am quite sure that the brothers and sisters would like that, would prefer that. You know?

ROSE: Rather than violence?

CLEAVER: Murdering people and kidnaping people and just outright framing people up. I would be the very last one to say that the people in the party would not rise up and as a result of that and get other people to rise up along with them. I would be the last to say that won't happen because I will hope that it does happen.

ROSE: Eldridge, there was a report put out by the United States Census Bureau showing that while black people are eleven per cent of the population they got twenty-eight per cent of the new craftsman and operative openings in the last decade. Doesn't that show progress to you? Do you really think that black people are that oppressed?

CLEAVER: Well, I'm unable to recognize anything saying that degrees of progress under these circumstances. I don't recognize any progress. I recognize that our people are still being refused and subversively held as slaves for your bourgeoisie.

ROSE: Eldridge, do you plan to be here in Philadelphia on September 7th for the new constitution?

CLEAVER: My plan is to get back home just as soon as I am able. It is my plan at this particular time depending upon the out come of the situation in court with Huey Newton.

ROSE: Well, I'm not sure I understand. Huey is going to be tried once again. Huey is going to be tried once again for manslaughter and thats going to take quite a bit of time, so Huey won't probably go on trial for another year or more. Does that mean you won't come back for a year or more?

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CLEAVER: I don't have to wait until he has a trial. Huey, its a possibility he may get out on bail before Labor Day, right?

ROSE: That's a possibility, yes.

CLEAVER: So, I think it's only natural for me to wait to see how this situation developes before I will know absolutely what I would do, see? Cause if I did go, say to some other country and be far away and then Huey would get out then I would never be able to forgive myself for that.

ROSE: Eldridge what are you doing in Algeria now? Are you writing?

CLEAVER: Of course!

ROSE: What are you writing?

CLEAVER: Well, I don't think we should go into it. You know? Because it's not complete and as things are finished they will be made public and I think thats more then enough. You know?

ROSE: What, I've heard a great deal about the fact at least its been reported here in the United States that you've been taking guerrilla training under the Algerians, is that true?

CLEAVER: Well, you know if it is true then it's good for us. You know?

ROSE: Well, how do you spend your time in Algeria?

CLEAVER: Oh, in various ways. You know? Working and playing, resting and getting tired. You know?

ROSE: Do you see any hope at all, Eldridge, for America to save itself from your point of view?

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CLEAVER: Great hope for particularly amongst the young American people. I think that if they always move conventionally the people will move to guarantee their survival, to guarantee their best interests. You see? I think they will, will not be a put on, before the American people are able to not only understand the whole international nature of the problems that we have. To also understand the local manifestations of their problems and I think that they will move decisively to put an end to a lot of what right now we say, we'll never hear or it'll take such a terribly long time. I think the people will supply everybody and move very strongly to protect their humanity.

ROSE: Eldridge, just this week a black man became mayor of Newark, New Jersey. A black man announced he was running for Governor of Arkansas. A black man is running for Senator in South Carolina. Doesn't this give you some hope that maybe the black man has finally emerged into the political stream?

CLEAVER: It tells me that the government of the United States recognizes that it is in the best interest of the ruling class of the United States to develop a little more their relationships with the black bourgeoisie so to me it's nothing but a local, an American brand of neo-colonialism developing, for the American ruling class realizes that in order to maintain and control over black people they are going to have to have the active cooperation and help of the black, ah, the black bourgeoisie in manipulating and maintaining this control. Now lets give you an example; Mayor Stokes in Cleveland and the man who has become the head of the police department there is General Davis, straight from the Pentagon, so I don't think the position of black people will be improved at all if all that we end up with is a black elected official to have one of these well trained Pentagon pigs for the chief of police. Far from meaning that our situation will have improved, I think that our situation will have come even more cruel and intense as it is right now so electing a

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

few of these pansies, boot-licking Uncle Toms to a few jive positions in the lower echelons of the government, this does not impress me at all. At all!

ROSE: Well Eldridge, if this new constitution is written this fall when do you think it might take affect in the United States?

CLEAVER: Well, that's one problem that I think needs to be worked out. I don't see how any kind of constitution that the people can draw up under the present circumstances can be enforced or can be anything more than the paper its written on. You understand? My own position on that is that constitutional convention is the message authorized by a precedent in American history, we're dealing with changes of this caliber in a constitutional situation. I think that the proper procedure that we must relate to is a procedure of a constitutional convention. Now when you do that it all depends upon when you're in a position to implement the results of the convention. It's absolutely absurd to call a convention to pass resolutions or adapt constitutions that you're in no position to enforce. So, unless that situation is expected to change radically between now and the time of Labor Day, then I don't see what relevance a constitutional convention would have at this time.

ROSE: Alright we have a very bad connection Eldridge, and I think we've covered the subject, thank you very much for talking with us.

CLEAVER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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.



APPENDIX

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

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

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

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 8/30/68

FROM : SA2, BUFFALO (157-649) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY  
(OO: San Francisco)

1 cc Bureau Div 6-94 JV  
H & R - per SEP 5 1968  
I - Bombing - CRA of 1964 Unit

Re San Francisco teletype, dated 7/23/68; San Francisco teletype, dated 7/26/68; Buffalo teletype, dated 7/30/68; New York teletype, dated 7/30/68, and Newark teletype, dated 8/1/68.

## REQUEST OF BUREAU

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 12 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM), dated and captioned as above which relate to the appearance of LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Black Panther Party leader from Oakland, California, who appeared at the Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, on 7/26/68, and addressed a group of 190 Negro youth in connection with a public training and educational project sponsored by this corporation and called the "Earn and Learn Program." Incorporated in the LHM is a verbatim transcript of the speech of CLEAVER consisting of 25 pages, obtained from a tape recording furnished by Xerox Corporation. The Bureau will readily note from this transcript that CLEAVER was not only crude but his intentions were clearly to motivate his audience toward militant and criminal activity.

He not only referred to members of the white race as "pigs" and in particular applied this epithet to law enforcement in general and the President of the United States

- 2 - Bureau (100-447251) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Albany (100-20283) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-161321) (Encs. 7) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (157-2679) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Encs. 3) (RM)
- 2 - Buffalo

RHH:faf

DEPT: SEC. SERV.,  
IDIU, CIA

NEW YORK:

DATE:

BY:

R/S

9/3/68

RMH/

6 SEP 3 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-23-80 BY 49-3 DE/kj

(cc sent to  
general)

EXP. PROC.

