

Huey Newton

FBI File #HQ 105-165429

Section 13

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 6 1971

TELETYPE

NR017 NY C O D E

147PM URGENT 5-6-71 JDF

TO DIRECTOR 105-165429

ATT; DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203

FROM NEW YORK 157-2702 1P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA; RM - BPP (KBE).

A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE FBI OBSERVED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DISEMBARK AMERICAN AIRLINES

FLIGHT EIGHTEEN AT SIX FIFTY-TWO A.M. INSTANT AT JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, NEW YORK. NEITHER NEWTON NOR [REDACTED] WERE OBSERVED ABOARD SUCH FLIGHT.

THE ABOVE GROUP OF [REDACTED] OBSERVED DEPARTING JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT EIGHT A.M. INSTANT ABOARD AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO ZERO ONE ENROUTE TO HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

NO BPP REPRESENTATIVES FROM NEW YORK AREA WERE PRESENT AT THE AIRPORT TO MEET [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE;

REC 12
EX-104

10 MAY 12 1971

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL, MAY FOUR LAST AND NYTEL CALL TO NEW HAVEN SPECIAL AGENT OBSERVING WAS [REDACTED] LOCAL NYCPD AWARE OF ABOVE ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE.

END

BSP FBIWASH DC

MAY 17 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/25/88 BY SP3 Daj/rtz
6-26-87 SP5 G/LPT

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. S v a r s	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan	CD <i>OK</i>
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room

F B I

Date: 5/6/71

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

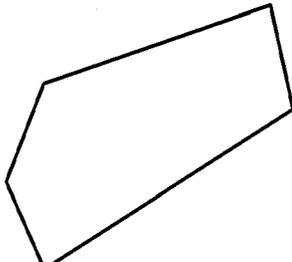
Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/ax

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

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

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP; TREASON
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: San Francisco



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b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM setting forth statements made by Subject; and two copies of FD-376.

D

*1cc 806
copies to 1SD, SS
5/10/71
JCA/jm*

REC-3

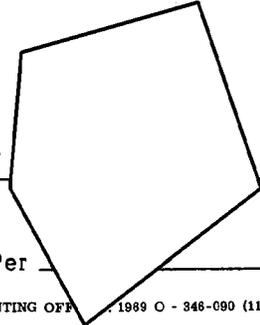
105-165429-416

12 MAY 12 1971

4-destroyed

10 ENCLOSURE

② - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
2 - San Francisco
JLC:mba
(4)



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57 MAY 18 1971

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-165429

April 6, 1971

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

Dear Sir:

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

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

2

Enclosure(s)

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



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

April 6, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 GJ
Cpt

One copy of this memorandum is being submitted
to the United States Secret Service, San Francisco, California.

The May 1, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther",
official weekly publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP),
contained the following statements by Huey P. Newton, Supreme
Commander and Minister of Defense of the 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 over-
throw of the United States Government.

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

105-165429-416
ENCLOSURE

—STATEMENT—

BY
HUEY P. NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
OF
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
AND SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

The original vision of the Black Panther Party was to serve the needs of the oppressed people in our communities and defend them against their oppressors. When the Party was initiated we knew that these goals would raise the consciousness of the people and motivate them to move more firmly for their total liberation. We also recognized that we live in a country which has become one of the most repressive governments in the world even to the point of imperialist exploitation in communities all over the world. We did not expect such a repressive government to stand by idly while the Black Panther Party went forward to the goal of serving the people. We expected repression.

We knew, as a revolutionary vanguard, repression would be the reaction of our oppressors; but we recognized that the task of the revolutionist is difficult and his life is short.

We were prepared then, as we are now, to give our all in the interest of oppressed people. We expected the repression to come from outside forces, which have long held our communities in subjection. However, the ideology of dialectical materialism helped us to understand that the contradictions surrounding the Party would create a force that would move us toward our goals. We also expected contradictions within the Party, for the oppressors use infiltrators and provocateurs to help them reach their evil ends. Even when the contradictions come from formerly loyal members of the Party, we see them as part of the process of development, rather than in the negative terms the oppressor's media use to interpret them. Above all, we knew that through it all the Party would survive.

The Party would survive because it had the love and support of the people who saw their true interests expressed in the actions of the Party. The Party would also survive because it would be a political vehicle which continued to voice the interests of the people and serve as their advocates.

The importance of a structured political vehicle has always been apparent

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1971

to us. When we went to Sacramento, we went for the purpose of educating the people and beginning the building of a permanent political vehicle to serve their true interests. In our most recent communication with both the North and South Vietnamese Revolutionary Governments, they pointed out that they understood what we were doing and saw it as the correct strategy. They said that a "structured organization is related to politics as a shadow to a man." We recognize that the political machine in America has consistently required Black people to support it, through paying taxes and fighting in wars; but that same machine consistently refuses to serve the interests of the Black community. One of the problems is that the community does not have a structured organization or vehicle which serves its needs and represents the people's interest. You can no more have effective politics without a structured organization, than you can have a man without his shadow. They go together and are necessary to each other. Oppressed Black people -- the lumpenproletariat -- did not have a structured organization to represent their true interests until the Black Panther Party arose from within the community, motivated by the needs and conditions of the people.

Across the country there have been coalitions of Black people and Black caucuses, but these have not served the people as political vehicles. They have merely served as bourgeois structures to get Black candidates into

political office. Once elected, the machinery used to thrust these people into office simply passed out of existence or became ineffective, insofar as serving the true interests of the Black oppressed people.

A truly revolutionary vehicle which will survive the repression it encounters daily is made up of a number of characteristics. First of all there is a small, but dedicated cadre of workers who are willing to devote their full time to the goals of the organization. Secondly, there is a distinct organized structure through which the cadre can function. It is this combination of structure and dedicated cadre which can maintain the machinery for meeting the people's needs. In this way a printing press can be maintained to review the events of the day and interpret them in a manner which serves the people. It can circulate information about daily phenomena and educate the people as to their true meaning. It can carry out programs of service which deliver to the people basic needs which are not satisfied elsewhere, because the lumpenproletariat are the victims of oppression and exploitation. A cadre and a structure, however, are not what makes the political vehicle a revolutionary one. It is the revolutionary concepts which define and interpret phenomena, and establish the goals toward which the political vehicle will work. A revolutionary vehicle is in fact a revolutionary concept set into motion by a dedicated cadre through a particular organized structure.

Such a vehicle can survive re-

pression because it can move in the necessary manner at the appropriate time. It can go underground if the conditions require; and it can raise up again. But it will always be motivated by love and dedication to the interest of the oppressed communities. Therefore the people will insure its survival, for in that survival is the service of their needs. The structured and organized vehicle will guarantee the weathering of the test of internal and external contradictions.

The responsibility of such a political vehicle is clear. It is to function as a machine which serves the true interests of the oppressed people. This means that it must be ever aware of the needs of the communities of the oppressed, and develop and execute the necessary programs to meet those needs. The Black Panther Party has done this through its basic Ten-Point Program. However, we recognize that revolution is a process and we cannot offer the people conclusions--we must be ready to respond creatively to new conditions and new understandings. Therefore we have developed our Free Breakfast Program, our Free Health Clinics, our Clothing and Shoe Programs, and our Busses to Prisons Program, as well as other programs, in response to the obvious needs of Black People. The overwhelmingly favorable response to these programs in every community is evidence that they are serving the true interest of the people.

Serving the true interest of the people also means that the political vehicle must stand between the people and the

oppressive forces which prey upon them in such a manner that the administrators will have to give the appropriate response. Such articulation requires us to have a political organ which will express the interests of the people and interpret phenomena for them. The existence of such a political vehicle is justified only so long as it serves the true interests of the people.

Serving the true interests of the people, however, does not mean that the vehicle is simply a reflector of public opinion, because the opinions of the people have often been molded and directed against their true interests by slick politicians and exploitative educators. Their diversionary tactics often lead the people down blind alleys or onto tangents which take them away from their true goals. We can easily see this when we apply the concept of American democracy to the Black community.

Democracy in America (bourgeois democracy) means nothing more than the domination of the majority over the minority. That is why Black people can cast votes all year long, but if the majority is against us, we suffer. Then the politicians and educators try to deceive the community with such euphemisms as "It's rule by the majority, but the rights of the minority are protected." If, in fact, participating in the democratic process in America were in the interest of the Black community, there would be no need for a

Free Breakfast Program, there would be no need for Free Health Clinics or any of the other programs we have developed to meet the people's needs. The rights of the minority are protected by the standards of a bourgeois government, and anything which is not in their interest is not permitted. This may be democratic for the majority, but for the minority it has the same effect as fascism. When the majority decreed that we should be slaves, we were slaves--where was the democracy in slavery for us? When the majority decreed that we should pay taxes, fight and die in wars, and be given inferior and racist education against our interests, we got all of these things. Where is democracy for us in any of it. Our children still die, our youth suffer from malnutrition, our middle-aged people suffer from sickle-cell anemia, and our elderly face unbearable poverty and hardship because they reach the twilight period of their lives with nothing to sustain them through these difficult times. Where is the democracy in any of this for Black people? Democracy means only that the majority will use us when they need us and cast us aside when they do not need us. A true understanding of the working and effect of American democracy for Black people will reveal most clearly that it is just the same as fascism for us. Our true interests and needs are not being served.

The political vehicle of the people must be guided by a consistent ideology which represents the true interests of

the people. We see an ideology as nothing more than a systematic and organized set of principles for analyzing and interpreting objective phenomena. An ideology can only be accepted as valid, if it delivers true understanding of the phenomena which affect the lives of the people. The development of a wide variety of truths about the community, its internal development, and the external forces surrounding it, will lead then to a philosophy which will help orient us toward goals which are in the true interest of the people.

The Black Panther Party was born in a period of stress when Black people were moving away from the philosophy and strategy of non-violent action toward the sterner actions. We dared to believe that we could offer the community a permanent political vehicle which would serve their true interests by meeting their needs and advocating their interests. We have met many foes; we have seen many enemies. We have been slandered, kidnapped, gagged, jailed and murdered. We know now, more than ever before, that the will of the people is greater than the technology and repression of those who are against the interests of the people. Therefore we know that we can and will continue to serve the people and educate the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Huey P. Newton

Minister of Defense

Black Panther Party,

Servant of the People.



**EULOGY FOR
SAMUEL NAPIER -**

*Delivered At
The Revolutionary Service
April 24, 1971*

*By Huey P. Newton
Minister Of Defense
Of*

*The Black Panther Party,
Servant Of The People*

There's very much in my heart today. And, I have very few words to express them. Samuel L. Napier was one of the first brothers to join the Black Panther Party, and therefore he is a veteran of the struggle. He's always been attached to distribution of our paper, the Black Panther paper, which is the life of the Party. The voice of the people. Those who would cut off Samuel Napier would cut off the voice of the people. But, because the voice is manifested in all of us collectively,

the voice will go on.

Death comes to all of us, but it varies in its significance. To die for the reactionaries, the racists, the capitalists is lighter than a feather. But to die for the people, in service to the people is heavier than any mountain and deeper than any sea. Samuel's death is very significant. He will live on in spirit, because we'll make sure that we will advance the struggle. And we will cry for those who are living, because we are in very bad shape. Samuel has now put down his burden; and it will be very heavy for us, because he carried the burden for thousands. He was an extremely hard worker. We won't be able to replace him. No. We can only fill in the rank, with a hundred, with a thousand men.

Samuel Napier was a servant of the people; he gave the supreme gift to the people. So therefore Samuel Napier was the Supreme Servant of the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Samuel L. Napier is publicly known as the former Distribution Manager of the BPP newspaper. He was shot and killed in New York City on April 17, 1971. The BPP held a revolutionary funeral for Napier in Oakland, California, on April 24, 1971.

5/11/71

Airtel

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To: SAC, New York (157-2702)

From: Director, FBI (105-165429)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CW
LPT

HUEY P. NEWTON
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Television program directories reflect Newton
scheduled to appear David Frost show night of 5/14/71
originating New York.

New York verify this appearance and arrange to
make audio recording thereof. Submit summary teletype of
highlights after show followed by detailed LHM and copy
of recording.

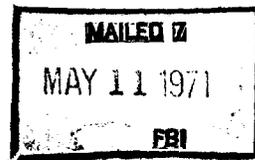
1 - San Francisco (157-1203)

JLA:dr1 (5)

NOTE:

This is a recorded show which should be of
interest as undoubtedly Frost will lead Newton on as
he did Charles Garry, when Garry appeared.

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



EX-104

REC 18

105-165429-417

MAY 13 1971

53 MAY 17 1971

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 13 1971

NR 001 SF PLAIN

TELETYPE

1127AM URGENT 5-11-71 MS

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

LOS ANGELES (157-5552)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) IP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5-*gj*

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

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE)

RELATEL MAY SEVEN LAST.

FOR INFO LOS ANGELES, NEWTON DEPARTED SAN FRANCISCO NIGHT OF
MAY TEN LAST, FOR NEW HAVEN, CONN., WHERE HE IS ATTENDING TRIAL OF
BOBBY SEALE. DATE NEWTON TO RETURN TO SAN FRANCISCO AREA NOT YET
KNOWN.

IN VIEW OF FOREGOING, IT APPEARS THAT NEWTON WILL NOT APPEAR
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (UC) AT IRVINE, CALIF., FOR HIS
ENGAGEMENT NIGHT OF MAY ELEVEN, INSTANT. HOWEVER, SAN FRANCISCO HAS
NO INFORMATION THAT NEWTON HAS IN FACT CANCELLED THE APPEARANCE.

LOS ANGELES DETERMINE IF NEWTON'S APPEARANCE AT UC AT IRVINE
HAS BEEN CANCELLED.

END

1cc 806

PLB FBI WA

EX-115

REC 18

418

MAY 13 1971

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53 MAY 17 1971

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Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5-10-71

Our Los Angeles Office is requesting approval to have Agent personnel record speech of Huey P. Newton at the University of California, Irvine, California, at 8:00 p.m., 5-11-71. They have advised that this will not be done unless full security can be assured. This speech is open to the public.

Huey P. Newton is the leader of one faction of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and it is extremely important that we secure recordings of his speeches in order that we might use them as evidence should he make inflammatory remarks. If you concur, our Los Angeles Office will be instructed to tape record Newton's speech provided full security can be assured.

ABK:lrs

WBS

OK
for you

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/PT

GCY
WBS

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

JP
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5

NR 003 LA CODE

254PM URGENT 5-10-71 DLK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) ATTN -- DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
 FROM LOS ANGELES (157-5552)

Racial Matter-Black Panther Party
 HUEY P. NEWTON, RM DASH BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).



RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, MAY SEVEN LAST.
 BUREAU APPROVAL IS REQUESTED TO HAVE AGENT PERSONNEL
 RECORD SUBJECT'S SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT
 IRVINE (UCI), IRVINE, CALIFORNIA, ON MAY ELEVEN NEXT.
 SPEECH SCHEDULED TO BE HELD CRAWFORD HALL ON CAMPUS AT
 EIGHT P. M., OPEN TO THE PUBLIC. TAPE RECORDING WILL NOT
 BE DONE UNLESS FULL SECURITY CAN BE ASSURED.

Tel to LA, MEMPHIS 5/11/71 ABF/LCS

END

IIAXVFJ

RGSTOMUV;8

REC-41 105-165429 - 419

MAY 13 1971

5/11/71

CODE

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY SP5

URGENT

TO SACS LOS ANGELES (157-5552)
SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
NEW YORK
NEW HAVEN



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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REC-41

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165429) — 419

MAY 11 1971

EX-112

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

TELETYPE

RELATEL MAY TEN LAST.

PROVIDED FULL SECURITY ASSURED BUREAU AUTHORITY GRANTED
TO RECORD SCHEDULED SPEECH BY SUBJECT AT UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA AT IRVINE, CALIFORNIA, THIS DATE. FOR INFORMATION
LOS ANGELES SUBJECT DEPARTED SAN FRANCISCO MAY TEN LAST AND
ARRIVED NEW YORK CITY EARLY A.M. THIS DATE PRESUMABLY ENROUTE
NEW HAVEN TO ATTEND TRIAL OF BOBBY SEALE. IN VIEW OF THIS
TRAVEL THERE IS POSSIBILITY HE MAY NOT SHOW FOR SCHEDULED
SPEECH.

SAN FRANCISCO, NEW HAVEN AND NEW YORK BE ALERT FOR
TRAVEL OF SUBJECT AND IMMEDIATELY ADVISE BUREAU AND LOS AN

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

ABF:acs (5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

acs

[Handwritten signature]

gc

[Handwritten initials]

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MAY 10 1971

TELETYPE TO LOS ANGELES, ET AL.
RE: HUEY P. NEWTON
105-165429

NOTE:

By referenced teletype Los Angeles requested authority to have Agent personnel record a speech by Newton at the University of California at Irvine, which is open to the public. Speech to be recorded only if full security assured. Director advised of request to record by Informative Note and concurred with recommendation that such authority be granted Los Angeles.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

REC-26
REC-26

MAY 5 1971
TELETYPE

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

NR 021 SF CODE
9 43 PM NITEL 5/4/71 BEH
TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

NEW HAVEN
NEW YORK
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

RELIABLE SOURCE ON MAY FOUR INSTANT, ADVISED NEWTON, BPP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL PROBABLY GO TO NEW HAVEN, CONN., MAY SIX NEXT AND WILL ATTEND TRIAL OF BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

HAS SPOKEN AT BPP RALLIES IN SAN

FRANCISCO.
END OF PAGE ONE

REC-26 105-165429-420
1-806
SERIS 5/10/71
RNB/mw

2 MAY 13 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/18/81 BY 7514 JCH/UM
6-26-87 SP5 W/LPK

53 MAY 20 1971
F42

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

AMERICAN AIR LINES OFFICIAL ADVISED MAY FOUR INSTANT, THAT
NEWTON, [REDACTED] HOLD RESERVATIONS
ON AMERICAN AIR LINES FLIGHT EIGHTEEN DEPARTING SAN FRANCISCO
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AT TEN FIFTEEN P.M., MAY FIVE NEXT AND
ARRIVING AT KENNEDY AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY, SIX FOURTEEN A.M.,
MAY SIX NEXT. THEY ALSO HOLD RESERVATIONS ON AMERICAN AIR LINES
FLIGHT TWO ZERO ONE DEPARTING KENNEDY AIRPORT AT EIGHT A.M., MAY
SIX NEXT, WHICH ARRIVES HARTFORD, CONN., EIGHT FORTYTWO A.M. RETURN
RESERVATIONS OPEN.