34

79 NOV 5 - 1968

BU 157-649

but he encouraged his young audience to join with the Black Panther Party to burn down or blow up the Xerox Corporation (page 21). In addition, he assured his audience that the Negroes were going to arm themselves, teach the technique of making bombs and to secure dynamite to be used against "the pigs in the power structure," (page 23). Another example of his rabble rousing is his statement "If you all got together, look here, if you all got together, got yourselves together, joined the Black Panther Party and all these niggers across this country got together and joined the Black Panther Party and got themselves some guns, people would all listen..... so if we got ourselves together and we walked on any Army base and take one (hydrogen bomb) because as long as he has a hydrogen bomb pointed at us, we got to have one pointed at him and say 'Well push it, (obscene) 'cause I'm pushing mine.'" (page 26).

The Buffalo Office feels that the inflammatory nature of CLEAVER's speech is such as to bring him possibly within the scope of the recently enacted Anti-Riot Laws as outlined by the Bureau in airtel to all offices, dated 5/13/68, captioned "Anti-Riot Laws." Subject's performance could possibly bring him within the scope of Chapter 102, Title 18, USC, Section 2101 in that subject CLEAVER travelled in interstate commerce to commit an overt act to incite a riot. It is to be noted, however, that no riot actually occurred as a result of CLEAVER's appearance in Rochester, New York, nor was one taking place while he was present.

The Bureau is requested to consider the advisability of consulting with the Department for an opinion as to possible prosecution.

b6  
b7C

The tape recording of CLEAVER's address on 7/26/68, was furnished to the Buffalo Office by [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
Rochester, New York.

There is also being enclosed for New York, five photographs taken in front of the Hotel Sheraton, Rochester, New York, on Saturday, 7/27/68, as the captioned subject and his party exited the hotel prior to departing Rochester. These

BU 157-649

photographs were taken by the New York State Police and obtained from [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

The individuals appearing in the attached photograph are identified as follows, based on information received from the New York State Police:

1. [REDACTED]
2. [REDACTED]
3. [REDACTED]
4. LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
5. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

These photographs are being sent to the New York Division in order to assist them in their identification of [REDACTED] in the event these individuals are unknown to New York.

According to the records of the Hotel Sheraton, Rochester, New York, made available to the New York State Police on 7/27/68, the following long distance telephone calls were charged to subject's room during his one night residence at the hotel:

<u>Area Code</u>	<u>Telephone Number</u>	<u>City Called</u>	<u>Length of Call</u>
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	San Francisco	8 minutes
		Worcester, Massachusetts	10 minutes
		Boston, Massachusetts	15 minutes
		Syracuse, and New York (two calls)	2 minutes 1 minute
		Los Angeles, California	2 minutes

b6  
b7C

BU 157-649

<u>Area Code</u>	<u>Telephone Number</u>	<u>City Called</u>	<u>Length of Call</u>
[redacted]	[redacted]	Syracuse, New York	2 minutes
		San Francisco, California	44 minutes

b6  
b7C

A long distance telephone call was also accepted by the subject from one [redacted] Boston, Massachusetts, telephone number [redacted]. The duration of this call is not known. It is noted, however, that a call was also placed to this number.

Offices receiving copies of this communication should endeavor to identify the subscribers of the telephone numbers listed in their respective territories and advise the Bureau and office of origin.

There is also being enclosed for the information of the Bureau and San Francisco, a xerox copy of a pamphlet distributed by CLEAVER, to the members of the Earn and Learn Program at the Xerox Corporation on 7/26/68.

This pamphlet appears to be campaign material for CLEAVER's presidential campaign, as it solicits campaign workers, volunteers to work for his nomination and financial contributions. It will be noted that CLEAVER is the Presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party.

No leads are being set forth in connection with this pamphlet, but rather are being left to the discretion of the office of origin as Buffalo is not aware if the Post Office Box and the telephone numbers listed thereon are known to San Francisco.

The New York State Police and the Rochester Police Department were advised of subject's visit to Rochester, prior to his arrival and the liaison was maintained with both agencies during his stay in Rochester, New York.

No lead is being set forth for the Newark Division to identify New Jersey License Number [redacted] mentioned in

BU 157-649

attached LHM, since this lead has previously been set out.

b6  
b7C

No specific lead is being set forth for New York concerning [REDACTED] both mentioned in attached LHM. However, in view of their involvement in engaging CLEAVER to address the members of the Earn and Learn Program of the Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, may be desirous of developing background information concerning both of these individuals and making an assessment based on the information developed.

Buffalo will remain alert through a liaison with racial and police sources for any indication that the Black Panther Party is attempting to organize.

LEADS

Offices receiving copies of this communication should endeavor to identify the subscribers to the telephone numbers listed in their territories and advise the Bureau and San Francisco.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Buffalo, New York

August 30, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

The characterization of the Black  
Panther Party (BPP) is contained in  
the Appendix pages of this communication.

The "New York Times," a daily newspaper, published  
in New York City, on page 36m reported in its August 19, 1968,  
edition that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, author, parolee and leader in  
the Black Panther movement in Oakland, California, was  
nominated on August 18, 1968, for the Presidency of the  
United States by the new and radical Peace and Freedom Party  
(PFP). CLEAVER, in addressing the convention of this Party  
on the University of Michigan campus, Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
reportedly spoke of uniting the dispossessed, the alienated,  
the angry, the insane and the prison inmates. He said  
"We want to gather all the madmen together, because we have  
to confront madmen." CLEAVER was identified in the article  
as minister of information of the Black Panther's, a militant  
group that sometimes considers arms and talks of using guns  
in self defense to protect the Black community from the  
police.

On July 26, 1968, [redacted]  
[redacted] Xerox Corporation, Webster, New York, advised  
that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was scheduled to speak before  
members of the Earn and Learn Program of the Xerox Corpora-  
tion, at the Henrietta, New York Plant of Xerox, at 2:00 PM  
on July 26, 1968. [redacted] advised he could offer no  
information concerning CLEAVER or the topic of his address.

b6  
b7C

COPIES DESTROYED

343 MAY 3 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-23-80 BY SP-3 DB/K9

100-447251 43

ENCLOSURE

Page 11 missing  
343  
5-7-71

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

On July 30, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Xerox Corporation, Henrietta, New York Plant, advised that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and his wife, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, addressed approximately 200 members of the Earn and Learn Program of the Xerox Corporation at the Henrietta, New York Plant of Xerox, on Friday, July 26, 1968.

[REDACTED] described the Earn and Learn Program of the Xerox Corporation as a Xerox sponsored program designed to assist under-privileged children, who are potential school dropouts in Rochester, New York. The group is comprised of approximately 200 youths, age sixteen to eighteen, both male and female, about twenty of whom are white. According to [REDACTED] this program was designed by Xerox to give these youths a clearer understanding of the advantages which will be available to them if they are to continue their education by remaining in high school or in some cases going on to college.

[REDACTED] further advised that CLEAVER's remarks to this group were definitely not in line with the over-all intended purpose of this program as designed by Xerox. He stated they were definitely anti-white, militant, and destructive in nature.

[REDACTED] stated that CLEAVER appeared to be an individual who is extremely capable of motivating a crowd, especially one comprised of impressionable teenagers. [REDACTED] indicated that he personally was distressed that CLEAVER had been permitted to address this group since his, CLEAVER's, intentions were obviously in direct opposition to those of the Xerox Corporation.

[REDACTED] New York State Police, Rochester, New York, advised on July 26, 1968, that he was present at the Henrietta Plant of Xerox immediately preceeding CLEAVER's address on July 26, 1968. at the invitation of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York.



LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

214  
[ ] stated that his entry into the room where CLEAVER was to address the members of the Earn and Learn group was blocked by one [ ] whom [ ] identified as being associated with the Educational Division, Xerox Corporation, New York City, and in charge of the educational portion of the Earn and Learn Program of Xerox, Rochester, New York.

b6  
b7C

According to [ ] became incensed at the presence of [ ] indicated that [ ] was violating CLEAVER's civil rights and that if [ ] did not depart the area immediately, he, [ ] would not permit CLEAVER to speak. [ ] said he did not attend CLEAVER's address.

b6  
b7C

On July 26, 1968, [ ] [ ] Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, advised that the Earn and Learn Program of the Xerox Corporation is sponsored by Xerox and totally supported by them. He stated that Xerox receives no Federal assistance for this program.

[ ] added that during the Spring of 1968, the Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, decided that they would attempt to set up some type of a program to assist the under-privileged youths in the Rochester area, during the summer months. At approximately this time Xerox, Rochester, was contacted by the National Alliance of Businessmen, [ ] and was requested to furnish the Alliance an approximate number of employable teenage minority children in the Rochester area.

b6  
b7C

[ ] also advised that Rochester, New York, was one of fifty cities in the United States selected by the National Alliance of Businessmen and that Xerox was one of the corporations in the Rochester area requested to supply these figures. Xerox complied with this request and in turn the National Alliance of Businessmen asked Xerox if they would set up a program at the expense of Xerox, to assist

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

100 of the under-privileged youths during the Summer of 1968. Xerox agreed to comply; however, at their own initiative, they decided to double the number to 200 youths whom they would attempt to assist.

As a result of this, the Earn and Learn Program was designed by Xerox and contact was established with the Rochester School System, which was requested to furnish the names of 200 potential dropouts, who could be helped if given an opportunity to work and learn.

191 youths have been employed full time by Xerox for the period July 1, 1968, through August 30, 1968, receiving \$1.80 per hour for five days a week. They actually work four and one half days, six hours per day, two hours each day and four hours on Friday are devoted to the educational phase of the program.

The educational phase of this program does not include scholastic subjects, but rather is an attempt by the Xerox Corporation to familiarize these youths with the opportunities available to them in the business world, if they were to continue their formal education and graduate from high school and possibly go on to college. It is an attempt by Xerox to motivate and stimulate these individuals to help themselves and obtain a better way of life.

According to [redacted] Xerox is of the opinion the program has been unsuccessful and that Xerox intends to offer full time employment to those members of the group who have already graduated from high school, but at this time are unable to continue on to college. He further advised that Xerox will offer employment to approximately 100 of these individuals.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] continued that the work phase of this program is handled and arranged by Xerox, Rochester, but that the educational phase or learn phase has been turned over to the educational division of Xerox located in New York City at 600 Madison Avenue.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

Specifically this learn phase has been directed by one [redacted] of the Educational Division, New York City. [redacted] has been given a free hand by Xerox in this program and is being assisted by one [redacted] also of the Educational Division, Xerox, New York City. *My*

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised that one phase of [redacted] responsibilities is arranging for guest speakers to appear before this group on Friday afternoon. However, he indicated that it is actually the responsibility of [redacted] to contact the guest speakers and make all of the necessary arrangements. It is source's understanding that [redacted] actually contacted CLEAVER and made all of the arrangements for his appearance in Rochester, New York, on July 26, 1968.

[redacted] stated that air transportation from San Francisco, California, to Rochester, New York, and return, and all expenses in Rochester for CLEAVER and his wife were paid for by the Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York.

[redacted] advised on July 27, 1968, that CLEAVER, his wife, KATHLEEN, [redacted] departed Rochester, New York, at 11:15 AM, July 27, 1968, accompanied by two individuals believed to be [redacted] of the Black Panther Party and an unidentified Negro male and an unidentified white female, in a 1962 Chevrolet, New Jersey License [redacted] which was driven by the above unidentified Negro male. The above individuals departed Rochester, New York, via the New York State Thruway, apparently destined for Syracuse, New York.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] identified [redacted] as being a [redacted] for the "East Villager," a New York City newspaper from the Greenwich Village area of New York City.

On July 27, 1968, [redacted] made available to the FBI, Buffalo, New York, a tape recording of the speech of KATHLEEN CLEAVER and LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER before members of the Earn and Learn Program at Xerox

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

Corporation on July 26, 1968. There follows a verbatim transcript of the speech of LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, which begins on page 12 of the transcript and continues through page 37. It is noted that KATHLEEN CLEAVER, in addressing the Earn and Learn group, set the stage for her husband's address by outlining the history of the Negro in America and his heritage of slavery. In general, she pointed out that the Black people, who have recently been invited to join white society, have generally been unable to do so because of the corporate structure of American business, which denies the Negro an opportunity to participate therein and the profit system in existence in this country in which the Negro has been forbidden to share. She pointed out that the assurances gained by the American Revolution, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are beautiful principles but they have never been properly applied to the Black people. Her remarks were on a less militant plain than those of her husband and are not being set forth herein.

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

The following is an article which appeared in the August 14, 1968 edition of the "Democrat and Chronicle," a daily Rochester, New York newspaper:

"Xerox Cuts Staff in New York

"Xerox Corp. yesterday announced its education division is transferring responsibility for developing and marketing products for the formal school market from New York City to Ginn and Co., Boston-based textbook publishing house acquired last month by Xerox.

"The consolidation, according to Robert W. Haigh, Xerox group vice president who heads the division, means 'we will be reducing our staff in New York City by about 80 people which represents some two per cent of the total employees in the education division.' Haigh said each of the employees has been notified and all will be given assistance in finding new employment.

"Haigh said, 'the consolidation of curriculum development and marketing efforts in the with the known Ginn organization should enable us to provide more effective service to schools across the country.'