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL TO BUREAU APRIL TWENTYNINE LAST, CAPTIONED "TRIAL
OF BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS, SUPERIOR COURT, NEW HAVEN,
CONNECTICUT, NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN NINETEEN SEVENTY, RM".

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

NEW YORK AND NEW HAVEN, ALERT APPROPRIATE SOURCES AS TO THE
TRAVEL OF NEWTON AND [REDACTED] TO YOUR AREAS AND ARRANGE APPROPRIATE
END OF PAGE TWO

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b6
b7c

PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

COVERAGE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES SINCE THEY ARE KEY BLACK EXTREMIST
SUBJECTS.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL FOLLOW ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON AND
AND ADVISE APPROPRIATE OFFICE OF THEIR DEPARTURES.

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b7c

END

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 7 1971

TELETYPE

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY

NR 014 LA CODE
603 PM NITEL 5-7-71 RWM
TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)
SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
FROM LOS ANGELES (157-5552) 2P.

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

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THAT BLACK STUDENT UNION
(BSU) AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT IRVINE (UCI) HAS BEEN
ALLOWED PERMISSION BY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION TO SPONSOR SUBJECT
AS SPEAKER ON MAY ELEVEN, NEXT AT EIGHT PM AT CRAWFORD HALL
ON CAMPUS. EVENT TITLED "CULTURAL EVENING WITH HUEY NEWTON"
AND PART OF "BLACK CULTURE WEEK" AT UCI.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION CONDITIONED NEWTON'S APPEARANCE
ON NO WEAPONS BEING CARRIED BY NEWTON OR ENTOURAGE AND NEWTON'S
ALLOWING SEARCH OF HIS PERSON AND BODYGUARDS.

SECOND RELIABLE SOURCE HAS ADVISED THAT THREE THOUSAND
TICKETS BEING PRINTED FOR OCCASION ASKING ONE DOLLAR DONATION.
LOS ANGELES BPP MEMBER HAVE BEEN TRAVELING TO SANTA ANA,

END PAGE ONE

100806

EX-103

REC 43

105-165429-421

62 MAY 20 1971

F247

1 MAY 13 1971

b6
b7c

LA 157-5552

PAGE TWO

CALIFORNIA TO ASSIST IN ARRANGEMENTS FOR EVENT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE ONE IS

[REDACTED]

b2
b6
b7C

[REDACTED] SOURCE TWO IS

[REDACTED]

SOURCE ONE ADVISED THAT CAMPUS SECURITY IS NOT ALLOWED TO TAPE SPEECHES ON CAMPUS. SHERIFF'S OFFICE ALSO NOT ALLOWED ON CAMPUS. LOS ANGELES IS SURVEYING POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHED SOURCES TAPING SPEECH. IF SUCH ARE NOT AVAILABLE AND SECURITY CAN BE ASSURED, LOS ANGELS WILL REQUEST BUREAU AUTHORITY TO HAVE AGENT PERSONNEL RECORD SUBJECT'S SPEECH.

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISE OF DATE AND TIME OF NEWTON'S DEPARTURE WHEN AVAILABLE.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 11 1971 *XAL*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	<i>MB</i>
Mr. Callahan	<i>MC</i>
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR006 LA CODE

208PM URGENT 5-11-71 DCB

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

NEW HAVEN

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-5552) 1P

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *6-26-87* BY *SPS*

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP (KBE).

RE LA TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR MAY SEVEN, LAST.

A RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT CANCELLED APPEARANCE
AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT IRVINE, WHICH WAS SCHEDULED FOR
MAY ELEVEN, INSTANT. NO OFFICIAL EXPLANATION AVAILABLE YET.
RUMORED SUBJECT MAY BE TRAVELLING TO NEW HAVEN INSTEAD, REASON
UNKNOWN.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS



SAN FRANCISCO

b2

CONFIRM.

END

1CC 806

EX-103

REC 43

105-105459-422

MAY 13 1971

51 MAY 19 1971

FBI

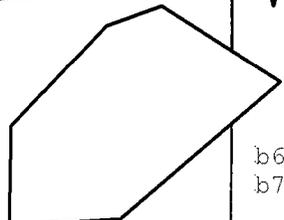
Date: 5/11/71

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 CJS/ST

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (157-2633) (P)
RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka.
RM - BPP; TREASON - KBE



b6
b7C

Re CV tel to Bureau, 4/26/71, captioned as above.

An established source, who has provided reliable info in the past, advised that since HUEY NEWTON did not speak at Cuyahoga Community College (CCC), on 4/24/71, tentative arrangements have been made for him to appear in CV, Ohio, and speak at CCC on 5/26/71. Detailed plans as yet have not been set. It is noted that CV will follow such developments and report appropriate activities as necessary.

Chicago and San Francisco are requested to contact their sources and, if appropriate, keep CV advised of any travel plans of NEWTON.

REC 27/05-165429-423

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Chicago (157-4765) (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)
2-Cleveland
JJC:jac
(8)
1cc 106

22 MAY 13 1971

REC'D
F. SECT.
EXT. SEC.
BUREAU

b6
b7C

51 MAY 19 1971

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

NA

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429) DATE: 5/10/71

FROM : *CWB* SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

SUBJECT: *N* HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE)
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-23-71 BY SP2 TAP/AN

6-26-87 SPSA/CP

Re Chicago airtel and LHM dated 4/5/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a LHM concerning the appearance of HUEY PERCY NEWTON on "Kup's Show" 4/10/71, in Chicago. Three copies are enclosed for San Francisco.

The first source utilized in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] highly confidential and sensitive.

b2
b7D

The second source is [redacted]

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ as information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

b2
b7D

[redacted] monitored "Kup's Show" at which time he taped it. The original tape is retained in CG 157-3765-1B1.

Chicago continues to follow this case and will advise of all pertinent information developed.

EXP. PROC. 32

*1cc 1018
1cc 806*

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (157-1203) (Encl. 3) (RM)
(1 - 157-1904) (BPP - CHICAGO DIVISION)
- 4 - Chicago
(1 - 157-1291 Sub J)
(1 - 157-1291) (BPP)

b2
b7D

CES:aja
(9)

*copied to 150 SS
5/14/71*

REC-88

11- ENCL. LISTED JLA/jrs

5 - destroyed

424

MAY 19 1971

REC. MGT. SECT.



MAY 19 1971



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

May 10, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-3765

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On April 2, 1971, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Huey Percy Newton participated that date in a taped interview at NBC studios, Chicago. The interview was on "Kup's Show," a television talk program moderated by Irving Kupcinet, a Chicago television and newspaper personality. The program is to be televised at a future, unknown date. The source added that Huey Percy Newton is the Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The BPP is described on the appendix pages attached hereto.

On April 16, 1971, a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided the following taped recording of Newton's appearance on April 10, 1971, over WMAQ-TV, NBC, Chicago, on "Kup's Show."

~~CONFIDENTIAL
Classification
Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

DECLASSIFIED ON 4-23-81

BY SP2 TAP lab

SP5 W/DAK 6 26-89

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

105-165401-424

ENCLOSURE

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Irv Kupcinet

"How do you do and welcome to the Lively Art of Conversation. This show is unrehearsed and the conversation is uninhibited and I'm Irv Kupcinet. I'd like to take just a moment to extend the holiday greetings this weekend which combine both Easter and Passover. Among the guests will be Huey Newton one of the most controversial figures on the scene today and one of the leaders of the Black Panthers, Marvin Aspen, Legal Officer for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of the Crim. --- of the book Criminal Law for the Layman. Another guest will be J.A. Parker a spokesman for the Young Americans for Freedom."

"Now let me introduce one of the most controversial figures on the American scene today. This is Huey Newton. Mr. Newton is the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, one of the organizer's of that Party and this is Marvin Aspen, Legal Officer for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of a book called, 'The Criminal Law for the Layman' and from Washington, D.C., J. A. Parker, a leading spokesman for the Young Americans for Freedom. Welcome gentlemen. Huey, if I may call you Huey, tell me what is the goal of the of the Black Panthers -- there's there's so much contradiction and confusion I think about what the real goals are for the Black Panthers, perhaps briefly you could cite what your aims are."

Huey Newton

"I don't know how briefly but I'll try to be a brief I'm rather long winded. The Black Panther Party was organized in 1966 about October and it was organized around a Ten Point Program, and within the program we're very concerned about developing a black community that was stripped away from us after the conquest of the mother country, Africa. The family was disbursed and generally the concept of community was destroyed as far as we were concerned. Now at this late date some 400 years later we find our black people living mostly together concentrated in various urban areas in the city as well as a large

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

population of blacks in the south but all of these areas where we blacks live have one thing in common, a most oppressed area, the housing is very poor and sub-standard, the medical care is below standard considering the advancements in medicine and as far as the advantages of living in the country thats supposed to be so very affluent and so fair and Democratic we see the blacks do not benefit by these advancements even if..... "

Kupcinet interrupts Newton

"So far everything you say is what every other good black organization wants for their fellow blacks is it not? To improve the lot of the black man in this country. Now you have been identified so much with communism, Maoist communism branch of communism, is this the means by which you hope to bring about this kind of a change?"

Huey Newton

"It's impossible to import a particular kind of movement from one community to the other. When I speak of community now I'm speaking of geographical location thats commonly called nation. I view the world now as a (inaudible) collection of communities. Each community has its particular problems and it has to be dealt with in a way that is appropriate. (Inaudible) will grasp the imagination of the people and mobilize them in the direction towards freedom. The Black Panther Party is dedicated to analyzing the problem in the most scientific way and in the most objective way so that eventually we can act in our own most subjective interests."

Irv Kupcinet

"Thats a very calm and sort of a peace like proposal your putting forth but yet the Black Panthers have been identified with violence and Hilliard one of your spokesmen said we must have an armed revolution in this country and Eldridge Cleaver I think believes in a form of violence which he deems. You would like you get away from violence is that a...an accurate portrayal?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"The Black Panther Party was always dedicated to the abolition of violence, war and the gun. We use some statements from Chairman Mao and also from (Inaudible two names) Patrice Lumumba (phonetic) and Marcus Garvy (phonetic). We use many statements if they are appropriate, and if they are similar and fit our need."

Irv Kupcinet

"You mean your rhetoric is worse than your action?"

Huey Newton

"I think the oppressors action is worse than can be described. And this is what I'm getting at...."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"I'm talking about your own rhetoric though."

Huey Newton

"We have a motto which says we're advocates of the abolition of war. Although sometimes war can only be abolished through war in order to get rid of the gun it becomes necessary to take up the gun. This statement is clearly not dedicated to armament but what it is dedicated to is to the elimination of (inaudible). In other words I think that one being an American would be very arrogant, very racist, and very unfair to say that the Vietnamese are dedicated to violence, the Vietnamese..."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"Which Vietnamese are you talking about the South or the North?"

Huey Newton

"No I'm talking about the Vietnamese in both

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the south and the north who are fighting to oust the foreign intruder which happens to be the American aggressor, the fascist."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well I don't think your facts are correct there, are they? Do you think the south Vietnamese is fighting to kick the Americans out of Vietnam?"

Huey Newton

"Of course, the provisional revolutionary government is located in the south not the north."

Irv Kupcinet

"Your talking about the Viet Cong."

Huey Newton

"Wait a minute I'm talking about Vietnamese people. They call us Niggers they call them Cong you see, I call them Vietnamese people because I've never heard them call themselves Cong."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well the VC is not a derogatory term."

Huey Newton

"Well, Viet Cong is derogatory to the Vietnamese as he calls himself the Vietnamese."

Irv Kupcinet

"I never heard, I never heard it being derogatory but thats besides the point but you must admit there are a lot of south Vietnamese fighting on the (inaudible) of the American."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"Have you ever heard the South Vietnamese call himself a Viet Cong?"

Irv Kupcinet

"I can't say I have and I can't say I haven't... I don't know. The term is used commonly."

Huey Newton

"Well then you should investigate because you could learn something..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You may be right. I don't think its an important point."

Huey Newton

"Anyway, anyway, I'm saying that just as the Vietnamese are oppressed by a police action because the President said long ago that theres no war going on in Vietnam its the police action just as we had in Korea some years ago. There's also a police action going on in our community and we feel that we must defend ourselves from that kind of aggression."

Irv Kupcinet

"You mean all the violence from the Black Panthers is a reaction to the police action is that what you're saying?"

Huey Newton

"Well the victim is never violent. The victim can only use self-defense. Aggression is related to violence. We must understand the difference between the self defense of the victim and the violence of the aggressor, so I charge the United States ruling circle. I charge Mayor Daley and a his vicious police dogs who killed Fred

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Hampton and Marv Clark right here in Chicago. I charge them with violence. And also the Grand Jury charged them with violence I believe, so, I can't very well say that Fred Hampton was violent when he only suffered violence. The black community throughout this country did not create the situation that we not only suffer aggression and a physical weight from the police revolver but we also suffer violence from being deprived and matter of fact its more daily than anything else because it makes you a living dead man..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You charge that the Chicago police and Marv Aspen have been connected in one form or another. Do you have any comment to make about that?"

(Another Speaker) Number 1

"Well, I think the whole tone of Huey's remarks are kind of interesting. You know the scattered end approach, the saying in one breath that you know we're not for violence with the gun yet we've got to take it up. Practically every bit of violence or every war for that matter is justified because this is a means to end a war of violence and that kind of circular reason isn't effective as far as...."

Huey Newton

"American thinks so. Or else they would withdraw their troops from all the communities in the world if...."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well, we're not talking about the Vietnam war. Now I happen to agree that with...."

Huey interrupts - says something inaudible.

Number 1 Speaker

"Well lets lets talk about Huey Newton and the Black Panthers."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

All speakers talk at once in argument form.

Number 1 Speaker

"Let's keep it to the domestic situation before we get to the a foreign situation."

Huey Newton

"Lets talk about the murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well perhaps we can talk about some of the things that happened before the murder of Fred Hampton...."

All speak at once again.

Number 1 Speaker

"I think its very interesting, the blanket charge against Mayor Daley and his police. As a matter of fact the police officers involved in the unfortunate incidents are being investigated right now by the Special Grand Jury composed of both white and black lawyers in the City of Chicago. From what I can understand they have not had too much cooperation from the Panthers in this investigation. I think there's no question that the people involved in this were not Chicago police officers as such. In other words they were Chicago police officers on loan to the States Attorneys office and were under the direction of the States Attorneys investigative personnel. They were not under the command of the Chicago Police Department at the time and even if they were they wouldn't be under the command of Mayor Daley. So this is just an example of the broad brush that you sweep with."

Huey Newton

"Fred Hampton is dead. That's not broad."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"Mark Clark is dead."

Number 1 Speaker

"Yeah, but the charges you made were against Mayor Daley and his police. He's pointing out that these were States Attorneys police and had nothing to do with the Chicago Police Department."

Huey Newton

"Well, I'm used to people passing the buck but Fred Hampton's mother will not pass the buck."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well, we're not denying that but you're making a charge that...."

All speakers and Huey Newton argue together at once.
Inaudible.

Number 1 Speaker

"You are making erroneous, irresponsible charges that you don't have any facts to support."

Huey Newton

"I'm, I'm not only....."

Number 1 Speaker

"And its that kind of arguing that loses people who might sympathize with some of your social means and goals...."

Huey Newton

"Alright, I'll, I'll say this. I'm used to hearing the justifier speak and he always passes the buck and say its not the local, its the state. Its not the state its

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the domestic, its not the domestic its the international policy. I said that with all of these words theres something behind the violence. The Black Panther Party's dedicated to eliminating this violence and in the process we will defend ourselves from it. Now you don't even know who's responsible or what agency was responsible."

Number 1 Speaker

"No, I don't know. We're trying to...."

All speakers argue at one time.

Huey Newton

"In other words what you are saying is that Mayor Daley was not connected at all with the States Attorney, has no control on him and that actually something is wrong with the structure of the government. In fact there's something wrong with the structure of the American government, and that is that we always get a situation where someone wants to pass the buck. I said that you are responsible and in some way I am responsible and I'm not attempting to make the transformation so that I will no longer be responsible. I would not stand witness in other words to murder. If I stand witness to murder and I do nothing then I'm not standing witness and agreeing. I will be responsible when we go into the community to organize survival programs as far as health is concerned. We have here in Chicago a very large a health clinic where we feed children. We try to make them live and then when the police try to end that life with the service revolver then we take up arms and will defend ourselves. Then the Black Panther Party is the most violent group in the whole world.

Irv Kupcinet

"Let me interrupt for just a moment we'll come right back to this discussion with Mr. Newton and the others after this message."