"Some of the products to be shifted are 'Science - A Process Approach,' an elementary science program which was developed in conjunction with the American Association for the Advancement of Science; 'The Way It Is, a reading series designed for use with inner-city teenagers, and the Consumer Education Program,' a series of programmed instruction booklets aimed at improving the shopping skills of the poor."

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

On August 14, 1968, [REDACTED]  
Rochester Employment, Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York,  
was contacted concerning the above news article and he said  
that the cutback in personnel in the Educational Division  
of Xerox, New York City, was not brought about as a direct  
result of CLEAVER's appearance before the Earn and Learn  
Program of Xerox, but his appearance certainly was one of  
the contributing factors.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] stated that Xerox has in the recent past  
become somewhat disenchanted with the Education Division  
and some of the individuals associated with it. He stated  
that some members of this Division had recently been  
involved in an unfortunate incident in Washington, D.C.,  
wherein one of the members of a Xerox-sponsored program in  
Washington, similar to the Earn and Learn Program, had been  
involved in a murder. This incident brought a great deal  
of unfavorable publicity to the Xerox Corporation.

[REDACTED] said that he is not too familiar with  
the details concerning the recent situation involving the  
Educational Division but stated that he is aware that [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
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 Non-Violent 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.

7-10-68

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

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.



EXCERPT FROM TRANSCRIPT

(BEGINNING AT PAGE 12)

Female:  
(Cont'd)

"a system of organizing, how you make a living, and who you go to school, and how you do anything is to serve your own interests and once it becomes something outside of us, a corporation, a Federal government, and a war machine and all this with too many who don't have a say in that, who can't even touch it, who can't even relate to it, who don't even know the names of the people who run it and don't know the budget, can't find it out, don't have no way as to ...okay...they gonna spend several million dollars a day to kill Vietnamese. What could we do if we had several millions dollars a day and we decided to kill with it...like that?

"I think I've talked long enough. I'll let my husband talk, and thank you.

Applause.

LEROY ELDRIDGE  
CLEAVER:

"When I start talking I like to say, -'all power to the people and black power to black people.'

Audience:

Applause and cheering.

Male:

"Because power is what we've got to have. I saw people outside on my way in who looked like FBI Agents. I don't know if they really were but if they were, I want to tell them, 'Welcome, pigs.'

Audience:

Applause and cheering.

Male:

"I'm glad that you're here because it's better, it's better for you to get your information... that's not the FBI...

Audience:

Loud laughter.

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"It's better for you to get your information straight from the panther's mouth than to get it second hand so that we say you really don't have to snoop on the panthers...all you have to do is listen because we don't have anything to hide and we try to tell everything in the open because we feel that the truth can stand on its own merits; it doesn't have to be hid; it doesn't have to be defended because it will defend itself. Now the truth of this situation here is rather, rather complicated. On the one hand, we have Xerox Corporation finally spending money to have a program and project for people so they can have something to do, so they can learn something. Now when I see an audience of this size with all these black people in it, my primary concern is to recruit them for the Black Panther Party because I believe that every black person should become a member of the Black Panther Party. Those who don't sign up, we're gonna draft.

Audience:       Laughter and applause.

Male:             "We're gonna draft; we're gonna sent you a letter that says: 'Greetings, Brother.'

Audience:       Laughter.

Male:             "But it's gonna come from the black house not from the White House (more laughter and applause). If you don't, if you don't, if you don't respond to that draft, then we're gonna sent our police after you (more laughter) and you gotta answer the same way you would have to answer if that other pig, LBJ, (laughter) would send you one and you didn't come. We're dealing with a very complicated situation. I read an article about Xerox magazine, Xerox

Male: "Corporation. I've always liked Xerox because  
(Cont'd) those little machines are very functional.  
We don't have one and we can't afford one but  
we'll learn to steal one.

Audience: Laughter.

Male: "I mean we got to have one see because we have  
black propaganda that we have to get out and  
it's like...

Audience: Laughter.

Male: "...So all you brothers and sisters here, you  
have to recognize, you have to recognize that  
you too can play a part in the revolution...  
that you might liberate one of those machines  
and give it to the Black Panther Party.

Audience: Laughter and applause.

Male: "But you got to be careful, you got to be care-  
ful because they're sitting here, they've heard  
this, and they're gonna be counting, they'll  
have their inventories going so be careful but  
get us, get us one of those great big ones.  
Get us one of the great big ones because it  
can almost function like a human being, you  
can put your paper in there, walk away, press  
a button, and come back and get your stuff.  
Don't come with one of those little ones, you  
know, like one, two, three, because we got to  
move fast because time is running out. Time's  
running out and a lot of time is being wasted.  
I think that our primary concern must be that  
when we get involved with the programs, our  
time is not being wasted. I asked the brother  
who organized this program what the age group  
of the people who were part of the program was

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"and he said 16, 17 and some 18. Well when BOB (unintelligible) and HUEY NEWTON organized the Black Panther Party, the first brother who joined the party was 16 years old; I think he was 15 years old at that time, BOBBY HUTTON. He was murdered on April 6 by the Oakland Police Department but it's significant that BOBBY HUTTON at that young age had himself together enough that he was able to hear, he was able to respond, so that we can't sell young people short. I am sure that there are a lot of brothers and sisters here in the audience who are going to make a great contribution to the black revolution. You're gonna have to attempt to make it because you're gonna be forced to do that. Xerox Corporation, if it's not providing you with real skills and with adequate compensation, it's wasting your time. I know that they might consider it inhospitable or rude for me to come here after being invited here and to talk about them but white races of America have been rude to black people and one of the first things that we've got to do is to learn and to understand that we have a right to stand up anywhere and discuss our problems and whoever doesn't like it can make it, can split, because we've got to get an understanding about our problems and how to deal with them. It would be a very beautiful thing if black people had the whole tradition, the educational ability, to invent a Xerox machine...if they had millions of dollars to finance production of Xerox machines but we don't have that. We come here, born into a wretched situation, inadequate resources, in a society that's based on dog eat dog and we call that competition, free enterprise, and they tell you that every man, every child that's born, starts off even and

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"that he can be what he wants to be in this world. Well, we say, that's true...that you, even though you were born into a white racist society, even though you were born without resources, you can see your star in the sky, you can achieve that; but you're not going to do it by going through the channels that the white racist society has set up to essentially keep you out. It's a very sad situation but every time the white folks do something for us on a large scale, we got to be careful about it because nine times out of nine or maybe out of ten, there's some trick in the game somewhere and it's very clear to me that this society is trying to trick us again. They say that we were emancipated 100 years ago, that we were let out of slavery, and that we were supposed to receive 40 acres and a mule...Brother HUEY always says 40 acres and two mules...but it's very clear that we didn't get that, that we got cooled out on another level. We got let out of slave pens and we got cooped up in segregated areas so that we have to be very careful in this day and time not to let history repeat itself again on us because this is the last go around, brothers and sisters, and I want to say something to the young white people here: that the young white people in this country are the only white people that I can really dig because a lot of the old white people are so ossified, so corrupt with racism, that even though they know they're racists, they have patterns of behavior that just won't let them act right. (Slight laughter.) They don't know how to act right even when they want to act right...sometime even if they're insulting you, you know, and if there's anything that's stimulating the revolution in the black community of this country it's the daily insults

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"that we have to confront. Is that right?  
(Murmured agreement by audience.) Insults,  
insulted and injured...we hold those little  
insults in contempt maybe to a greater ex-  
tent than we hold some of the more flagrant  
abusives because we know the flagrant abusives  
for what they are; and the people who are heap  
these flagrant abusives upon us have to know  
that too but in the little petty ways, they  
have become blind to that; they're blind to  
what they're doing to you sometimes and when  
you react to it, they're surprised, they're  
shocked, and they feel you're out there and  
that I bent over backwards for this nigger  
and look how he's acting.

Audience:      Laughter.

Male:            "So that when black people in this day and  
time are going out on to the streets, burn-  
ing, blowing things up, taking guns, and  
shooting pigs dead, they say that you're  
acting crazy, that you're not playing fair.

Audience:      Laughter.

Male:            "That's what they say, that's what they say,  
that's what they mean and LBJ, himself, says  
that we should overcome (laughter); he says  
we will overcome but what he was doing was  
saying that we're going to overcome my way  
and his way, you dig, is to like drop bombs  
on people, to escalate the finances for the  
police department, and we know that these  
police departments are nothing but occupied  
armies, that they control and patrol our  
communities like a standing army in a for-  
eign country and the Xerox Corporation is  
really interested in the welfare of black  
people because it must pay a heavy amount

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"of taxes because it's making big money.  
Everybody wants one of those machines they  
got, you dig?

Audience:

Laughter.

Male:

"And they don't want to sell them to people,  
they rent them...see, they got a monopoly on  
that. Well, they have some competitors now  
that are messing up their game. I mean,  
that's part of capitalism; they can't be  
mad about that because they endorse capi-  
talism. Someone else snuck around and saw  
what the patent was all about, made a few  
changes, and got them a machine out there  
too. Theirs is good too but like Xerox is  
what people think about. So Xerox pays a  
lot of taxes and those taxes go to pay the  
salaries of pigs; those taxes go to pay for  
the guns and the tanks, the flame throwers,  
the stoner rifles, and all this shit that  
they're bringing into our communities to  
continue oppressing us and to keep us cor-  
aled. So the Xerox Corporation doesn't only  
have a responsibility of providing some func-  
tional relationship to the economy to the  
people by hooking them in, letting them have  
jobs, letting they get some training...don't  
come to us with your left hand, your right  
hand out offering us some peanuts and with  
your left hand behind your back giving up  
heavy bread to the pigs because we're hip  
to that and we're gonna do something about  
that and the whole history of black people  
culminates to this point, that we've gone  
through the sit-ins, we've gone through the  
freedom rides, we've gone through tons and  
tons of litigations in the courts and that  
all we have to show for it are summer pro-  
jects and a escalation of pigs who occupy

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"our community but we have to recognize today is that there is a new spirit in the world, that the black people that they have to deal with today are not the same black people that they had to deal with a few years ago because I know that sitting in this room we have young lawyers and we have sisters who can dig that and we have these young white cats who can relate to that. Is that right?

Audience:

"That's right. That's right.

Male:

"Do you recognize the difference between these young white people and these old funky racists? Do you?

Audience:

Applause and laughter.

Male:

"So see the pigs have been trying to destroy the Black Panther Party and one of the chief means that they try to use against us was to say that we were a racist organization but we found out that there was an organization in the white community called the Peace and Freedom Party that we could work with. We don't have to change any of our program. We still relate to the fundamental tool of liberation, which is the gun, but we recognize that white people have a functionary role to play in the revolution so we made an alliance with them, we made a coalition with them, and so now when the pigs tell lies and like say the Black Panther Party is a racist organization, we don't even answer that anymore. We tell these white cats to deal with that and they eat those old racists up; they eat them up because they recognize that these old people have created a situation where their very future's in doubt. The old people who have control of this country have put the whole



Male:  
(Cont'd)

"world on a death rope. All these big corporations are the chief culprits. The corporations in this country are the ones who control this country. The man who controls Xerox Corporation can tell LBJ what to do. LBJ might not do it because he is a fool, you dig? (Laughter.) He listens to some angel in the sky; I don't know who he is listening to; or some angel beneath the earth but he don't listen to reasonable people. He's a very unreasonable man; he's doing unreasonable things to people...but Xerox Corporation has power; it has power because it controls money; money because it controls some machinery that can produce a machine that can be sold, not sold, can be rented and that can provide income and what do we have that we can rent to get income? That's all we got...our muscles...and the trick they're putting us in today is that they're inventing machines to take the place of our muscles and because some of us don't even think too much at all, they're inventing machines that can do the little thinking that we were doing (loud laughter) so I mean this is a, this is a dangerous situation. When machines become obsolete, they get rid of them and the pigs are so vicious that when people become obsolete, they get rid of them too and black people in this country have become obsolete as far as the capitalists are concerned; they don't need us anymore. They got machines to take our place, and the reason they could have this attitude is not because there is any conflict between us and the machines but because there is conflict between us and how those machines are controlled; how the income from those machines is distributed; how those machines are owned. Deeds of trust...pieces of paper...they could put out say like say I own that mountain of iron because I have a piece

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"of paper here that my father left me that says that I own it. (Laughter.) Well, he's a liar, he's a thief because he came out of his mammy's womb naked. He didn't have nothing when he came here but a naked ass (laughter)...just like the rest of us; just like the rest of us. We all come here the same way but we find that at the beginning, we have to deal with a whole lot of stuff, that we have been organized into poverty, and that these rich white boys have been organized into wealth and into power so what we're saying to do is we're gonna break that up; we're gonna step outside the rules of this game; we're gonna mess up your summer projects and any other projects that you come up with until our people receive some justice and until they receive justice there ain't gonna be no peace and you can lie back and scheme and think that you've come up with a brand new game to play on black people but you're a fool if you think that, you're a liar because we're not gonna have it. If necessary, we'll come down here to Xerox and burn it down (Cheers from audience)...we'll blow Xerox up (more cheers)...that's right. Wait a minute, wait a minute, wait a minute...we'll come, we'll come down here to Xerox and get one of these fools to kick into his rump and blow it up.

Audience: Applause and laughter.