Commercial.

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Irv Kupcinet

"Mr. Parker you wanted to get a word in."

Mr. Parker

"Yeah, well Huey I know you've been...I've been reading some of your quotes, at least the quotes attributed to you, for a number of years and you've been suggesting a different kind of political and economic system. I'm interested in just what kind of system you're interested in replacing our political and economic system with?"

Huey Newton

"First the Black Panther Party believes that a transformation is necessary because we're not satisfied with the kind of treatment and the kind of...."

All speakers argue again.

Huey Newton

"May I finish please."

Speaker

"But just what kind of a system will it be?"

Huey Newton

"Well I have to start at the point that I want to. That is that we see there's a need for transformation. I'm sure you agree with that."

Speaker

"Well I-I-I-"

Huey Newton

"Because you're not satisfied...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Speaker

"I believe that you agree that there's a need for transformation I want to know what the transformation is going to end up as."

Huey Newton

"No. I asked you a question. You also think that there needs to be some improvement don't you?"

Speaker

"Wait a minute. I just asked you the question now all you have to do is answer it. Don't answer a question with a question to me."

Huey Newton

"I don't know if I want to answer your question..."

Speaker

"Oh, that's a different ball game then. Your not... your not..."

Huey Newton

Alright, would you answer my question... would you answer my question..."

Speaker (Keeps talking at same time Huey talks)

"I just asked a simple question. I just want to know where you are - I just want to know where you are... so we could go from there..."

Huey Newton

"Are you satisfied with the situation of a people of color in this country, black people...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Speaker

"Huey I'll be very happy to answer questions you ask as long as you answer mine. I just asked you a very simple question."

Huey Newton

"Well I won't answer your question. If you asked the question I might answer it at first...."

Irv Kupcinet

"Let me ask you a question Huey."

Huey Newton

"And I'll ask you one and lets see how it works out again. Go ahead."

Speaker

"I...you want to make some changes in the economic system of the United States."

Huey Newton

"Don't you think some changes are necessary in this country at this time?"

Speaker

"Absolutely. But I want to know what changes you want to make."

Huey Newton

"Now, you've qualified because you've...."

Speaker

"I didn't qualify at all, I just asked you what kind of changes you want to make."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"No, no first you've qualified at for me to answer the question. In other words if you would not answer a simple question then I will not answer your question."

Speaker

"I answered your question."

Huey Newton

"You did?"

All speakers argue.

One Speaker says while Huey continues talking

"We'll we'll come back to you in a minute, we'll come back to you in a minute."

Huey Newton

"I don't want to talk to you cause you didn't answer my question. Now first we need change, secondly we must go about analyzing the problem in a scientific manner. We must not use emotionalism but we should try to resolve contradictions which brings about either a peaceful kind of confrontation or else one thats violent. We would like to see a negotiated peaceful transformation but do not believe it will come about because of the greed of the ruling circle. We would like a cooperative type of government where the people and the various communities in the country will have complete control of all institutions and will appoint representatives to run their co-ops. They will own these things where there's housing, where there is a market place, and where there is education. We cannot back track history, you can never turn history back. This is a very highly developed urban country the technology is fast going into technocracy. So we have some big national industries. We feel that these national industries should serve the community by pouring the resources back into these many

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

dispersed ethnic communities throughout the country so that the people can integrate into their cooperatives. This is the plan. Its not a whole plan because after the transformation there will be many things...."

Speaker

"How do you accomplish this Huey?"

Huey Newton

"Does that answer your question?"

Speaker

"That answers the question, yes."

Huey Newton

"Thank you."

Speaker

"To me what you're espousing is the type of socialism that many organizations advocate. Many candidates go on the ballot in this city and throughout this country on that type of a program but I think... its a form of socialism."

Another Speaker

"No, its more Maoism."

Huey Newton

"I'll say it is."

Speaker

"I wouldn't want to put words in Huey's mouth."

Speaker

"All right."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"I call it the cooperative government."

Speaker

"Yeah, all right."

Speaker

"I wouldn't want to put words in his mouth."

Huey Newton

"I appreciate that...May I ask you a simple question...."

Speaker

"I asked you first though....."

All argue.

Irv Kupcinet

"We'll come right back to you Jay. We'll come right back to you Jay."

Speaker

"I don't really care what (inaudible) you put in it. I think its fine. I think in this country... this show is probably an example of it...anybody can espouse any type of government or social institution they want. But to me whats even more relevant..."

Huey Newton (interrupts)

"Well I don't think that qualifies...."

Speaker

"Let let me finish...a minute Huey."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"The structure for a democracy of being fair. It shows fascism in this country is so advanced, is so brazen, it can let the victim speak and feel secure that nothing will happen. In Spain where fascism is somewhat weak the government is afraid so if you utter a word against it then they (inaudible) come down. So this very program is a monument for the people to see that the country is so fascist and so strong it will even let the victim scream."

Speaker

"Well, as I started to say before...another speaker interrupts..."

Speaker

"The other (inaudible) is that we do encourage dissent in this country and we give everybody a voice to speak their mind..."

Huey Newton

"Right, you know but you do not..."

Speaker

"I'm very curious...Huey... I'm very curious. All that you say is fine and whether you agree that we have a democracy this program is a democracy in action..."

Huey Newton

"Oh yeah, who fought democracy?"

Speaker

"All right whether it is or not thats irrelavent..."

Huey Newton

"The people don't have a democracy..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Speaker

"That's irrelevant to the point that I'm making right now. My point is simply this. How are you going to accomplish this?"

Huey Newton

"We will accomplish it by things that are sufficient, efficient, and necessary."

Speaker

"Forget that gobby gook. How are you going to accomplish it. In action not words. What are you going to do?"

Huey Newton

"I will not let you rest in peace and give you the plans so that then you will say well, I'm satisfied he said if you'll let me stay in power because he'll only accept compromises."

Speaker

"Maybe I want to join your organization Huey, maybe I want to join forces with you if you tell me what the plan is then maybe I can..."

Huey Newton

"You wouldn't be able to join because you don't answer simple questions."

Speaker

"Don't say I won't be able to join you. You don't know if I might be converted on this program... if you say the right things. Who knows?"

Huey Newton

"It would be easier for a camel to go through an eye hole of a (inaudible) than it would be for you to be

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

transformed into a peoples advocate."

Speaker

"I just learned something I didn't know."

Another Speaker

"Where did you draw that conclusion on Mr. Parker?"

Huey Newton

"My father's a preacher."

Speaker

"Well I said I just learned something cause I didn't know you believed in the Bible."

HUEY NEWTON

"Well, I don't have to believe anything. And the other thing is that you don't understand the English language."

Speaker

"You told me that you do?"

Huey Newton

"In order to quote...Did I say that I believe that?"

Speaker

"That's why I'm asking the question."

Huey Newton

Well you should have asked it first, and not pretended that I made a statement."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Speaker

"Well I'll get around to asking all kinds of questions...."

Speaker

"Huey, I still don't understand how you are going to accomplish these things that you say you're going to do. Are you going to do it by the ballot box? Are you going to do it in the street? If so how are you going to do it in the street? I think these are the important things rather than...."

Huey Newton

"Well, actually (inaudible) is dedicate the service to the people and its not what we would do because we can't do anything. The people mobilize the people on the move. They will make the transformation that an organization or party can make. The transformation thats necessary in this country.

Speaker

"Well, how are they how are the people going to do it Huey?"

Huey Newton

"What we can do is build a kind of institution thats necessary so they can exert power and these will be countered to the bourgeois institutions including the electoral kind of arena where the only people who enjoy the democracy..."

Speaker

"Well, now you've made a very firm statment that you're going to reconstruct organizations. What kind of organizations are the people going to express themselves in."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"Well, if you were socially aware you would know that right here in Chicago we have a health clinic, that it is very much used by the people and we also feed children."

Speaker interrupts

"I know very well on West 16th Street."

Huey Newton

"We make loans to a welfare recipients throughout the country and we pass out clothing. We do everything so the people will survive..."

Speaker

"You had a Breakfast Program which has been successful but has reduced itself for some reason or another."

Huey Newton

"There's always trials and tribulations with the victim to exist. If we were satisfied then we would have already won a"

Speaker

"Now are these the methods you need to convert the people by these various things you have just cited?"

Huey Newton

"I've given you some of the means by which we'll use to survive but this will not deliver us our salvation. It will not bring us to the goal because in order to get rid of the survival program we would have to first eliminate the causes of it and in order to eliminate the cause it will take a complete transformation of American society."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Speaker

"How are you going to accomplish that transformation?"

Huey Newton

"By those means that are efficient and sufficient..."

Speaker

"Well what are they? Obviously..."

Speaker

"I mean you're talking in a circle now. Apparently you don't want to answer that question."

Huey Newton

"I've answered the question."

Speaker

"No I think he did say originally that he didn't want to let anybody know outside of his organization or...."

Huey Newton

"No, I didn't say that."

Speaker

"Well you suggested that anyway..."

Speaker

"One minute gentlemen....."

Huey Newton

"If you have a problem with semantics a..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Everyone speaks at once; inaudible.

Irv Kupcinet

"One gentlemen in Chicago the Reverend the Reverend Jesse Jackson..."

Huey Newton

"I think you have both a comprehension problem also a word problem."

Speaker

"All right."

Irv Kupcinet

"Let me get back to the conversation. I'll come right back. You want to ask a question Jay. I'll bow to you sir."

Jay

"I'd simply like to know what kind of economic system you would advocate once we reached some kind of a transformation in this system."

Huey Newton

"Do you consider a..."

Jay

"Oh, come on Huey just answer the question you know don't ask me a question when I ask you a question."

Huey Newton

"I refuse to speak with you Comrade Brother."

Speaker

"Upon the grounds that it might in a sense incriminate you..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"Your questions haven't been very profound so that I cannot deal with them and give you an intelligent answer but I refuse to let you..."

Speaker

"You refuse..."

Huey Newton

"Force me to do something that I don't want to do. A matter of fact is what the Black Panther Party teaches. No matter what we will maintain our dignity and we will choose the course. You see, in other words, we will not yield to the spear because men should never yield to the spear but make the spear yeild to them...."

Irv Kupcinet

"We're just engaging in conversation there's no spears here..."

Huey Newton

"That means that a...there are many here. But you don't understand the..."

Speaker

"Do you mind some questions of a of a somewhat personal nature Huey? If you do I won't ask them. I was curious about a couple of things I've read about your..."

Huey Newton

"I might answer and I might not,ask the question."

Speaker

"All right. I was curious about your bond money. I've read things..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Both Huey and Speaker talk at once.

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"One at a time please."

Speaker

"Some reports say that a perhaps this is Panther money that was ear marked for other things for example your Breakfast Programs. It was used for your bond money."

Huey Newton

"I might answer that if you answer a question that we could consider personal. Where did the States Attorney get the money to hire Sullivan who costs so much. Does he use the taxpayers money? Its rumor Sullivan is one of the most highest paid attorneys in this state. He charges so much an hour and its rumor that the States Attorney, in defense of himself, because he has to ge before the Grand Jury is now hiring this man..."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well Marv can answer that he's in that area."

Marv

"I'm not aware of the Sullivan that they've hired. There are a lot of expensive Sullivan's in this town who are attorneys. I'm not too familiar with them..."

Irv Kupcinet

"I don't know any so I won't get involved in this..."

Huey Newton

"Well you you ought to investigate this attorney because the people want to know Sullivan. As you very

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

well know I'm from out of state even though I'm concerned with the victims everywhere..."

Marv

"No, I honestly don't know the answer to your question Huey."

Huey Newton

"Well the question as far as my bail money was concerned is that I could give you an answer but I won't."

Irv Kupcinet

"And lets pause here for a moment for a message. You get an answer to this right after this message."

Commercial.

Irv Kupcinet

"Mr. Parker you represent or are a member of the Young Americans for Freedom in Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia?"

Mr. Parker

"That's correct, I'm Director of Community Affairs."

Irv Kupcinet

"The what?"

Mr. Parker

"I'm Director of Community Affairs for the National Organization."

Irv Kupcinet

"What has been your impression of the Black Panthers? You certainly have come in contact with them in Washington and Philadelphia."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Parker

"I have not had any personal contact with them in Philadelphia or Washington, other than through the newspapers, radio or television, but my impression is not a good impression of them in terms of what I've been reading about their advocacy of changing the political and economic structure of our country."

Irv Kupcinet

"How do you feel about the violence which has been attributed to the Black Panthers and has been denied as you heard Huey deny today that they believe in this kind of violence?"

Mr. Parker

"A perhaps you'd better refresh my memory so we can deal with the specific piece of..."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well the big argument was quoted by their attorney in San Francisco who says something like 28 had been killed then he reduced it to 19 and then a man named Epstein wrote a story in New York in which he pointed out that only two really accused could be victims of murder (inaudible) two were in Chicago right here."

Huey Newton

"Kup may I esculate that to put this in true perspective. It was a mistake, a tragic mistake, I heard the Frost program where Honorable Attorney Charles Garry attempted to go through and justify or argue the 30 murder that the police have committed against the Panthers. I would like to esculate it so that the argument can be more lively that I charged genocide, number one that not 30 a black people killed but over 50 million, and this is according to a Bachelor Davidson."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Irv Kupcinet

"Whats that got to do with Panthers we're talking about the Black Panthers?"

Huey Newton

"The Black Panther Party are only the advocates of a black community and we're not important at all. The community is important and the reason we exist is because of the 50 million over 50 million that a..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You want to a stick to that statement that you're not important at all. Is that what you mean?"

Huey Newton

"Of course, we're willing to sacrifice ourselves on behalf of the people. That means individually we're not important, but our community is important."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"Your community is important, you individually not important? I thought that was your whole point that you as individuals are not important."

Speaker

"You're not important as an individual. I'm curious about this thing Huey."

Huey Newton

"Not when compared to the community. You're interested in the whole community. You have Breakfast programs for a community which I think are commendable. To feed the poor and the young is commendable no matter who does it. And you're interested in all these things..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"That's a very..."

Speaker

"And your not important so I'm..."

Huey Newton

"Comments when you attempt to feed the people..."

Speaker

"What about your \$650 a month penthouse that you're living in right now in California?"

Huey Newton

"What about it?"

Speaker

"Well, it seems that's that's (inaudible) important yet you say you're not important."

Huey Newton

"I don't...I refuse to answer your question until you answer mine first."

Speaker

"Wouldn't it be more important to put that money in the community to the children who should be fed; to the poor who should be clothed."

Huey Newton

"I would think so..I would think so but the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party feels it necessary to protect beings from certain murders a..."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Speaker

"Well they feel that you and the party are more important than the people apparently."

Huey Newton

"And that Fred Hampton and Mark Clark suffer as far as my individual assessment of the situation. I think its too much for my own defense."

Speaker

"Then why do you keep it?"

Huey

"I must explain our structure then. I'm governed by a Central Committee. Our party is organized along the lines of democratic centralism....."

Speaker interrupts and talks at same time Huey does

"You're passing the same buck that you were accused of as passing the buck before...."

Huey

"I'm not passing any buck whatsoever for the simple reason that I take part in the Central Committee because I am a member. I'll stand by their decisions and defend them. Now my own personal assessment of my work I give you insofar as the strategy the Central Committee has used I think that it is good strategy to protect an individual.....I don't think I'm important enough for that...."

Speaker interrupts

"Let me ask you one question..does thea....."

ALL ARGUE TOGETHER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Lets forget the \$650 lets assume that you have it...."

Huey

"Its really more than \$650 its its really something like \$750 I think or \$800....."

Speaker

"Whatever it is.....Where does the Central Committee which made this decision stand between you and Eldridge Cleaver?"

Huey

"Now wait I wanted to add something, what's even more than that...."

Speaker (interrupts)

"Will you get around to answering that question Huey."

Huey

"The Black Community and the Black Panther Party spent over \$300,000 to save me from the gas chamber. I don't think that they should have done that but....."

Speaker

"How did they save so much money when the court overturned that conviction of guilty?"

Huey

"I spent three years in the penitentiary as a, they overturned and after that...."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker (Irv)

"They couldn't have spent that kind of money... its impossible to spend that kind of money...."

Huey

"There was an intercommune you would say international campaign to a bring the people of the world's attention upon the murder that was about to take place in (inaudible) county. So it took much energy manpower but even more than that...."

Speaker

"I thought the California reviewing court reversed the decision....."

Another Speaker

"Yeah the court reversed it...."

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"I thought the court reversed it....?"

Huey

"In other words you didn't know that I had attorneys to fight the case...."

Speaker

"Yeah, but you said \$300,000 thats preposterous....."

Huey

"I guess, its very expensive in such cases....."

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Kupcinet

"Let's forget that for a moment Huey. Let me go back to the Central Committee you said makes this important decision."

Huey

"Let's talk about a greater (inaudible) than \$750 lets talk about \$300,000."

Kupcinet

"Alright let's before we get there I'll come back to you in a moment. But you said the Central Committee made a decision that you should live there regardless of what the people...."

Huey

"Right, right...and I support that decision."

Kupcinet

"Where does that Central Committee which makes those decisions stand now in the battle between you and Eldridge Cleaver? Where is the Central Committee?"

Huey

"Oh they've decided that Eldridge Cleaver accepted the party."

Kupcinet

"Oh, he's out now?"

Huey

"The Central Committee decided that he...."

Kupcinet

"And you participated in that decision?"

Huey

"Of course."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Did he participate in that decision in any way whatsoever?"

Huey

"Yes."

Kupcinet

"He did?"

Huey

"Yes".

Kupcinet

"And he is now out of the Black Panther Organization?"

Huey

"Yes he is."

Kupeinet

"Well that's a recent development then is it not?"

Huey

"Well, if you a watch our news organ you would see that its a little old, a couple of weeks..."

Kupcinet

"Well he said that he is organizing a group in New York to oppose your group in California the last I heard."

Huey

"Well you have to ask Eldridge Cleaver about that."

Kupcinet

"But there was a killing just a short time ago in

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

New York."

Huey

"Was there?"

Kupc inet

"Which a Mr. Webb which figured in this division between you and Eldridge apparently."

Huey

"Who killed him?"

Irv

"I'm not gonna say who killed him I just said there was a killing which you're aware of I'm sure..."

Huey

"I heard about it a through the paper...."

Kupc inet

"So that there is a still is friction I presume between you....."

Huey

"Between who. Between you and Eldridge?"

Kupc inet

"Between you and Eldridge."

Huey-

"How's that. What is the relationship between a man being killed in New York and a dialectical argument between Eldridge and I."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Because the Party, apparently the Black Panther Party, is split very divisively with Eldridge Cleaver having a New York segment and you have either the rest of the country or the west segment and this other killing resulted according to the newspapers as a result of this division between the two of you."

Huey

"Well as I said I believe very little what I read in the newspaper and I would suggest that you do the same because usually its not very accurate."

ALL ARGUE TOGETHER AGAIN

Speaker

"Now you know why I'm asking you questions while your sitting right here Huey."

Huey

"As far as my concerned, the Black Panther Party is not engaged in any warfare on any factional basis and we don't view the parties being split."

Kupcinet

"You don't."

Huey

"No."

Kupcinet

"And Cleaver is just out, thats that, the works."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"That was the decision."

Kupcinet

"That's one thing you said that was definite now we got that much clear right? There's no question about Eldridge Cleaver?"

Huey

"Well I said...I said that at first he defected."

Speaker

"Are there any blacks Huey other than those in the Black Panthers whom you respect in terms of their commitment. I know you've characterized Jesse Jackson as peculiar and I think you said some unkind things about Stokely Carmichael, correct me if I'm wrong. Are there any other blacks outside of the Panther movement whose motives aren't suspect or that you feel are doing good for their people?"

Huey

"Well I respect thirty million black people and thats all...."

Speaker

"I'm talking about....I'm talking about....leadership..."

Huey

"So most of them are outside of the Black Panther Party as far as leadership. There's no leadership at this time because what the American fascist will do with a leader is to eliminate him and put him into prison."

Kupcinet

"Did you have any respect for a gentlemen like Whitney Young for instance, the late Whitney Young as a leader."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Did you regard him as a leader?"

Huey

"In other words I'm saying that I respect black people generally and in the whole struggle for freedom we've used many approaches and we've had many contradictions and arguments with each other as far as a..."

Kupcinet

"That's understandable...."

Huey

"As far as attempting to arrive at a tactic that will give us our freedom I'm concerned that it's a worthless argument to talk about a contradiction with someone as far as the people I respect. I respect all of them.

Kupcinet

"Now Jesse Jackson, as he mentioned a few weeks ago, has called for a Third Party Huey to achieve some of the same objectives I'm sure you want to achieve. Could you support him in this effort? Do you see a third political party as a means in which you could operate?"

Huey

"Well first I would have to find out if the people would support that move because we are servants of the people and we would have to find out would they grasp this or have they been totally disillusioned."

Kupcinet

"Of course you have a committee which makes major decisions. By your own say so a few moments ago won't the Central Committee consider.... will they consider supporting Jesse Jackson?"

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Jay Parker,"

Parker

"It appears Irv that Mr. Newton is talking in terms of a (inaudible) when he refers to the blacks and also the poor whites, now by definition he refers to poor whites, it seems as though we're talking about class. Now I wonder if he's talking in terms of all blacks also in other words individuals who are referred to as bourgeois blacks, those who a perhaps may be a half million dollars or something of that sort. I know it's a typical question simply because if we're talking in terms of a classless society ultimately we're talking in terms of equalitarianism. I think its visionary utopia and I simply don't see any grass roots grounds swollen on the basis of anything like this."

Kupcinet

"You say the blacks in other words..."

Parker and Irv Argue (inaudible)

Huey

"What I would say, first I would like to say that I would like to rally or encourage the black community to focus upon the trial of our chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven, Connecticut, who are now standing trial for their lives and to come to their aid and do everything possible...."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Like what?"

Huey

"In order to get them out of that oppressive situation, now secondly I would like to say as far as the party is concerned we are now emphasizing the need to create a comprehensive collection of institutions which again means community and we are doing this by erecting a program based upon survival. We see that the change is a need to come about. We know that there are a few people in this country, some experts say its about 76 companies, others say its about 20 according to the report on civil disorders of President Johnson. It was written a few years ago and it was stated then that approximately 76 corporations controlled the economy of the United States and no one could really compete with those corporations. They are monopolies and a they not only control the economy here but of the world. So we say that there needs to be some redistribution of wealth and power in this country and subsequently the world as far as a candidate is concerned. If the candidate is tied to supporting or dealing with these 76 companies without any transformation we say its lost already."

Kupcinet

"You're against the concentration of power aren't you?"

Huey

"Yes. I would like to have....."

Kupcinet

"Are you against the concentration of power by Mao in China who controls it all in his own hands?"

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Well that's your analysis and I doubt if you're a scientist."

Kupcinet

"Well I think it's pretty well said thatdon't you agree that he does?"

Huey

"No I don't agree."

Kupcinet

"You don't?"

Huey

"No. A.....:

Kupcinet

"You don't think he's a former dictator?"

Huey

"Was Chiang Kai Chek (PK), a dictator?"

Kupcinet

"Damn right he was."

Huey

Did America support Chiang Kai Chek?"

Kupcinet

"He did at one time, yes."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Do they support him now in Formosa?"

Kupcinet

"Only to our own advantage temporarily."

Huey

"Thats what you always do because your^e an opportunist."

Kupcinet

"Whats the answer though..."

Huey

"You You You will support....."

ALL ARGUE

Kupcinet

"Do you want the concentration of power like Mao has?"

Huey

"Do you know what this man just said? He said that he will support any one if its to this country's advantage and what he really...."

Kupcinet

"Did I say that?"

Huey

"You said that you would...."

Kupcinet

"I said that the country is doing that, I didn't say I was doing that..."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"You support the country don't you?"

Kupcinet

"I don't support that policy.... we have the right to differ you see we have dissent in this country, you have a right to express it as you have....."

Huey

"In other words maybe **you're** improving...."

ALL ARGUE

Kupcinet

"But you are against the concentration in this power of the country but **you're** not against the concentration of power in Red China. Why?"

Huey

"No. No I disagree that its concentrated number one..."

Kupcinet

"Well that ridiculous if you don't agree its concentrated thats against all the known....."

Huey

"Now secondly....it's ridiculous that you would say it's ridiculous,

Kupcinet

"Its against all known history."

Huey

"No, it's not known to a...."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"You just want to change history to appease your own ends".

Huey

"Okay. I could tell you some people that will disagree. Would you like to hear?"

Speaker

"Is there a concentration of power in the Soviet Union?"

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"Is there a concentration of power in the Soviet Union?"

Huey

"There might be".

Speaker

"What do you mean there might be? Yes or No?"

Kupcinet

"Why don't you want to admit these concentrations of power by the dictator?"

Huey

"The first thing is this... that first will you agree that there is a concentration of power in this country right?"

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"I have to agree that they are getting more today sure"

Huey

"According to Felix Graham they get more so at some point there was some breakdown in the concentration of power. Maybe not as much as you would like but you have to agree the suffering was redistributed isn't that right."

Kupcinet

"Well maybe you got to agree that the concentration of power isn't always bad".

Huey

"No wait just one minute now..."

Speaker and Huey and Irv Argue (Inaudible)

Huey

"First you said that many many people, according to Felix Graham in Shanghai, before the revolution bodies were found every day from starvation. After Chiang Kai Shek was defeated there has been no starvation."

Kupcinet

"That's not the point your getting away from the point...my point... my point was that you disagree or that you don't want concentration of power here but your willing to accept it elsewhere because it's you're political process...."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Saying At Same Time Irv is Talking

"No, the point the point is...you asked me... oh you speaking absolutely...your speaking absolutely when I talk about process. I'm saying that what is happening there the people are gaining more power and to take note of what was before and now will show you that their position has improved. So in the process of revolution the process never stops as it stops then it becomes reactionary so the process of getting the people more and more freedom more and more power and more and more of the good life and the good life is....."

Kupcinet

"Well why don't you take recognition of the revolution going on in this country with the changes going on (inaudible) in this country?"

Huey

"No revolution can go in this country when it's the seat of reaction by a placing their troops their fleets at the shores of every country that opposes their reactionary way of government....."

Kupcinet

"That's a broad statement Huey that you know isn't true....."

Huey

"In other words what is the relationship between why the United States would go into Vietnam, stay so long and kill so many people in the name of peace. Why would they go into the Dominican Republic. A few years ago, why would they support the Greek regime that's fascist and everyone knows it. But they would do it simply to maintain power and to not let the process of revolution go on.

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

So I'm saying that there's no absolute, no, there's no place in the world today where power has been disbursed to the point where there's absolutely no concentration. But when this happens they will reach a Utopia. I don't believe in Utopias so any country that we can imagine you will find some degree of concentration of power...but what we have..."

Kupcinet

"Let a Marvin get in a word will you Huey your...."

Huey

"But what we have to do is this. We would have to gauge and see if there's improvement and if there is improvement then is the process going on because once it stops then that government is reactionary."

All Argue (Inaudible)

Kupcinet

"Let Marvin get in a word."

Marvin

"I'm interested in of course what Huey has to say about China and Russia and Vietnam and all these things just as I'm interested in any one's views on it but I think he's avoided getting explicit. A...."

Huey

"He's (inaudible) refused to answer any questions."

Marvin

"Well let me finish Jay, for a minute. I think that you know there are a lot of things that the people who are listening to this program would like to know about the Black Panthers. You refuse to be explicit you've given us a lot of verbias when I've tried to pin you down you said something before..."

Huey

"Like what like how like who paid my bail...."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Marv

"Let me try again. Let me try again Huey..... here's something their interested in Huey. You mentioned that the people listening should support Bobby Seale in his trial....Alright...."

Huey

"And also consider Fred Hampton and Mark Clark."

Marv

"Alright, be specific. What should the people do to support Bobby Seale. What are you asking the people to do?"

Huey

"A well in the first thing I don't I don't....."

Marv

"Because they might be confused as to what you're saying. They might know you really don't know what you want them to do."

Huey

"Alright, alright, I'll tell you. To see that justice is to be done and take note that 15 hundred jurors went through that courtroom and none of them qualified. In other words, to get 12 jurors it took 15 hundred,ask yourself the question why the American way is not for people to come into the court time after time and say in that city....."I'm so racist...."

Speaker

"Well what do you want the man on the street to do then?"

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"I'm so racist and so I cannot give any black a fair trial. Now what I'm saying the man on the street should first understand that the judicial system does not work for him that he should use whatever means that's efficient...."

Speaker

"What means? For example...."

Huey

"Necessary and sufficient....to make the transformation."

Speaker

"Give us an example...."

Kupcinet

"You're stuck on those words efficient and sufficient..."

Speaker

"Give us an example of some of those means..."

Huey

"It keeps us flexible. We don't telegraph (inaudible)."

Speaker

"Alright without (inaudible) give us an example of a method or a means of sufficient, efficient what's the other one? What's the liturgy? A efficient, sufficient and necessary..."

Huey

"And that depends very much upon the oppressor's action."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Alright, well give me a..we know what the oppressor's action is according to you. Allegedly oppressor's action is trying Bobby Seale. Alright now what....."

Huey

"No, no no....the murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton that's the action."

Speaker

"I'm asking you about Bobby Seale. What can the person on the street do....."

Huey

"The killing of 50 million blacks..."

Speaker

"What can the person on the street do to support Bobby Seale? You've asked the people on the street to support Bobby Seale. "

Huey

"The support of the Greek Regime. That's the thing that the country is guilty of and those are the things I want to"

Kupcinet

"We've asked you a specific question about Bobby. Huey, you can answer that can't you?"

Huey

"What did he say..what did he say..we we were trying to harmonize I think..."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"No what I was saying...no what I was saying Huey is that you asked the people to support Bobby Scale by sufficient, efficient and necessary means. Well the average person listening to this program might not be sophisticated enough to come up with an example of a sufficient, efficient, and necessary means. What are some examples, give us seven or eight of them without telling us which one you're interested in..."

Huey

"Alright, alright..."

Speaker

"What are some means?"

Huey

"That's for the people to know and for you to find out."

MANY PEOPLE LAUGH

Speaker

"Well I played that game when I was five years old..."

Huey

"And you're only three now."

Kupcinet

"Is that the best answer you can give him though seriously without...."

Huey

"That's the only answer I will give...ask the people what they would do. They'll show you through action."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"What action what kind...what kind of action..."

Speaker

"What can we participate in."

Huey

"Consider the people, ask them."

Speaker

"Well you're part of the people, I'm asking you."

Huey

"No, but the people collectively will decide and they'll tell me what to do."

Speaker

"But the people individually make up their minds...."

Speaker

"Did the people tell you to appear on this program today?"

Huey

"Yes. I have a mandate from the people. Get on your phone and call them rapidly."

Kupcinet

"Did you want to say something, Jay?"

Jay

"Yeah. You know I get concerned about this this Newton talking."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"You're concerned, I'm confused."

Speaker

"Well being confused--well not confused but I'm just almost frustrated frankly...."

Huey

"You shouldn't be frustrated...(inaudible)"

Speaker

"Well just relax a second Huey...just relax for a second Huey..just relax a second. I'd just like to know where a persons headed thats all. There's no reason why anybody in this country...."

ALL ARGUE Three speakers talk at once (inaudible)

Kupcinet

"Hold it just a minute will you gentlemen oh Huey hold it a minute hold it Huey this doesn't make sense. One person at a time. Jay you had the floor...."

Jay

"You know I appeared on the program here in Chicago with some fellows from the American Nazi Party one time. They gave me the same rhetoric. They said once we transform society we perhaps, after I pinned them down, for saying that they may have to have a concentration of power for a period of time until they could straighten the system out. You know...I'm... it appears as though your saying the same thing if your not say so."

Huey

"I'm not."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Jay

"Alright, I just want to know whats in store for me. That's all you know, in other words you think I'm gonna sit here and listen to this rhetoric and listen to emptiness. I don't see how you could recruit anybody like that...."

Huey

"Well the first thing I'm not here to recruit you..."

Jay

"Well not me. But you have an audience out here you have an audience out here your talking to its television Huey...."

Huey saying at same time Jay is speaking

"The people appreciate what I'm saying. If the people don't appreciate it then they will discipline me not you."

Speaker

"I'm not disciplining you."

Huey and Speaker Argue

Speaker

"How would they discipline you?"

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"How would they discipline you if they disagree with what you're saying?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"They would criticize me."

Speaker

"I don't consider you beyond redemption Huey but I'm not going to sit here and discipline you or criticize you in the sense that lets try and make you say something that you don't want to say, I mean you're a free man and..."

Huey

"No. I'm not free. But you have illusion of freedom and that's just the point..."

Speaker

"Well, you're free in the context of this program to say what you want just like the four of us, you know."

Huey

"Well actually...."

Speaker

"No, he's not free cause he speaks on the consensus of his people apparently."

Speaker

"Oh, I see".

Speaker

"I mean."

Huey

"And you're not free because you have to obey the reactionary laws of this country."

Speaker

"Are you really saying that you're saying or do you have a tape recording. Are you really saying what you're saying or are you pushing a tape recorder button?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"I don't understand your language."

Speaker

"Well obviously not. I questioned your comprehension a little earlier."

Huey

"Alright. You know what? The thing is that your problem is this, number 1 that your program is to support a thing (inaudible)."

Speaker

"You better watch it or you'll be guilty of practicing medicine without a license."

Huey

"Yeah, alright."

Speaker

"Okay."

Huey

"I'm a witch doctor and also say that you have been civilized by white Christianity western....therefore, the only thing that we could do with you is to deliver you to the people so that they will then rid you.... (inaudible) cause of the problem."

Speaker

"Number one, you don't know if I adhere to Christianity or not do you?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"How would the people rid themselves of people like Mr. Parker? I mean what do you suggest they do. I mean you use the word that people are going to rid you...."

Huey

"You know you're a very nosy man. You always want to know the opinions of the people."

Speaker

"I think that's human nature believe it or not."

Kupcinet

"Huey, let me ask you a quick question. Now theres been some talk about the possibility of forming a Black Nation within the colony where blacks would have their own nation within the United States. Do the Black Panthers visualize such a thing?"

Huey

"The first thing is that Nation has been negated through the reality or by the reality of the empire. In other words nations could not exist along side a modern empire because the very definition of the empire, the modern one, is that it controls all other countries either in a direct or indirect way so the countries of the world have now been transformed in oppressed communities. That's why we see a oneness with all of the people in the world because 70 companies not only control all of the communities here, they also control all of those first communities that use to be called nations. Their economy, their culture, and corporal institution so controlled until the United States is the decider. So first I would like to say this. That's not realistic to talk about

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

nationhood at this time.. All we can talk about is self-determination for the community. The dispersed communities of the world. Whether they be black, Chinese, Mexican, or a poor white or Vietnamese, we want the people to have the power, and to be free to decide what means and what tactics they will use. The only definition I could give would be somewhat arrogant. If I would outline it for them I'm sure it would mean they would do what is efficient and necessary in order to cause the kind of (inaudible) they want. As far as this man's concerned that a....."