Male: "Now we know, we know, wait a minute, we know that he has pigs here to protect him and knowing that he has pigs here to protect him, we're gonna come here prepared to deal with those pigs because what we're saying today, that this is the last time around, and black people are gonna get their share or there ain't gonna be no share for anybody.

**Audience:** Applause and cheers.

**Male:**  
(Cont'd) "That's the way it is. They say that, they say that every man, woman, and child on the face of the planet Earth has a right to the best living that technology is able to provide period. I don't mean every white child, every white man, every white woman, I said every man, woman, and child on the face of the planet Earth has a right to the best living the best of everything that technology is able to produce...red man, yellow man, brown man, black man, white man. And we're gonna have it or we gonna (obscene).

**Audience:** Applause and laughter.

**Male:** "Listen, listen, this is, this is where we are today, this is where we are today, you see, we say that every, every young growing person has a right to an education because an education is nothing but passing on to the people the hazards of the human race, passing on to you what you need to cope with your environment...that if you were living in an economy, in a society where your people earned a living and survived through like fishing and hunting, that's not so complicated so that your father could teach you how to fish, your father could teach you how to hunt and you could take care of that business; but in a complex society, in a complex economy where everything is specialized, where one man does this, another man does this, and another man does something altogether different, it requires specialized skills and the way that they've done us is that they've put us on the side lines and we didn't get any skills but one: we learned how to take because we had to take in order to survive. We learned how to destroy because most of the things around us didn't belong to us so we did it on account,

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"we did it for kicks. Whatever we did it for, we knew how to do it; and this society has not provided us with our heritage. This society has not instilled in us the skills and the knowledge that is necessary to cope with this complex situation so now they're trying to make it up in a (unintelligible word) manner. No... you're gonna make it up in a very realistic manner; you're gonna make it up all the way because anytime you try to sell us short, we're gonna mess that up. Everything you try to give us... a summer program... you're gonna find out we have to have a winter program because as soon as the summer's over and were not involved in this program, we're gonna get off into that again. That's the only way it's gonna be; the only way the black people of this country, the only way the black people of this country are gonna get what they have to have in order to survive, to live a good life is by using the only power we have and that is the power to disrupt this system, the power to destroy if if we don't get it. We gonna organize black people from one end of this big, raggedy, greasy, racist, beastly, (word unintelligible) system, we gonna organize them; we're gonna make sure that they have guns; we're gonna make sure that they know how to make bombs; we're gonna make sure that they know how to get dynamite; we're gonna make sure that they can get everything that's out there to take care of business and we're gonna tell the pigs in the power structure, 'Give it up, (obscene).'

Audience:           Laughter and applause and cheers.

Male:               "...and we're gonna do this. Wait a minute, wait a minute, wait a minutes (laughter). Hold tight, hold tight, hold tight, hold tight. Okay, okay, okay. Hey, wait a minute; hey, wait a minute. What's wrong? Hey, say, what's

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"wrong with you niggers? What's wrong with you niggers? Don't you know the white man don't want you acting like that? (Laughter.) You don't care what he thinks?

Audience:

Amidst laughter, "No."

Male:

"Right on, right on. That's what I said. You ain't got nothing to hide and if he don't like it, ask him why, 'why you don't like it pig?'

Audience:

Laughter, cheering, applause.

Male:

"I know, see, some of them don't like it because they get paid not to like it. Some of them don't like it because it don't look right to them. Some of them don't like it because they're nude. (Laughter.) They got all kinds of reasons for not liking it and it upsets them to see that you really dig it. They say like, 'What's wrong with these niggers?' (Laughter.) That man was standing there talking about blowing up Xerox and them niggers out there on the Xerox program was applauding. (Laughter.) So this can be interpreted that what it means is that you understand that you have Xerox up tight; that Xerox ain't giving you nothing because it loves you, because it things it's humanitarian. Xerox is giving you this because Xerox is a progressive organization and it looks to the future, you dig?

Audience:

Laughter and applause.

Male:

"Wait a minute, wait a minute...compare, compare Xerox with Coca Cola (Laughter). Compare Xerox with some of these other corporations who better not go around talking about giving me a summer project...we're turning dogs loose on you like

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"they did (word unintelligible). (Laughter.) So I'm not, I'm not saying nice things about Xerox because the man from Xerox has promised one of those machines for the Black Panther Party (Laughter). No. I'm gonna get me one of those machines; I'm gonna liberate one. (Laughter.) I'm gonna take one, I'm gonna take one just for kicks, I know where one is right now. (Laughter and applause.) Listen now, you live, you people live in this community here?

Audience: Varied simultaneous answers. Laughter.

Male: "You don't live around here?

Audience: "No.

Male: "...and how you gonna get these machines; these machines, do you make them?

Audience: (Unintelligible).

Male: "Well, why don't you bring some tents, go out and stake out those grounds and say I'm taking this. Say, I'm taking this from you like you took it from the Indians. I'm staking my claim and I got a gun like you have and I'm gonna defend it like you would. They aint' got no bow and arrows! (Laughter.) These fools, these fools got hydrogen bombs and they're trying to pass on this gun control legislation; they don't want us to have no pistols. They got hydrogen bombs, they got machine guns, they got airplanes, and tanks, and submarines...and they don't want us to have no guns at all. Understand? They must be crazy or they must think we're crazy because we have to say take your old gun control legislation...

Audience:       Laughter, cheers, and howls of approval.

Male:            "Because not only do we welcome guns, not only do we welcome guns; but as long as other people on the face of this planet Earth have hydrogen bombs, we want one too. That's right. We want a black finger on the nuclear trigger (laughter) and because we don't have time to be building laboratories and trying to develop scientists to make one, we know that you, Mr. White Man, have a lot of them and we're gonna take one from you.

Audience:       "Right.

Male:            "That's right and I'm not just saying that; I'm not just saying that; I'm saying this: that when we get our shit together now, yeah, if you all got together, look here, if you all got together, got yourselves together, joined the Black Panther Party and all these niggers across this country got together and joined the Black Panther Party and got themselves some guns, people would all listen. There's a world of difference between 25 or 30 million unarmed black people and 25 or 30 million niggers armed to the gills (applause). So if we got ourselves together and we walk on any Army base and take one (laughter) because as long as he has a hydrogen bomb pointed at us, we got to have one pointed at him and say, 'Well push it, (obscene) 'cause I'm pushing mine.'

Audience:       Laughter and applause.