Kupcinet

" Which man?"

Huey

"Well this man..."

Kupcinet

"Mr. Marvin Aspen and Mr. Jay Parker."

Huey

"And as far as this man is concerned and this man...."

Speaker

"Do you remember my name Huey?"

Huey

"I don't take them seriously."

Speaker

"Do you remember my name Huey?"

Huey

"Because a....pardon me?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Do you remember my name?"

Huey

"To me your name is...."

ALL ARGUE

Speaker

"Irv introduced me. You know I remember your name you know I give you credit for having that much intelligence can you remember me?"

Huey

"Well I thank you for letting me make an impression upon you but I'll tell you, you are a blank. So you can't remember me...."

Speaker

"You didn't impress me at all. As a matter of fact, I think I had a little higher regard for you before I met you....and had a conversation with you...."

Huey

"Okay....I appreciate that because any time that you respect me then I will feel very bad."

Kupcinet

"I'm sorry we have to end now on such a sour note but our time has run out we must say goodbye to Huey Newton the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party. The man who believes in efficient, sufficient and all necessary means and this is Marvin Aspen, the Legal Advisor for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of a book called, "Criminal Law for the Layman" and this is Mr. J. A. Parker, the leading spokesman for the Young American for Freedom. We will pause here for a message and we shall be back with other guests in a few seconds."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Alright, thank you."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

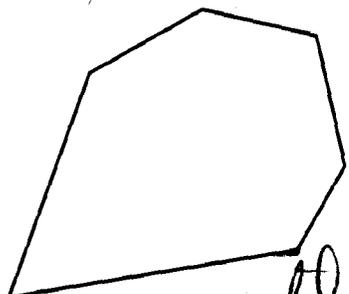
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 10 1971
JXS

TELETYPE

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



(see corrected copy)

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT
5:27PM NITEL 5/10/71 JAK
TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KBE).

NEWTON APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, DEPT.,
FIVE, OAKLAND, CALIF., BEFORE JUDGE HAROLD HOVE ON MORNING
MAY TEN INSTANT, AT WHICH TIME JUDGE HOVE SET DATE FOR RETRIAL
AS MAY TWENTYSIX NEXT. JUDGE HOVE STATED THAT NOTHING IS GOING
TO INTERFER WITH NEWTON'S CASE, TO TRIAL AS SOON AS THE
BOBBY SEALE CASE IS COMPLETED IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.

END...

1cc 806

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY SP5CJ/pt

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 10 1971

TELETYPE

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-26-82 BY SP5/SLC

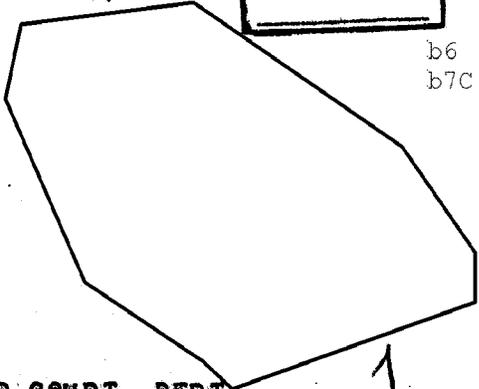
NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

8:06PM NITEL 5/10/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KBE).

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J

NEWTON APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, DEPT.,
FIVE, OAKLAND, CALIF., BEFORE JUDGE HAROLD HOVE ON MORNING
MAY TEN INSTANT, AT WHICH TIME JUDGE HOVE SET DATE FOR RETRIAL
AS MAY TWENTYSIX NEXT. JUDGE HOVE STATED THAT NOTHING IS GOING
TO INTERFERE WITH NEWTON'S CASE COMING TO TRIAL AS SOON AS THE
BOBBY SEALE CASE IS COMPLETED IN NEW HAVEN, CONN, IN AS MUCH
AS SEALE'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY IS ALSO NEWTON'S ATTORNEY.
END...

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

EX-103

REC-39/105-165429-425

100 806

MAY 13 1971

51 MAY 24 1971

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 15 1971

TELETYPE

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

NR 003 SF CODED

6:03PM NITEL 5/15/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-6-89 BY SP8e
LPT

HUEY P. NEWTON RM DASH BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SOURCE REPORTED NEWTON RETURNED TO HIS APARTMENT IN
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA FROM SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA EARLY
AFTERNOON OF MAY FIFTEEN, INSTANT. SECOND SOURCE REPORTED
THIS DATE NEWTON MAY GO TO NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT EARLY
MORNING MAY SEVENTEEN, NEXT TO ATTEND FINAL SESSION OF
BOBBY SEALE TRIAL AS NEWTON ANTICIPATES VERDICT IN THAT
CASE WILL PROBABLY BE REACHED MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-100

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE DATED MAY FOURTEEN, LAST.

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

REC 12
105-165429-426

NEWTON'S ACTIVITIES WILL BE FOLLOWED AND APPROPRIATE

OFFICES ADVISED OF HIS TRAVEL.

END
62 MAY 20 1971
KPT-FBI WASH
F247

MAY 19 1971

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 6 1971

TELETYPE

CDB
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NR 004 SF CODE

11:59 PM NITEL 5/5/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR ATTN. D I D

LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-0-3673) (157-1203) IP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP509/pt
Original Hoisted

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. Walters	
Mr. Young	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

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BLACK STUDENT UNION (BSU) - UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE,
CALIFORNIA, RM. HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP (KBE).

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED MAY THREE LAST, THAT ARRANGEMENTS
HAD BEEN FINALIZED FOR AN APPEARANCE BY HUEY NEWTON, BPP SUPREME
COMMANDER, AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE, FOR MAY ELEVEN
NEXT.

NEWTON IS TO SPEAK IN CONNECTION WITH BLACK CULTURAL WEEK
ACTIVITIES BEING HELD AT THIS SCHOOL DURING THE PERIOD MAY NINE
THROUGH SIXTEEN NEXT. NEWTON IS TO RECEIVE A FIFTEEN HUNDRED
DOLLAR FEE FOR THIS APPEARANCE.

ORIGINAL FILED IN
157-1203-7

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

RESFAIRTEL APRIL FOURTEEN LAST.

LOS ANGELES ARRANGE COVERAGE OF NEWTON'S SPEECH.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL ADVISE TRAVEL DATA WHEN OBTAINED.

END

HOLD

[REDACTED]

ROOM 724 9&D

61 MAY 19 1971

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105-165212-7
NOT RECORDED

135 MAY 17 1971

MAY 13 1971

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

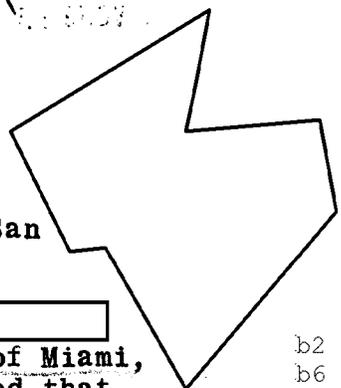
DATE: 5/17/71

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (157-3874) (RUC)

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

nhj
K:W.W.
has

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/10/85 BY SP4 [signature]



Re Cleveland airtel and LNM 4/16/71; San Francisco tel to Bureau 3/30/71.

[redacted] identified [redacted] black students at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. This source also reported that the black students at the University of Miami sponsored a black cultural week on that campus from April 25 to May 1, 1971. Black students in an effort to attract speakers to the campus during that period were making contact with various "black leaders" throughout the United States. He said they were successful in arranging for the appearance of CHARLES G. HURST, Jr., President of Malcolm X University, Chicago, Illinois, on the evening of 4/27/71.

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[redacted] and [redacted] advised that HUEY NEWTON has not appeared on the campus of the University of Miami and both advised that they did not know of any plans for NEWTON or any other black extremist to visit that campus or the Miami, Florida, area.

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- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)
- 2 - Miami (1 - 157-3874)

REC-21

105-165429-427

MAY 19 1971

JCM:ajv
(6)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/10/85 BY SP4 [signature]
SP5 [signature] 6-26-87

~~RACIAL INT. SEC.~~
INT. SEC. re
NO INTEREST



54 MAY 26 1971



Department of State

TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 869

PAGE 01 STATE 079160

17
ORIGIN E-15.

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 CAB-09 CIAE-00 COM-08 DODE-00 INR-08
NSAE-00 RSC-01 FAA-00 L-04 PL-03 PRS-01 USIA-12 ARA-12
DOTE-00 SY-03 USSS-00 IO-16. FBI-01 JUS-02 /108 R

66663

DRAFTED BY: E/OA/AVP [redacted]
APPROVED BY: E/OA/AVP [redacted]

FAA - [redacted] (INFO)
AF/N [redacted] (BY PHONE)

R 070012Z MAY 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USINT ALGIERS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 079160

CIVAIR: BILATERAL EXCHANGE OF AIR SECURITY INFORMATION. FAA
INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN NO. 10-71

FAA PASSED FOLLOWING MESSAGE MAY 4 TO AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION
(ATA) FOR AMERICAN AIR CARRIERS: QUOTE - A RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTS
A NUMBER OF RUMORS INDICATING A GROUP OF BLACK PANTHERS WILL
ATTEMPT TO TRAVEL FROM THE US VIA CUBA TO ALGERIA IN THE NEAR
FUTURE. ALLEGEDLY, THE BLACK PANTHERS PLAN TO HIJACK COMMERCIAL
AIRLINERS TO GO TO CUBA. IT IS SAID THAT FLIGHTS FROM SAN
FRANCISCO TO CHICAGO, MIAMI AND SAN JUAN ARE ROUTES TO BE
ESPECIALLY JEOPARDIZED. FAA COMMENTS: ALTHOUGH THESE RUMORS ARE
UNCONFIRMED OR UNVERIFIED, THEY CANNOT BE IGNORED AND GROUND
SECURITY PERSONNEL MUST MAINTAIN STRICT VIGILANCE IN APPLYING
THE NECESSARY SECURITY MEASURES. TROUBLE APPEARS TO BE BREAKING
IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE BLACK
PANTHERS ARE HAVING AN INTERNAL FRICTION PROBLEM WHICH COULD
SOLVE INTO TWO FACTIONS. "THE BLACK PANTHER" (PARTY'S OFFICIAL
NEWSPAPER) HAS VILIFIED AND ATTEMPTED TO DISCREDIT AND
MISLEAD ELDORIDGE CLEAVER IN SEVERAL ARTICLES, PROBABLY TO

56 MAY 26 1971

7309
MAY 27 1971

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NOT RECORDED
11 MAY 7 1971

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE: 079160

PREPARE THEIR READERS FOR CLEAVER'S EXPULSION PRIOR TO AN OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT. IF CLEAVER IS EXPELLED, IT COULD MEAN ALL-OUT WAR BETWEEN THE HUEY NEWTON AND THE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FACTIONS AND CHAOS WOULD REIGN IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. AS A RESULT KIDNAPPING, KILLINGS, AND HIJACKINGS COULD BE THE ORDER OF THE DAY. - UNQUOTE. [REDACTED]

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MAY 7 1967

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 14 1971

TELETYPE

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

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NR 002 SF CODE

3:40 PM URGENT 5-14-71 DEP

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706) ATTN. D I D
LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY [signature]

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

ON MORNING OF MAY FOURTEEN INSTANT, BPP SUPREME COMMANDER
HUEY P. NEWTON TRAVELED FROM OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, TO RESIDENCE
OF [redacted]

CALIFORNIA, BY AUTOMOBILE. NEWTON ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN SEALE,
OAKLAND BPP MEMBER WHO IS NEWTON'S CHAUFFEUR AND BODYGUARD.

[redacted]

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[redacted] ANNOUNCEMENT AT UCSC THAT AT ELEVEN A.M..
MAY FOURTEEN INSTANT, NEWTON WILL MAKE TELEVISION TAPE USING
END PAGE ONE

REC-68

105-165429-428

17 MAY 20 1971

F244

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PAGE TWO

FACILITIES OF THE INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT IN THE COMMUNICATIONS BUILDING AT THE UNIVERSITY.

INFORMATION HAS ALSO BEEN RECEIVED BY THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE IN SANTA CRUZ THAT NEWTON WILL SPEAK TO BLACK STUDENTS ATTENDING THE UCSC [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A SOURCE REPORTED MAY THIRTEEN LAST, THAT [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

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LOS ANGELES CONTACT APPROPRIATE SOURCES FOR ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING TRAVEL OF [REDACTED] TO SANTA CRUZ.

ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON AT SANTA CRUZ WILL BE FOLLOWED

END

DEB W DC FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD <i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

MAY 15 1971
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TELETYPE

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NR017 NY CODE
121PM URGENT 5-15-71 RVD
TO DIRECTOR

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM NEW YORK 157-2702 (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *10-29-80* BY *003 DB/KR*
5-20-87 SPS/CA

0
HUEY P. NEWTON, RACIAL MATTERS-BPP; KPE

ll
HUEY P. NEWTON APPEARED ON THE DAVID FROST TV SHOW
DURING THE EVENING OF MAY FOURTEEN, SEVENTY ONE. NEWTON'S
APPEARANCE LASTED FOURTY FIVE MINUTES DURING WHICH TIME, HE
DISCLOSED HIS PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. HE NOTED THAT ALL EVENTS
OCCUR IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT SO THAT THE AIMS AND METHODS OF
ACCOMPLISHING GOALS *MSUT* BE COMPATIBLE WITH THE PREVAILING
SITUATION AND INSTITUTIONS IN SOCIETY.

NEWTON DECLARED HE WAS A DISCIPLE OF NON-VIOLENCE AND THAT HE
AND THE BPP WAS FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT. THE BPP DOES NOT PLOT
PER SE AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMET, BUT SUCH PLOTTING IF IT OCCURS,
ARISES OUT OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

END PAGE ONE

REC-52 *105-165429-429*
EX-104
16 MAY 20 1971

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PAGE TWO

HE NOTED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS THE WORST OFFENDER AGAINST
WORLD PEACE.

NEWTON OBSERVED THAT HE RARELY USE THE TERM PIG AND INDICATED
~~HE STATED~~ THAT IT WAS MERELY A RHETORICAL PHRASE UTILIZED BY
THE PARTY TO HEIGHTEN THE AWARENESS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY. HE
ALSO OBSERVED THAT HE WOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE
POLICE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECENT MURDER OF SAM NAPIER
IN NEW YORK.

NEWTON ALSO REVEALED THAT HE IS NO LONGER SUPREME COMMANDER
OF THE BPP, BUT IS NOW KNOWN AS THE DEFENSE MINISTER AND
SERVANT TO THE PEOPLE.

A D M I N I S T R A T I V E

NEW YORK TAPED NEWTON'S APPEARANCE.

LHM TO FOLLOW.

END

~~HOLD FOR ONE MORE~~

FBI

Date: 5/25/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-2431)

RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON
Aka
RM - BPP (KBE)

OO:San Francisco

Re: Springfield airtel, 5/21/71, captioned "SECOND ANNUAL NATIONAL SURVIVAL DAY, 6/19/71, Cairo, Illinois, RM" SI File 157-2820

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP06
TDA
PT

In view of Bureau instructions regarding Key Black Extremist Program, and information contained in reairtel indicating HUEY P. NEWTON may travel to Cairo for the 6/19/71 activity, San Francisco should immediately alert sources and informants acquainted with activities of NEWTON. Furnish Springfield specific information regarding travel at the earliest possible date so that arrangements may be made to cover NEWTON's activities in compliance with KBE Program. CK

Springfield, at Cairo, Illinois, is maintaining contact with sources in a position to furnish additional information concerning the 6/19/71 event, and Bureau and interested offices will be advised.

- 2: Bureau (105-165429) (RM)
- 2: San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)
- 3: Springfield (157-2431)
- (1: 157-2820)

DTS:vr
(7)

EX-101

REC 44/05-165429-430

5 MAY 27 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge
56 JUN - 7 1971

Sent _____ M Per _____

FBI

Date: 5/21/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP (KBE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP-5 [signature]

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Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM setting forth remarks made by NEWTON on 5/19/71.

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~Confidential~~ to conceal identities of the sources, disclosure of which could reflect adversely on the national defense.

First source is SF [redacted]

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Second source is SF [redacted]

The Bureau will note that remarks by NEWTON continue to reflect the direction of the BPP has recently taken in order to gain the support of the black people in the communities.

100-1147

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
- 1 - 157-1203

JLC/jr
(5)

copied to ISO, SS
5/28/71
JLC/jr

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5 MAY 26 1971

REC'D AT. SEC. [signature]

54 JUN 4 1971

Approved: _____
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

May 21, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5 SCS
ON 6-26-81 lat

On May 18, 1971, a source made available a program for The Third Annual Martin Luther King, Jr., Lectures, May 18, 19 and 20, 1971, presented by The Center For Urban-Black Theological Studies, Berkeley, California.

According to the program the Martin Luther King, Jr., Lectures commemorate the significance of the life, teaching, and death of Dr. King for our national community. The Center offers tribute to him and to those who have spent their lives in the struggle to create a new humanity. The Lectures offer the theological community the opportunity to hear and experience the genius and depth of the spiritual and religious life of the Black community. The Lectures also bring together west coast Black clergy to share and analyze their respective work.

The program also sets forth information that the lectures are being held in conjunction with The Black Odyssey Festival. The Second Annual Black Odyssey Festival celebrates a wide spectrum of the Black community's cultural life. The Festival involves the resources of community as it celebrates the life of a people in coordination with the Berkeley School District, the Berkeley Public Library, and local churches.

The program shows that on Wednesday, May 19, 1971, at 11:00 AM, Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), Oakland California, will speak on

~~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.

431

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

"New Directions for the Black Panther Party, A Survival Program"

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.

A second source advised that Newton spoke at the above mentioned series as scheduled. According to this source, Newton stated in part as follows:

There has been a change in the thinking of the BPP. BPP members are going to begin attending church and get involved in the church. The BPP wants and needs the support of the black community.

The BPP was formed to oppose evils in the society. The BPP thought itself as the vanguard of a people who wanted things changed. However, the BPP found it was not the vanguard for anything and because of its actions the BPP lost the favor of the black community and left the people behind.

The BPP thought it could change things without the people themselves changing them but it was wrong. He said he was not calling the things done by the BPP mistakes but preferred to refer to them as phases of development the BPP has gone through.

The Panthers will now involve themselves in anything or any stage of a developing change in the community. The BPP will support it and try to introduce some insight into it. The BPP will continue to criticize the system and will operate with the system so it can change it.

In the past the BPP has criticized the church by saying it was only spiritual and not relevant and we were not going to have anything to do with it. In the future the only

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

time the BPP will criticize the church is when it does not act upon the evils we feel cause black men to be driven to their knees.

The BPP plans to open clothing and shoe factories in the Berkeley-Oakland area with the intention to give away the products.

Newton also stated he was the son of a minister and went to church for the first fifteen years of his life.

Approximately 200 persons attended the speech by Newton, most of whom were neatly dressed and appeared to be church-going people.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

May 21, 1971

Title HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

- 1 - Mr. W. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 5/17/71

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM :



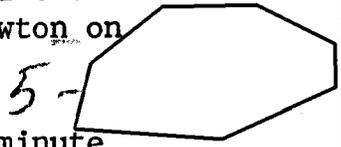
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

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SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 Jw/tpf

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise of the appearance of BPP Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton on the David Frost television program 5/14/71.



The 90-minute program consisted of a 30-minute interview of Dr. John Morsell, Assistant Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a 60-minute interview of Newton. Morsell, who made a dignified appearance, did not make an issue of criticizing the BPP but made it clear he did not fully approve of them. He said the BPP has created a new awareness of the problems of the Negro race and has provided a rallying symbol for young Negroes, but he referred to their "peculiar half-baked Marxist philosophy" and indicated that the NAACP does not consider the Negro race a "colonized people."

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Our special coverage of Newton's plush apartment previously determined that Frost wanted Newton and Morsell to appear together representing views of violence and non-violence. Newton, however, refused to appear with anyone and threatened to walk off the show unless he appeared alone. Newton had previously stated that BPP attorney Charles R. Garry, who appeared on the Frost show several weeks ago, made a fool of himself, did the BPP a disservice and he (Newton) would make up for Garry's mistakes. Newton vowed he would not debate with anyone nor get involved in controversial issues.

Newton certainly kept his vow. He managed to evade every question asked by Frost by launching into a harangue that led him far from the intended subject matter. Newton did not mention the FBI, and the only accusation he directed

105-165706

RNB:dr1 (9)

CONTINUED - OVER

NOT RECORDED
170 MAY 25 1971

57 JUN 1 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)
105-165706

toward law enforcement was that Samuel Lee Napier, BPP
Circulation Manager, was murdered by "police" in New York City
on 4/17/71. (Actually, there is every indication that Napier
was killed as a result of internal BPP factionalism.) Newton
characterized the BPP as the servant of the people. He
insisted the BPP is nonviolent and advocates only self-defense.

Frost attempted to draw Newton into a discussion
about the previous allegation by the BPP that 28 Panthers
have been killed by police. Newton refused to discuss it
by talking around it as he did every controversial topic
raised by Frost. All of Newton's remarks were clearly
intended to promulgate the new BPP line emphasizing its
service to the community and deemphasizing violence.

ACTION:

For information.

RMB

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osawa
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WEL

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~~SECRET~~

SUPPLEMENTAL CORRELATION SUMMARY

(See Correlation Summary dated 5/29/69 filed as 105-165429-31)

Main File No: 105-165429

Date: 5/28/71

Subject: Huey Percy Newton

Date Searched: 9/23/70

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

Classified by ~~SP5/lej~~
Declassify on: ~~OADR~~

SUMMARY

- Newton, Huey Percy
- Newton, One
- Newton, H.
- Newton, Heuy
- Newton, Hewey
- Newton, Hue P.
- Newton, Huey

- Newton, Huey P.
- Newton, Huey S.
- Newton, Huey T.
- Newton, Hugh Percy
- Newton, Hughie
- Newton, Hughie P.

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated in the block as SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial although the information may have been received from a different source.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Coordinator

Approved

[Redacted signature area]

CLF:abs

10-28-71
CLASSIFIED BY 9803-RDD/Bcet/m
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1.6
#365,833

REC/mhh 105-165429-432

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE-SEARCH SLIPS ONLY

60 AUG 4 1971

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CONSOLIDATION

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ABBREVIATIONS

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Add. info.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Huey Percy Newton can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary. This information may have been received from a different source.

BPP.....Black Panther Party

SDS.....Students For A Democratic Society

The following references in the main files of the individuals listed below indicated that they visited Huey Percy Newton at the Alameda County Jail in Oakland, California. Newton, BPP co-founder and Minister of Defense, was in jail awaiting trial on charges of murdering an Oakland police officer.

INDIVIDUAL	b6 b7c	DATE OR PERIOD OF VISIT	REFERENCE & SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
			157-11159-3 ep.1,4 (19)
			157-12001-1 ep.1 (18)
			157-18404-1 ep.1,4 (18)
			44-42385-5 ep.2,3 (9)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

INDIVIDUAL

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DATE OR PERIOD
OF VISIT

REFERENCE & SEARCH
SLIP PAGE NUMBER

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

100-442464-31 ep.3,7
(2,19)

140-37650-5 p.1,4,15
(7,16)

157-11310-3 ep.2-4
(17)

[Redacted] advised that [Redacted] was requested by Huey Newton, national officer, BPP, to come to Oakland, Calif., and bring with him all the funds from the Seattle, Wash., Chapter, BPP. Source further advised [Redacted] left Seattle on 7/20/68 for Oakland by air and reportedly carried a gun with him on this trip.

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[Redacted]
(3)

[Redacted] advised that subsequent to 8/15/68, [Redacted] Okinawa to participate in demonstrations there sponsored by the Gensuikin-Zengakurer Conference, an international conference sponsored by a group of revolutionary Japanese students held in the principal cities of Japan from 8/2/68 - 8/12/68. Source further advised that the purpose of [Redacted] trip was to internationalize Huey Newton, the BPP leader charged with murder in Oakland, Calif.

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[Redacted]
(7)

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The "Daily Gater", student newspaper published by the Associated Students of San Francisco State College (SFSC), San Francisco, Calif., in its 9/25/68 issue, published an article entitled "BSU States Its Philosophy, Goals and Achievements". This article in part stated "We went to talk to Huey Newton about a month ago and he asked about the Black Students Program and said he would like to enter SFSC when he gets out. We discussed some of the methods of implementing the BSU".

This serial indicated that BSU was the Black Student Union, a black nationalist organization that had engaged in acts of violence in the past.

Add. info.

157-8272-163 ep.10
(8,17)

[redacted]
[redacted] Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (100-439190)
[redacted]

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[redacted] SNCC's analysis of the BPP and Huey Newton. [redacted] indicated the following: SNCC would support Newton's fight; Newton should be seen not only as a Black Panther but as a revolutionary hero for all black people to imitate; in order to maintain open communication between the Panthers and SNCC, informal meetings should be encouraged among individuals in the two groups.

100-439190-33-48 ep.10A
(2)

[redacted]
[redacted] (protect identity), advised on 11/18/68 that [redacted] continued to hear rumors that Huey Newton and other BPP members may come to KSU to support the Black United Students' (BUS) (157-11999) demands. These demands included amnesty for nine BUS members charged with organizing a demonstration to protest the recruitment activities of the Oakland, California Police Department on the KSU campus.

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157-11999-6 ep.2,7
(8)

~~SECRET~~

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(c)

157-8415-243-46 ep.6
(21)

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[Redacted] (protect identity) advised during January, 1969 that he had received certain literature by mail from Radio Havana, Cuba. Included in this material was a booklet containing articles dealing with the revolutionary struggles of various peoples around the world, glorifying the Communist revolution and guerrilla movements. One article, entitled "Black Power and the Revolutionary Struggle", was fragments of an interview between Huey Newton and an unidentified member of the "Movement" wherein Newton explained the Black Panther ideology and described Black Power as being a nationalist revolutionary group whose purpose was to fight and destroy the two evils of capitalism and racism. Newton also defined Black Power as the black colony attempting to gain power over their own destiny.

100-445759-67 ep. 2
(3)

[Redacted] Los Angeles, Calif., Chapter of the BPP, was questioned regarding his knowledge of the whereabouts of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver (100-447251) and his affiliation with the BPP. [Redacted] his first contact with the BPP came when Huey Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, spoke at Jefferson High School in Los Angeles in October, 1966. He was impressed with what Newton had to say and subsequently joined the BPP.

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[redacted] (protect identities), inmates, California Men's Colony, advised that they had met Newton shortly after he had arrived at this institution to serve time. Sources advised that Newton had given them information concerning Cleaver and the BPP, but they were reluctant to reveal this information since Newton was so powerful and had so many friends out of prison that they feared for their lives.

100-447251-481 p.P-S, 30
(3)
SI 100-447251-333 ep.1-4
(3)

[redacted] advised that in approximately [redacted] [redacted] was expelled from the BPP for having displayed cowardice during a confrontation with Oakland, Calif., police officers while on a "patrol" in company with Huey Percy Newton.

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[redacted] (protect identity), furnished information revealing [redacted] signed the Visitor's Register at the Alameda County Jail on [redacted] as a visitor to Newton. Wright listed his relationship to Newton as [redacted] It was noted that at that time, Newton, BPP Defense Minister, was awaiting trial on charges of having murdered an Oakland police officer, and was subsequently found guilty of voluntary manslaughter.

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[redacted] refused to comment on 1/27/69, when asked if he was acquainted with Newton.

[redacted]
(7,19)

[redacted] (protect identity), furnished a tape recording of a speech by Eddie Eugene Bolden [redacted] made at the Martin Born Cafeteria, Midwestern College, Denison, Iowa, on 2/26/69. This

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(continued)

speech was sponsored by the Afro-American Student Association at Midwestern College. In his speech about the BPP, Bolden set out the facts surrounding the founding of the BPP by Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. Bolden also set forth the Ten Point Program drawn up by Newton for the BPP.

[REDACTED]

(17)

[REDACTED] advised that he had gone to school with Huey Newton in Oakland, Calif., in [REDACTED] and first became acquainted with Newton's political views at that time. [REDACTED] further advised that prior to his suspension from the BPP in approximately March of 1969, he had met with Newton in jail and believed that he was in Newton's favor. [REDACTED] also advised that one of Newton's strictest principles was that BPP members should not carry guns, but that Newton admitted violating both this principle and his belief that the people needed political education before a revolution could be started. [REDACTED] further advised that Newton had told him that he would probably serve the full fifteen years in prison and that it would be necessary for someone else to implement what he knew needed to be done, but that he had not picked anyone to replace himself in the BPP as yet.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] had become affiliated with the BPP [REDACTED] when the BPP had conducted an armed invasion of the California States Legislature Assembly, Sacramento, Calif. She further advised [REDACTED] had become a close associate of Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, and several other BPP members.

[REDACTED]

(11)

The following references in the file captioned "Communist Influence in Racial Matters" pertain to CP activities in connection with the BPP and BPP Defense Minister, Huey P. Newton. On 1/30/69, [redacted] a CP member, claimed that he had a close relationship with the top leadership of the BPP in California and had spent [redacted]

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On 4/19/69, at the Midwest Socialist Educational Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance in Urbana, Ill., a statement of solidarity with Newton was suggested. At the 19th National Convention of the CPUSA held in Brooklyn, N.Y. from 4/30/69 - 5/3/69, a resolution was approved calling for cooperation with and defense of the BPP and Newton.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-442529-2858 p.2,15,26,27
-2892 p.3,8

(3,10)
(10)

This reference pertains to a hearing of the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary in Washington, D.C., on 6/26/69. Information regarding the BPP activities of Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, was set out in an exhibit.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-34-3038 ep. 100

(17)

[redacted] (e)(u) furnished a copy of a letter and enclosures dated 7/24/69 which had been circulated by [redacted] New Jersey CP. This letter called for support of the Plainfield Joint Defense Committee (PJDC) (100-454699) in its work to strike back at racism and other forms of oppression. One of the enclosures to this letter set out resolutions adopted by the PJDC. It was resolved that local committees be set up in all areas to unite both black and white to a joint nation-wide counter-offensive against the growing police-state repressions, since the object of jailing Huey Newton and the arrest of scores of other black and white militant leaders was intended to decapitate the leadership of the freedom struggle in order to force the oppressed to submit to their oppression.

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100-454699-2 p.10,19
(3)

~~SECRET~~

This reference is a copy of an editorial entitled "Studies of Violence Misleading" which appeared in the 8/4/69 edition of "The San Diego Union". This editorial criticized a report on violence prepared by Jerome Skolnick, Professor at the University of California. In this report, Skolnick described the BPP as a defensive organization and suggested that the police provoked its members to violence. This conclusion was based on a statement (not explained) made by Huey Newton, who was serving two to fifteen years in a California penitentiary for voluntary manslaughter resulting from the shooting of a policeman who stopped him for a traffic violation.

62-112288-169 p.1
(1)

The following references pertain to activities held in protest of the 10/28/67 arrest of Huey P. Newton for the murder of an Oakland, Calif., policeman. These activities covered the approximate period 7/16/68 through the fall of 1969 in numerous cities throughout the US, and included rallies and demonstrations sponsored by the BPP and co-sponsored by other organizations, including the SDS, the Peace and Freedom Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Many of these activities were held to raise money for the Huey Newton Defense Fund and called for Newton's release. Newton was confined to jail in California during this period and his appeals for bail were denied.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
62-112228-3-31 p.1,3,4	(9)
62-112228-15-35 ep.1,3	(1)
62-112423-107 p.1,17,151,224,225, 228-230,234,268,287	(1,10)
100-16-27-481 p.15,104	(1,10)
100-308353-150 p.25,38	(2)
100-427226-37-4X p.17,18,40	(2)
100-427226-50-6 p.9,10,19	(2)

(continued)

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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-442695-28 p.10,11	(3)
100-446997-9-21 p.78,120,127,303,340	(3,10)
100-451542-3 p.4,11	(3)
100-452260-23 p.9,60,61,103,108	(3)
100-453455-5 p.5,18	(3)
105-89231-48 p.8-10	(11)
105-183400-109 ep.6	(7)
105-190411-16 ep.2	(7)
157-8415-243-61 encl.2,p.1	(17)
157-13422-5 p.2,3,7	(8)
157-14306-1 ep.3,6	(18)
176-1438-6 p.5,6,9	(18)

The following references in the file captioned "Republic of New Africa" (RNA) contain information pertaining to the activities of Huey Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, in connection with this organization. Sometime prior to 9/26/69, Newton had sent a letter to Milton Henry, First Vice-President of RNA in Detroit, who in turn, sent a copy to John Taylor, RNA member in Dayton, Ohio. In this letter Newton proposed a merger of the BPP and the Black Legion of the RNA if each Black Panther could have rank and power.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-9079-711 p.1,2	(8)
-730 ep.2,6	(8)
-772 p.51,105	(8)

~~SECRET~~

The following references in the file captioned "Students For a Democratic Society" contain information pertaining to SDS activities in support of BPP Defense Minister, Huey P. Newton, who was serving a sentence of two to fifteen years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland, Calif. police officer. During the period 11/21/68 - 9/26/69, in California, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Ohio and Texas, SDS chapters held rallies and demonstrations in behalf of Newton, sponsored and showed movies to raise money for Newton's defense, and urged support for the BPP and Newton at their conventions.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-439048-5-602 p.46,55,175,186	(2)
100-439048-10-110 p.1A,6,36,61	(2)
100-439048-11-182 p.44	(10)
100-439048-21-115 p.2,16	(10)
100-439048-33-139 ep.15,16,47	(2)
100-439048-42-85 ep.17,18,125	(2)
-97 ep.7,24	(10)
100-439048-47-167 p.18,41	(2)

The Indianapolis Office furnished a copy of an interview with SDS member Mark William Rudd [redacted] on 9/30/69, by Bob Rouse, announcer WAAC Radio, Terre Haute, Ind. This interview pertained to the SDS and its goal to overthrow the US Government. Rudd stated in this interview that there was a system of slavery still going on and that when black people spoke out, they were put in jail like Huey Newton and a whole bunch of others.

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[redacted]
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[REDACTED]

(protect identity), furnished a leaflet concerning a proposed student strike on 11/14/69, which indicated that the Radical Jewish Students Union (RJSU) (100-456686) was calling for the "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all US forces from Vietnam". (Locality not given.) This leaflet indicated that the RJSU urged support of the proposed release of political prisoners BPP Chairman Bobby Seale and BPP Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton in exchange for the release of US prisoners held by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

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100-456686-4 p.8,10
(11)

This reference in the file captioned "Charles R. Garry" contains information pertaining to the activities of Garry in connection with his defending Huey P. Newton and other BPP members. Garry was called to defend Newton in November, 1967 after Newton was charged with killing an Oakland police officer. These activities covered the approximate period November, 1967 - December, 1969 in various cities in California. Besides defending Newton, Garry gave numerous speeches in support of Newton and the BPP activities, and he also attacked the US judicial system as an instrument of US racist society.