Male:            "Listen here, wait a minute, wait a minute, just wait a minute...it seems the white folks have programmed us; they have programmed us

Male:  
(Cont'd)

"where we're not supposed to act like that, you see? I mean, they have programmed us to believe that it's good and proper for us to cut each other up and kick sisters in the rump, you dig? ...and for sisters to be (phrase unintelligible) on us after (obscene) over them. (Laughter.) I mean, all that, all that's supposed to be all right but he has programmed us so we don't even think in terms of getting in his ass. See? But we know, we can deal with them (word unintelligible), can't we brothers?

Audience:

"Yeah.

Male:

"I remember when I was going to school; I just couldn't believe that no white boy could kick my ass. Just, I mean, just to be truthful about it, to be truthful about it, there was some who could do that. I ran into some rough white boys, you dig? I was in a reform school because I started (obscene) up when I was young. I've always been crazy (laughter) and I tell you, I mean, I just... if I wanted something and I didn't have it... I didn't want no job; look, I didn't (phrase unintelligible) that would have crammed my style. Look, I wanted to be cool. I wanted to be somewhere loaded and coasting and just cooling it. You know. So when I needed something, what I'd do, I'd go out there and just rip it off and at first, I thought that was a cool thing to do because they were busting me, sending me to the reform school, was keeping me for a few months and cutting me loose and I said, well, if I had stayed out here and had been working eight hours a day, eight times five, you know, that's forty, times four, times a whole year, times...shit... that's about how much time I spent in jail.



Male:  
(Cont'd)

"(Laughter.) So I figured, I figured that I would do it this other way and I'd just take what I wanted and go up there and rest and come back and take some more (applause and laughter) but see, they don't play fair because what they do, you see, after you get a certain age, they increase that shit, you dig? (Laughter.) So the last time they sent me up, they kept me in there nine years and I said, shit. I couldn't relate to that so I have to change my game. I still want what I want. I'm gonna have to get another way of getting it. So I had to start thinking about what the whole thing was about and it boiled down to politics; it boiled down to the way that society's organized because in the first place, here I was; here was all the stuff that I read about in magazines and saw on TV; all these things I wanted, you know, and some how they had me organized where I couldn't dig it. I mean I just couldn't go for these changes; I still don't go for these changes. Punching those time clocks for some fool like the fool who owns this place here. Punching his time? No, the only way I would punch a time clock here is if the people owned it. If the people who have a revolution expropriate property of these gentlemen sitting right here today, expropriate it (laughter), take it; if they don't like it, lock 'em up. If they don't stay locked up, (unintelligible) (laughter and applause). You know, I mean that is, we are actually (unintelligible) (laughter). Listen, listen, the only reason that people who have come together in an organized society is there to facilitate survival. People don't come together to organize social units in order to let a few peeweeps exploit the rest of them. They don't come together in an organized situation in order to be slaves. They don't come together in order

Male:  
(Cont'd)

to be put on a (unintelligible) summer project. People come together in a social organization so that a more efficient means can be organized to increase and assure survival on a higher level, because if it doesn't do that, it ain't worth nothing. You might as well go out on your own and survive on your own. So that here we have a, I started to say civilization, but there is no civilization here in Babylon (laughter). Here this society stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border, we have 180, 190, 200 million people. All of these people living together in a huge social conglomerate; but the way this here is organized, it's not functional for the people because we have pigs on the top, talking about, we all know this and we all work for us, but we been working for 'em, but we done took a count, and we said eenie meenie miny moe. You dig? There's more of us. (laughter) There are more people in this country that are pigs and we feel that the people can do without the pigs. We don't need the pigs. We don't need blood-sucking exploiters. We don't need 'em. These doctors, these technicians who are here, these instructors, I say go on back. That man there, look at him, tears all broke out..

Audience:

Howls of laughter.

Male:  
(Cont'd)

Wait a minute. Wait a minute. Look here. Wait a minute. Wait a minute, that wasn't fair. The man, he may have been thinking about how serious this here is. (laughter) But, I can't read his mind. I don't know what he was thinking, but I saw a brother over here that said "ah, you shouldn't have said that." I get more up tight about a fool like that than I would about a pig.

Audience:

Agreement and laughter.

Male:  
(Cont'd)

Because one of the first things we have to do is to get rid of these (unintelligible), get rid of these Uncle Toms and snitchers because, see, if we could get rid of the snitchers, we could really be up tight. I mean, we could get together and we could know everybody that was snooping on us because if all the black people together and all the snitchers and Uncle Toms and the rats could be weeded out, the only way he gonna be able to sneak up on us is with his eaves-dropping devices, tap tapping on the telephone and things; and didn't they just pass a law that calls these things illegal? They did that and did that because they see that these niggers is getting together and they know, they anticipate, that we will weed out these Uncle Toms and get rid of these (unintelligible) and these snitchers and these rats and these punks. You see, and so they wanted to be prepared in advance so that they could steal a snoor on us long distance. You dig? So what we have to do is get hip with them to learn how to jam their shit. (laughter) Now, we don't know how to jam it because you see they can play the samething on us and we can't sneak up on them because we black and when they see us coming, they change the subject. I know that where I was working, maybe where I'm working now, I don't want to say because they might tell my boss and I don't give a damn because he don't do nothing about it, but I'm going to say it. But, once upon a time, I was working at a certain place and I was on the staff, you dig, so I was entitled to attend the staff meetings and what those fools did, they used to hold two staff meetings.

Audience:      Laughter.

Male:  
(Cont'd)

They'd hold one while I was there, and a certain thing would be decided and agreed upon, passed resolutions. I'd go away because I'd know what to do. I'd look around and something else was being done that I haven't had nothing to do with. Alright, so I just kept on doing what I was doing anyway 'cause I know they wasn't going to play fair. You see, they have two meetings on me. (several phrases unintelligible) We got to have it and we gonna get it...

Audience:

Several comments of agreement.

Male:  
(Cont'd)

... by any means necessary. If you don't want to talk about it and negotiate it, if you don't want to do it in a reasonable manner, we're perfectly willing to be reasonable because we don't want to get involved in a whole lot of shit. I mean, that's not, you know, that ain't cool. That ain't our style. You dig? A pig shot me in my leg, ORVILLE shot my foot off. But he was a fool, he was scared, he couldn't shoot straight. (laughter) He thought my head was where my feet are, you see. But I'm glad he couldn't do that because I don't want to be hopping around in a wheel chair or on a pair of crutches. I can't complete that statement 'cause I'm married now. I was going to say because I can't chase the chicks fast enough. (laughter) But I still don't want one leg because there are other things, being married, that I wouldn't be able to do right. You dig? You see? (laughter) And that's serious; I don't want that; so I'll be perfectly willing to negotiate the situation. But how can you negotiate with pigs who are so blind and so stupid that they think that they can continue playing a game on the people until all eternity. They have an old saying that a ruling class never learns anything from the history, that they repeat all the mistakes of

Male: the past; and if they are blind, if  
(Cont'd) they persist until the people come in  
there with a long twisted sword and cut  
his (obscene) head off.