100-259902-35 p.13-16,18,19,22-28,
(2,10) 45,47,48,50,51,56,57,
67,71,72,75

b2
b7D

On 12/4/69, [REDACTED] advised that Karen Lee Wald (100-446938) was intimately involved with BPP Defense Minister Huey Newton. Source further advised that Wald had authored articles favorable to the BPP and anti-US. (Locality not given.)

100-446938-38 ep.2,5
(3)

~~SECRET~~

On 1/1/70, [redacted] was observed in her home [redacted] with a large number of books and periodicals dealing with Black Nationalism and the BPP. Included in this material were BPP greeting cards. Two of these cards contained photographs of jailed BPP leader Huey P. Newton and "Huey P. Newton's Guerillas".

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] (u)

[redacted]

(10)

The NYO furnished a copy of a transcript of an interview with Bobby Seale [redacted] which was telecast in the New York area on 5/26/70. This interview had been conducted in San Francisco, Calif., on 2/13/70. Seale discussed a book he was writing which had started out to be an autobiography of Huey P. Newton but was transformed into a story of the BPP, the genius of Newton. Seale set out details of how he and Newton had met and decided to form the BPP. (Copy of Transcript set out.)

b6
b7C

[redacted]

(11)

The following references in the file captioned "Stokely Carmichael" contain information pertaining to speeches made by Carmichael, in which he mentioned Huey P. Newton, on 7/26/68 in Mobile, Alabama and on 4/9/70 in Washington, DC. During both speeches, he gave the history of the organization of the BPP and Newton's part in it and stated that Newton had undying love for the black people which was necessary for survival in America. He stated he had always been impressed by Newton and had a great deal of respect for him.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-446080-2350 p.142,150,151
-2626 ep.8,9,48

(10)
(10)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The Department of the Army Headquarters, US Army Intelligence Command, Fort Holabird, Md., furnished a summary of information dated 5/18/70 concerning the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) (100-456565). Set out was information regarding this organization, its preamble, and a list of demands of the MDM. One of these demands was to free all political prisoners. The MDM stated that in return for captured American troops in Vietnam, they supported freedom and amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver (not identified), Huey Newton, the Conspiracy 8 (not further identified), and their brother war resisters at home and abroad.

100-456565-38 ep.2
(3)

The following references in the file captioned "Racial Matters" pertain to the BPP activities of Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Numerous rallies and demonstrations were held in support of Newton after he was incarcerated in connection with the murder of an Oakland, Calif., police officer in October, 1967. These activities covered the period 4/9/69 - 6/18/70 in California, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York and North Carolina. Newton was one of the initiators of a petition protesting the genocide of races which was presented to the public for signatures on 6/18/70, and was to be presented to the next session of the UN General Assembly.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-6-A "People's World", 7/11/70	(7)
157-6-3-3152 p.1,2 -3154 ep.3,7	(16) (7)
157-6-5-942 ep.2,6	(7)
157-6-8-3432 p.1, ep.1,3-7,38,47,53	(16)
157-6-10-1350 ep.67	(17)
157-6-32-957 p.1	(17)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-34-2987 p.1
-2991 ep.2,9

(17)
(17)

157-6-47-1375 p.1,2
-1439 ep.2,5
-1478 ep.3,40,54,58,66

(17)
(17)
(17)

b7D

[redacted] (protect identity), advised that City Commissioner William Gear met with five members of the Cry of Black Youth (COBY) (157-17731) organization at their headquarters, 517 Northwest Avenue A, Belle Glade, on 7/1/70. Gear told them they preached brotherhood and peace, but at the same time had posters of known militants such as Huey Newton on the walls of their meeting place, and in his opinion, this did not indicate they were peaceful.

b6
b7C

On 7/14/70, [redacted] one of the co-sponsors of COBY in Belle Glade, advised the posters of Newton and other militants at COBY headquarters, were often necessary to get and keep the interest of the younger members up.

157-17731-4 ep.4,10
(8)

In connection with the Pan-African Committee of the Black United Front-Tour of Africa, July - August, 1970 (157-17889), a WFO informant (not further identified) advised that black Africans exhibited particular interest in the violence-prone BPP and its leaders, Bobby Seale, Huey Newton, and Eldridge Cleaver.

157-17889-11 p.1
(8)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The following references in the file captioned "Black Panther Party" pertain to the BPP activities of Huey Percy Newton, co-founder and Minister of Defense of the BPP. Included was information pertaining to numerous BPP activities held throughout the US and internationally in support of Newton after he was jailed in connection with the shooting of an Oakland, Calif., police officer. These activities covered the approximate period between 1965 when Newton started making plans to organize the BPP and 11/4/70 after he had been released from prison and resumed his BPP activities.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-812 p.1	(4)
-846 p.1	(11)
-903 p.4-6,12,17,21,25,26, 29,34,36	(4,11,19)
-919 ep.1,3	(4)
-1054 ep.3,5	(11)
-1136 ep.1,2,7	(11)
-1138 p.1,ep.1	(11)
-1219 ep.2	(4,11)
-1243 p.1,3,ep.1,5,6,10,11	(4,12)
-1275 p.1	(12)
-1354 p.1,ep.1,14,16,17	(12)
-1418 ep.2,4-6,28	(4,12)
-1421 ep.6,7,23	(12)
-1434 p.1-3,5,12,17,19,20, 38,ep.18	(4,12)
-1441 ep.2,3,9	(19)
-1442 ep.1-7,9	(19)
-1449 ep.6-8,13	(4,12)
-1468 ep.6,11,37	(12,19)
-1490 ep.2	(4)
-1550 p.2	(12)
-1559 ep.8-12,32	(4,12)
-1564 p.3,9,12,23	(12)
-1565 ep.3,7,9	(4)
-1583 ep.3,6	(4,12)
-1642 p.1	(12)
-1729 ep.1	(4,13)
-1993 p.7-10,28	(5,13)
-2452 p.1,2,16-18,20,29-34	(13)

~~(continued)~~

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-2467 ep.1,2,4,6,7,11,14	(13)
-2577 p.1,3,6,26	(13)
-2751 p.3,31	(13)
-2896 p.1,ep.1	(5,13)
-3216 p.1	(13)
-3262X p.1	(8)
-3296 p.1	(5)
-3297 p.1	(5)
105-165706-3-329 p.5-7,18	(5,13)
105-165706-5-84 ep.5,10,16-21,35,36	(5,13)
105-165706-9-41 ep.2,3,6-8,14,15,24,28, 55,64,65,67,68,76,88	(5)
-151 p.33,45	(13)
-292 ep.29,34,35,44,88	(5)
-827 p.1,ep.1-9,13,18,22-25, 27,31,42	(5,13)
105-165706-10-22 p.3	(5)
105-165706-13-53 ep.2,5	(14)
105-165706-15-14 p.1	(5)
-50 p.1	(5)
-262 p.1	(14)
-279 p.1,ep.1-7,12	(14)
105-165706-21-70 ep.4,5	(14)
-89 ep.5,18,21	(14)
105-165706-23-68 p.1	(14)
-218 p.1	(14)
105-165706-26-228 ep.2,10	(14)
-264 p.47,49,50,77,93,104	(14)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-26-352 ep. 1, 2, 14, 15, 27, 32, 34, 37 (14)

-505 p. 5, 7-9, 35, 36, 38-58, 70, 73, 77, 79 (22)

-647 p. 15, 21, 29, 52, 63-65, 70, 72-74, 76, 82, 116 (6, 14)

-764 p. 4, 53 (14)

-976 ep. 10, 11, 28, 33, 37 (6, 14)

-1124 ep. 1, 13, 19 (6)

-1244 p. 12, 15, 24, 26, 27, 29, 47, 50, 67 (6, 15)

-1281 ep. 2, 3 (6, 15)

105-165706-30-43 p. 3, 26, 36 (6)

105-165706-32-30 ep. 5, 7 (6)

-144 ep. 8, 26 (15)

-209 ep. 3, 7, 10, 15, 18, 34, 76, 79 (15)

-1136 ep. 3 (15)

-1484 p. 2 (6)

105-165706-34-156 p. 21 (15)

-199 ep. 1-3 (2)

-577 p. 7, 12, 14, 17 (6, 15)

-610 ep. 2, 3, 5-9, 11, 13, 19, 21-25, 27, 28 (6, 15)

-A "The Washington Post Times Herald", 2/18/70 (15)

105-165706-35-48 p. 1 (6)

105-165706-37-45 ep. 1, 3, 9 (15)

105-165706-38-12 ep. 5, 6, 20, 22 (15)

-27 ep. 7, 9, 15, 19 (6)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
105-165706-46-44 p.12,16,23	(15)
-115 p.15,18,29	(16)
105-165706-50-148 encl.1,p.10, encl.2,p.3,23,	(6,16)
encl.3,p.2,9-11,44-46	
-165 p.1,3,9,15-17,47	(7,16)
-358 p.5,21,22,36	(16)
105-165706-53-408 p.1,2	(16)
-422 p.1,2	(16)
105-165706-61-11 p.2	(16)
105-165706-67-50 p.1,ep.1,3	(16)
-89 p.4,17	(7,16)
105-165706-84-155 p.1	(7)
-567 p.1	(7)
105-165706-221-30 ep.5,7	(16)

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following references on Huey Newton and Huey P. Newton located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were not reviewed, and it is not known whether they are identical with the subject of this summary:

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

REFERENCE

b1

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER



(S)

100-448006-911
-1156
-1314

(1)

(1)

(10)

(11)

(11)

105-165706-3289

(5)

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Although the information is the same it may have been received from different sources.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 5/26/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP (KBE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY SP5CJ/CAK

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM dated 5/21/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and one xerox copy of article captioned "What Newton Thinks: The Church And The Panthers", which appeared in the 5/24/71, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco California, newspaper.

The Bureau will note that the enclosed article is written by TIM FINDLEY, a staff reporter for the "San Francisco Chronicle", who is a close friend of NEWTON and who has written articles sympathetic to the BPP in the past.

CONF.

EX-100

5-16
MAY 28
105-165429-433

ENCLOSURE

MAY 29 1971
RACIA AT. SECT.

2 - Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)
1 - San Francisco

JLC/sad
56 JUN 10 1971 F452

b6
b7c

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

What Newton Thinks

The Church and the Panthers

"Religion is a stalking horse to shoot other fowl."
George Herbert

By Tim Findley

Huey Newton has a consistent problem relating complicated arguments that are frequently interpreted with simple meanings.

When the Black Panther co-founder and minister of defense brought his party into prominence with calls for armed self defense in the Nation's ghettos, alarmists saw it as a cry for racial warfare.

When Newton told a theological seminar in Berkeley Thursday that the party intends to "get involved with the church," it was concluded by some that Newton had got himself religion.

MESSAGE

But the message from the 29-year-old son of a former Baptist preacher is the same in both cases — self determination for the black community and the overthrow of the status quo.

Newton took reports of his speech to the Graduate Theological Union with a kind of characteristic wry disgust yesterday.

"The Black Panther Party is relating to all institutions in the black community," he said. "The church is a very important institution in the black community and we're

coming into the church just as we're coming into other institutions in the black community."

OBSERVERS

To observers close to Newton and the Panthers, the announcement was neither surprising nor inconsistent.

At the heart of the recent split between Newton and former Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver were differences over whether the party was to be, as Newton saw it, a "grass roots" organization in the black community or limited to Cleaver's view of a slashing guerrilla cadre.

In Newton's view, the party had become increasingly alienated from important segments of the black community through repeated shootouts and even more frequent violent rhetoric.

PROGRAMS

His own programs of breakfasts for children, free shoe factories and community housing were suffocated by Cleaver's furious demands for urban warfare.

Newton told the theologians that "the Black Panther Party and the church have both become alienated from the black community. We must analyze our present

and approach and become more conscious of our mistakes. We must miss the next report of Newton's statement to the churchmen that "we have to have more effect on the church than vice versa."

WEAPONS

Panthers, Newton made

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-26-87 BY SP5CJ/ST

4 S.F.Chronicle
San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 5-24-71
Edition: Home
Author: Tim Findley
Editor: and Pub.: Chas. deYoung Thieriot
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
 Being Investigated

433

ENCLOSURE

clear, have no intention of abandoning their weapons, and his speech Thursday was intended as an offer of alliance, not a supplication.

"We have made mistake," he told the theologians, "but I'm not going to apologize for them. Instead of calling things we have done mistakes, I refer to them as phases of development we've going through."

With an implied reference to Cleaver, Newton said he recognized that "we will be criticized by revolutionary cultists for trying to effect change by stages. But to do all we want to do, we just have to go through all the stages of development. We cannot jump from A to Z as some thought.

"We have to find out what the people WILL do at a certain time in history, not what they CAN do, because we know they can do everything. We have to know what they will do at a particular time and after they do that we'll move them to a higher level until they eventually control their own destiny."

CHURCH

Newton, a Marxist, said some in his party had arrogantly "dumped" the church and rejected those who believe in God.

God is commonly described as an unknown," he said. "As science discovers more and more, the unknown becomes smaller and we find the attributes we thought it possessed to exist within us and we grow larger. But we accept we don't know all — anyone who says he does is arrogant."

Panther involvement in black community institutions

such as the church, Newton said, will probably result in them "modifying each other," but he said the goals of the Panther Party remain unchanged.

"The scriptures don't say anything about the church being in heaven," Newton said yesterday. "I assume then that the church will simply be negated when we solve our social problems. When that happens, the Black Panther Party will also be negated. Until then the battle is still between the community as a whole and the status quo that is oppressing it."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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George Herbert

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His own programs of breakfasts for children, free shoe factories and community housing were suffocated by Cleaver's furious demands for urban warfare.

Newton told the theologians that "the Black Panther Party and the church have both become alienated from the black community. We must analyze our position and approach and become more consistent."

But missed in most reports was Newton's statement to the churchmen that "we hope to have more effect on you than vice versa."

WEAPONS

Panthers, Newton made

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

4 S.F.Chronicle

San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 5-24-71
Edition: Home
Author: Tim Findley
and Pub.: Chas. deYoung Thieriot
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
 Being Investigated

clear, have no intention of abandoning their weapons, and his speech Thursday was intended as an offer of alliance, not a supplication.

"We have made mistake," he told the theologians," but I'm not going to apologize for them. Instead of calling things we have done mistakes, I refer to them as phases of development we've going through."

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Panther involvement in black community institutions

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Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5/27/71

Attached relates that the date for the retrial of Huey P. Newton, a leader of the Black Panther Party who is being tried for murder of an Oakland, California, Police Officer, has been set for 6/28/71.

Copy of attached sent to Internal Security Division of the Department.

JTK:jd

*CDL
/m*

Geary

GA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5GJ
GA

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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

MAY 26 1971
TELETYPE

NR 015 SF PLAIN

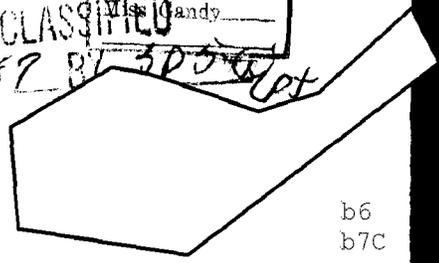
8 10 PM NITEL 5/26/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 Gpt

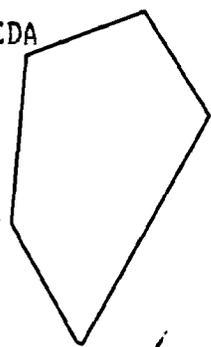
HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP, KEY BLACK EXTREMIST.



b6
b7c

SUBJECT APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, DEPARTMENT FIVE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, MORNING, MAY TWENTYSIX, INSTANT. AT REQUEST OF NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, DATE FOR RETRIAL OF NEWTON FOR MANSLAUGHTER SET FOR JUNE TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT. NEWTON'S ATTORNEY EXPLAINED THAT CHARLES R. GARRY, WHO IS NEWTON'S ATTORNEY AND WHO REPRESENTED BOBBY SEALE IN THE RECENT NEW HAVEN TRIAL, WOULD WIND UP MATTERS DEALING WITH THE SEALE CASE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS AND WOULD THEN NEED A SHORT WHILE TO PREPARE NEWTON'S CASE. ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY WAS AGREEABLE TO TRIAL DATE OF JUNE TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT.

b6
b7c



END

EBR FBI WASH DC

FOR TWO

EX-113
REC-49

105-10549-434

12 JUN 4 1971

58 JUN 10 1971

FBI

Date: 5/25/71

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031) (P)
SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON
(KEY - BLACK EXTREMIST)
RM - BPP
OO:SF

102

Re New Haven airtel and LHM, 2/5/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM concerning specific details concerning subject's appearance at Yale Univ., 2/2-4/71. Enclosed for San Francisco are 2 copies of instant LHM in view of their interest in subject's activities.

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ to protect the identity of a source whose disclosure could affect the national security adversely.

San Francisco is requested to review the enclosed article which has been described by source as "accurate". It is noted that "8 weeks" after NEWTON's seminar and HUEY NEWTON met in NEWTON's Oakland apartment and joined only by and one associate of NEWTON's". They continued their discussion informally. Their relationship reportedly is to continue.

New Haven possesses no additional information to verify continued relationship with NEWTON nor the BPP. However, New Haven will remain alert in the future for any details concerning this matter.