Audience: Laughter and applause.

Male: Cut it right off. Because if he don't  
listen to reason, we gonna have to do it  
in such a way that he get the point. So,  
I guess I have been rattling my mouth  
enough.

Audience: Shouts of disagreement.

Male: Well, it ain't no point. You all ain't  
going to act right.

Audience: Disagreement.

Male: You, sister right here, what you gonna do  
sister? You gonna join the Panthers?  
Where you live at?

Female in Audience: Where do I live?

Male: Yeah.

Female: (answer unintelligible)

Male: Where's that? Harlem?

Female: Oh know, that's in Rochester. You know?  
We don't have Harlem.

Audience: Laughter.

Female: Third Ward, Seventh Ward and Eleventh  
Ward. We call it a ghetto.

Male: Well, see they got some Black Panthers  
in Harlem now, you dig? We had a rally.

Male: We had a rally.. Pardon?  
(Cont'd)

Male in Audience: When are they getting in Rochester?

Female in Audience: You ain't got nobody (unintelligible).

Male: Wait a minute. You don't insult these brothers. Wait a minute.

Audience: Various remarks and comments.

Male: No, No, No. Wait a minute. Wait a minute, brothers. You don't do that. You don't tell me that all these soldiers I see here are scared.

Female in Audience: They are. Your're right.

Male: No, No, No. The only thing (laughter). Wait a minute. See, when you start talking like that I'm gonna give it to brother because I take that shit all the time. See? Because if it was left up to these sisters, boy, we'd be in the middle of this shit right now.

Audience: Some applause and some disagreement.

Male: No, No. Wait a minute. I'm not saying that you wrong; you right. I say this sister, all you sisters here, you get together and have a meeting, you dig? You get together and find out who gonna stick with you, which sisters gonna stick together; those that ain't gonna stick together, tell them to go split. Those that will stick together, tell the brothers to go away, don't call you on the telephone, don't come around talking about giving you some sugar (laughter) until they get themselves together. You dig?

Audience: Various remarks and comments.

Male:  
(Cont'd) Tell them to get themselves together.  
Tell them to get themselves together.  
Tell them to have a meeting down here,  
say for the Black Panthers. (phrase  
unintelligible) BROTHER FORD, that  
brother about 18 years old. He is out  
of sight. I'm gonna see him tomorrow.  
I'm gonna tell him about this and we  
gonna do something about it. If anybody  
else wants to deal with that, give me  
your address and your phone number and  
I'm gonna tell BROTHER FORD to come 'round  
here and put this shit together. You see?  
But you brothers, you brothers, you brothers,  
I'm with you brothers because I know you  
gonna get together because you got to get  
together cause I done told on you, see?

Audience: Laughter.

Male: So when you get together, when you get  
yourselves together, if these sisters  
get together, you tell them. Hah. Well,  
that might not work, huh?

Audience: Laughter and various comments.

Male: Think of some way to run around them,  
brothers. See, a pretty little sister  
like that, she could mess up the revolu-  
tion all by herself. (laughter) You dig?  
But we not gonna do that, we not gonna  
do that because we realize, you and I,  
we can't afford to do that. So we gonna  
put it together. We gonna organize black  
people all across this country. We gonna  
get us freedom, justice and equality. We  
gonna get the security. We gonna get so  
as we gonna get to sleep at night knowing,  
knowing that we gonna wake up in the morning  
not in a concentration camp.

Female in  
Audience:

They got them already.

Male:  
(Cont'd)

That's right; they got them right now. We know it, and we can't go to sleep at night waking up knowing what is going to be going on tomorrow. You've been in here. You haven't been listening to the news. You don't know what's going on. Rochester might be burning down there right now. You dig? They might be doing that, but this is something that you have to understand; that there are ways of doing thing that are better than others. You see? Like the Black Panther Party was organized because BROTHER HUEY NEWTON and BROTHER BOBBY SILL, who liv' in Oakland, California, were sitting back checking the shit out when Watts went up. They made the statistics and they saw that all those black people got killed; and then they read the statistics from all these other places, you see, and here there were some niggers running around out in the streets throwing some fuel bombs and rocks at pigs, knowing full well that those pigs blow all the way. So that's not an intelligent thing to do, you see. You don't do that. You don't take care of your (unintelligible) that way. People only do that when they don't have another alternative. People in that position don't know what to do, and they're so fed up with the situation that they want to do something so they just go out and say (obscene) and throw a brick at a pig, and the pig right away say (obscene), I'm gone.

Audience:

Laughter.



Male:  
(Cont'd)

I mean, that's no good because we want to use the strategic method. That way, (unintelligible). We have enough to survive, you dig? We have enough to survive. So that what you do, you invite the Black Panther Party down here and we will organize black people in this community. We create a machine in this community that will be able to deal with this system and try to minimize casualties. You see? Because we relate to the situation from the top to the bottom, from politics all the way down to what happens on the street. And we say that if we organize black people and put all that strength together, get all that unity, then we will be able to send our representative to Washington, D.C. and say "I have been instructed by my people to give you this list of demands and I have been instructed to inform you that if these demands are not fulfilled by a certain amount of time, that you will recognize that a political consequence has been inflicted upon you." (discussion within the audience) It says, ELDRIDGE's program will be until 4:30.

Audience: Quarter to five.

Male: Buses are ready. Rides have..... (several phrases unintelligible) Wait a minute now, I rode it (laughter and applause) (phrase unintelligible) Only, uh, Black Panthers and friends have to be back by 5:00 PM.

Audience: Shouts of disagreement.

Male: It's 4:20 right now. I got ten more minutes. May I ask if there are any questions or demands? Yeah, o.k.

Audience: Several comments and remarks.

Male: Now, do we have any questions or  
(Cont'd) demands?

Audience: Several comments.

Male: (Phrase unintelligible) The only thing we have to do is learn to defend each other. (phrase unintelligible). Now I'm going to cut out of here so pay attention, see. Alright? These fools, these children, these descendants of the kidnappers who brought my forefathers over here, who put them through all those changes and who ended up on one side of the table and me on the other side of the table, think that they have a right to tell me what to do. So, although I'm not in a position to tell them just what (unintelligible), but I'm not able to make him act like I want him to act so in order to continue around I kind of have to go along with him. I have to go to him to get permission any time I want to go to Rochester. I want to go to Rochester, New York, because I have been invited by Xerox Corporation to talk to a summer project. So he says "o.k., you can go;" and I say "thank you, (obscene)."

Audience: Howls of laughter.

Unintelligible ----

END OF TRANSCRIPT