Original copy of above-mentioned article is being retained in NH file 157-1031-14

- 1 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 3 - New Haven (2 - 157-1031) (1 - 157- [redacted])

10 MAY 28 1971

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

62 JUN 8 1971

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-6-81 BY SP6/lyk/bef
#555512 PPT/ai/lpt

REC-40 105-165429-435
ENCLOSURE
Copies to 150, SS
6/4/76
JLA/m

TELETYPE UNIT
RACIA

destroyed



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Haven, Connecticut

May 25, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: HUEY PERSON NEWTON
Seminar, Trumbull College
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut
February 2-4, 1971

A characterization of the Black Panther
Party (BPP) is contained in the Appendix.

On May 24, 1971, NH T-1, a source with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine his reliability, furnished the enclosed article entitled "Erik Erikson and Huey Newton." Source stated that this article is extremely accurate and contains additional details concerning NEWTON's activities while in New Haven, Connecticut, in February, 1971. Source also advised that the author of this article is JEFFREY NEIL GORDON, a senior student at Trumbull College, Yale University. GORDON is scheduled to graduate in June, 1971, and reportedly is interested in a career in journalism. The above mentioned article appeared in the May edition of the "Yale Alumni Magazine", a monthly publication published by Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. This article is set forth as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP6 dja/abt
CN 11-6-81
#55,516
SP5 W/pt 6-26-87

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.

100-1617

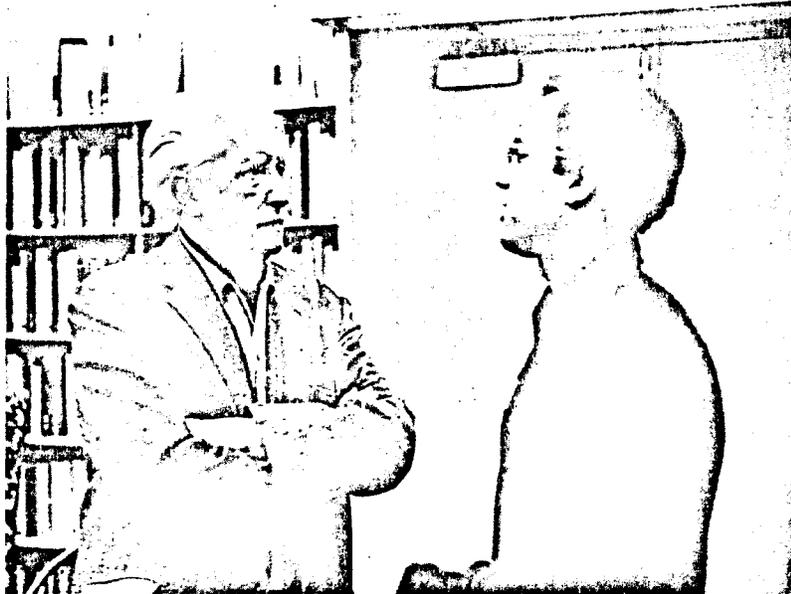
435

Yale Alumni Magazine

Erik Erikson and Huey Newton

by Jeffrey Gordon

For three days at Yale the old sociologist and the young Panther talked, listened, and began 'a relationship that would continue'



A short time ago a new film called "Bright College Years" had its premiere in the common room of Yale's Trumbull College. The first half of the film depicted last spring's tumult over the New Haven trial of Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale. The second half contrasted that intense period of student action with the less serious behavior of the University's Old Blues returning for Alumni Week in June.

The film recalled the most dramatic moment of "Black Panther Spring": Panther chief of staff David Hilliard's fiery harangue before a tense crowd in Ingalls Rink, in which he said that "killing pigs" was necessary and proper as part of the impending revolutionary struggle—a statement that was heavily booed by most of the largely Yale audience.

Now, less than a week after the showing of "Bright College Years," David Hilliard walked into the Trumbull College dining hall for dinner—in the company of Panther defense minister and supreme commander Huey P. Newton. Nine months earlier such an entrance would have electrified everyone. Now Hilliard and Newton could go through the cafeteria lines, be introduced to a few black students, and sit down for a leisurely discussion. Their presence naturally drew excited stares, but mostly those in the dining hall maintained a slightly quizzical distance.

Jeffrey Gordon, a senior, worked on the Yale Daily News for three years. He plans to take a year off before going to law school and is currently looking for a job on a small-town newspaper. Photographs by Reginald A. Krasney.

It was an accident that brought Newton and Hilliard to Trumbull for dinner; nor did their appearance stem from a desire to see whether a nine-month gestation period had given birth to any new Yale commitment to the Panther cause. Newton and Hilliard were at Yale simply because they had been invited.

Newton had agreed to participate in a three-day colloquium with Erik Erikson, 14 students and two faculty moderators; Hilliard was part of his entourage. This meeting between Huey Newton and Erik Erikson had great potential. The 68-year-old Erikson was the eminent sociologist and author of psychoanalytic biographies of revolutionary figures, notably Luther and Gandhi. And the 29-year-old Newton was, after all, a leading figure in the current revolutionary pantheon.

Originally, plans for the encounter were rather modest: Newton, Erikson and some students would engage in a few days' discussion in the unimposing Trumbull Seminar Room. The subject would be Newton's new philosophy of "intercommunalism." Expenses would be covered by



a fund that Yale regularly uses to bring political figures to the University. Newton would be the guest of Trumbull College, whose Master, Kai Erikson—Erik Erikson's 39-year-old son, a noted sociologist in his own right—

had been instrumental in making arrangements. Kai Erikson hoped that Newton would take some meals in the college and be available to participate in a few college affairs—such is the frequent pattern of a "visiting dignitary."

Meanwhile a New York publishing house inquired about the possibility of taping the Newton-Erikson discussion for a book. As a group whose needs for money were apparent, the Panthers and Newton were naturally amenable. For their own reasons both Eriksons also agreed. At this point the "informal discussion" became "the conference" or "the colloquium."

As its organizer, Kai Erikson began to face rising commercial pressure, including offers from other publishing houses and from a Hollywood producer who wanted to film the meeting. Erikson turned to the Yale University Press, whose respect for the intellectual integrity of the meeting he felt he could trust. The Press, in exchange for first refusal rights on any book that might emerge, matched the offer by other publishers and agreed to the use of its second-floor library as the site.

Huey P. Newton's first appearance at Yale took the form of a Sunday night speech in Woolsey Hall. Although the speech had been scheduled to begin at 7:30, Newton did not appear on stage until two hours later. Most of that delay resulted from the meticulous



frisking of everyone who wanted to enter the hall, the security-conscious Panthers' standard operating procedure whenever their leaders speak. Reportedly they found no knives, guns or other weapons among the 1,200 well-dressed, mainly white spectators.

Finally, at 9:35, Huey P. Newton himself walked out on stage, accompanied by two bodyguards who towered over his 5'7" frame. He raised his hands above the podium to applaud the crowd which was applauding him. "You applaud me and I applaud you for helping to set me free," he said, in a voice closer to a high-pitched whine than a revolutionary roar. "We have a right to use any means necessary to free Bobby and Ericka," he said as the crowd settled back to wait for the fire-breathing exhortation they had come to expect from Panther chiefs.

Thus most of the audience was surprised when Newton began to talk about "subjective idealism" in contrast to "materialism." "In order to be as subjective as people for the interests of the people, we must be objective with the facts," he said. "We must learn to manipulate the environment. That's what power is—the ability to define phenomena and then manipulate phenomena."

Had the audience somehow stumbled into a philosophy lecture? Newton's speech was a systematic development of a new ideology of his own: "revolutionary intercommu-

nalism." He cited Kant, Pierce, James, Hegel, Marx, Freud, Jung and Erikson as he spoke. He referred to notions of the "global village," the "historical accident that the ruling group in the United States is white," and to the Oedipus complex as "the son's hostility to the father and wanting to rip him off." He finally closed his address on a utopian vision of man with a "universal identity . . . Man will dictate to the machine—he will be free from the machine and free from the ruling group. The father is dead and God is dead, and man will be his own father and his own God and the son of his father."

Most of the audience walked out at the end feeling somewhat cheated. Newton had not used one profane word, had not made one reference to "pigs" or "offing pigs," had not lambasted white racists. His speech probably struck some as the disconnected ramblings of a barroom revolutionary who had once read through part of an anthology of "Great Thinkers of the Western World." Yet, although the talk was laced with many standard borrowings from Marx and Lenin, it nevertheless contained a good amount of original thought, especially Newton's notions about the indirect blessings of "imperialism by the U.S. ruling group." Imperialism had centralized the whole world into one community, he said, creating a condition of "reactionary intercommunalism." But imperialism carried with it "the seeds of its own negation" into "revolutionary intercommunalism." As Newton expressed it, "The expropriated will expropriate the expropriators."

He made one cogent point about the short-sightedness of any national socialist movement: With all the world's wealth held by the U.S. ruling group, how could individual nations have any substantial wealth to distribute to their people?

Newton also played his ideology off against the theories of such New Left thinkers as Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse had maintained that the newly emerging revolutionary class would be the



middle-class technocrats, the proletariat of tomorrow. Newton stood Marcuse on his head. He pointed out that this burgeoning technocracy—influential but numerically small—would eliminate increasingly large portions of the population from meaningful work. Thus for Newton the emerging *lumpenproletariat*—the unemployed and unemployable—would be the source of support for any revolution. This was his defense of the Black Panther emphasis on recruiting "brothers of the block"—the *lumpenproletariat*—rather than the black working class.

The most important part of Newton's address for the colloquium to follow was his attempt to reach out to Erik Erikson. He cited Erikson in his description of the fratrici-

"the conflict of the species and the pseudo-species, [where] one group claims that the others are not homo sapiens." He said that man's "universal identity" (an Erikson term) would be made possible by the universal spread of technology inherent in intercommunalism.

Most of those who had not been put off by Newton's verbiage and the unaccustomed sight of a Black Panther discussing philosophy were impressed with Newton's speech.

What Newton seemed to need most to establish his stature as a fine ideological mind was a good editor. His intellectual display also quashed what must have been a fear on the part of the colloquium organizers: that Huey Newton would have little of substance to say to Erik Erikson.

The next day, Monday, Newton moved into the Trumbull College guest suite, a modest two-room apartment. With him came Hilliard and Connie Mathews, who functioned as his appointments secretary.

The Trumbull people who helped Newton move in said they were impressed by his "enormous personal appeal."

"He struck me as a very polite, courteous person—he didn't come off as the media's image of a Panther, fierce and angry," one said. Newton told the Trumbull people—Kai Erikson's secretary and his student aides—that he wanted to talk to as many students as possible. He said he didn't mind if people called him on the phone.

That night Newton came to dinner in the Trumbull dining hall. Escorted by Kai Erikson and accompanied by Hilliard, he walked through the common room, draped his khaki field coat over a chair, and walked through the cafeteria lines for dinner. Erikson accompanied him to a table near the door, introduced him and Hilliard to some blacks already seated there, and left. Newton sat down with his back toward much of the dining hall. The table soon filled up with black students.

During dinner Newton looked over his shoulder at the vast expanse of the wood-beamed Trumbull dining room, built more like a Gothic hall than a cafeteria. He noticed several pairs of eyes staring at him, and, as was his custom, smiled. Immediately those eyes turned away, as was the custom of Yalies trying not to be caught in the social error of Staring at the Famous Man. Newton apparently interpreted that gesture as a hostile one—later that week David Dellinger chided Yale students for their "hostile reaction" to Newton and cited the "turning of eyes" at dinner.

After dinner Newton was accosted by a black student who asked if Newton didn't agree that "Marx was a wooly-headed adolescent who doesn't mean anything, who



created just another ideology." As he walked into the common room, Newton was faced with a barangue of a different sort—a performance of Yale's "God Squad," a fundamentalist Christian group which was touring the residential colleges singing and preaching about the need to "return to Jesus." The God-Squaders in one ear, an anti-Marxist black Yale student in the other, Newton picked up his coat, hurriedly excused himself and left through a back exit. Later he found a wad of saliva on his coat. "From that time on," said Charles Garry in a post-visit interview, "Newton resolved never to go into the dining hall again."

The "turning of eyes" and spitting on his coat were not the only incidents which gave Newton the false impression that Yale people did not want to welcome him. One night Newton's party returned to their car to find the tires slashed; another night their car, illegally parked, was towed away. These incidents inevitably distorted Newton's impression of Yale students before he had even met the participants in the colloquium. For whatever reason,

Newton participated in none of Trumbull's activities during the rest of his stay. All the requests by students and teachers to speak with him or invite him to a class were rebuffed with references to his "tightly packed schedule."

The colloquium was scheduled to begin Tuesday morning at 10 in the library of the Yale University Press. Newton and his party arrived at 10:30. He took off his field coat, put down a long baton he carried—black Bakelite, tipped with a silvery metal—and sat down across from Erik Erikson.

Tension in the library was manifest. The room itself looked more like a corporation board room than a library. True, its walls were lined with the Press's distinguished publications, but the focus was a huge mahogany table, 20 feet long by five feet wide. Three large microphones were in the center of the table, reminding each participant that his words were being recorded for posterity.

Newton's presence was formidable. That first day he wore a dark blue T-shirt that revealed massive biceps—a sufficiently impressive display for everyone to recall it in discussing Newton. His was the clear aura of command. As Eldridge Cleaver once wrote, "I found myself sharing with Bobby Seale the same attitude toward Huey—the same willingness to place my life in his hands, the same confidence that Huey will do the right thing at any given moment, that his instincts are sound and that there is nothing to do but follow Huey and back him up." (Since then Cleaver has broken with Newton.) For his part, Chester Kerr—the walrus-moustached director

of the University Press—Newton reminded him of Paul Newman—"he had the same narrow head, that slender lithe look, the muscular stance."

Erik Erikson's figure was much less physically powerful but no less prepossessing. Ruddy-faced and white-haired, Erikson had a presence that went beyond the calm demeanor of a tweedy professor. He was one of the age's elders, a man whose compassion and understanding seemed implicit in his life and work. If Newton was a revolutionary, Erikson was a chronicler of revolutionaries; if Newton was a prophet, Erikson was a saint. Both men had reportedly been upset at what some people were billing as a "confrontation" between them. Both would soon dispel that notion with their mutual courtesy.

Two Yale professors were present: Kai Erikson and Elting Morison, Master of Timothy Dwight College and chief trustee of the fund that was to have financed Newton's visit before the book was proposed. If anyone "presided" over the colloquium, it was Kai Erikson, though his direction was minimal.

The fourteen students who participated were a strange



sample of the Yale community. Ten were from Trumbull and Timothy Dwight—each Master chose five—and the other four were picked by Erikson upon advice "of various faculty and University administrators." None of the student participants were known as "heavy political people." One was a member of the New Haven Panther Defense Committee, but even his radicalism was likened "more to Mississippi Summer than to hard-core revolutionary practice." Five of the students were women; one was in women's lib. Six were black, but none was identified with the more militant wing of the Black Student Alliance. One of the black students was secretary of the class of 1971; another was a member of one of Yale's oldest and wealthiest senior societies. One of the white students was the goalie of the hockey team.

Elting Morison said he had chosen students who he thought "would have an interest in race relations." Erikson said he chose students "somewhat at random," within the framework of trying to facilitate a "people-to-people exchange." Few of the students had attended Newton's Woolsey Hall address; fewer had read his speech on intercommunalism in the Panther newspaper before the conference began. Most however, had become familiar with Erik Erikson in introductory psychology courses.

Kai Erikson began the colloquium by inviting Newton to make his introductory remarks. Newton responded by talking for nearly an hour and a half, essentially reiterating his Woolsey Hall address on intercommunalism. After a short break the students began questioning Newton about the specifics of intercommunalism—how would it come into being? Newton answered by

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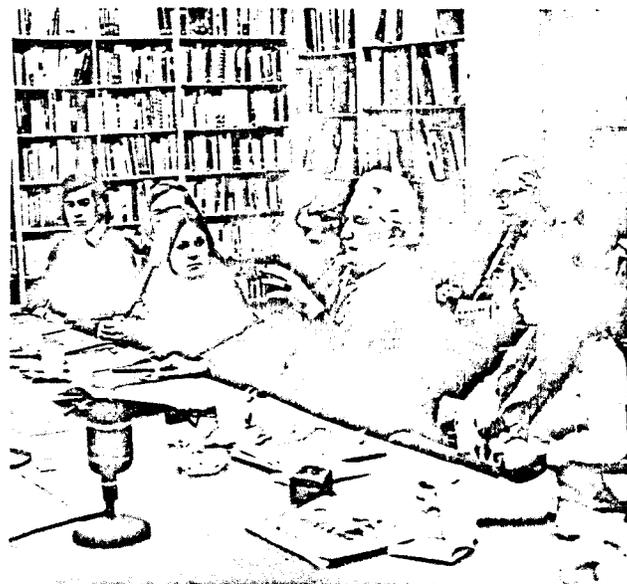
referring to the contradictions he saw inherent in history, the contradictions that would transform the social and political system. He mentioned that he had been unable to read or write until he was 16 though he had been in the Oakland public school system since childhood. One of the students later observed that this revelation about a man so obviously intelligent was the most glaring indictment of an educational system that he could imagine.

Erik Erikson did not speak that first day. Throughout Newton's comments he took copious notes on an artist's sketch pad with two felt-tipped color pens. Major thoughts he wrote down in blue; these he connected with red lines and circles. (Kai Erikson once described his father, who in his youth was an art student, as a "geometric thinker who saw his thoughts in spatial relation to one another.")

If the first day of the colloquium was Huey Newton's, the second day was Erik Erikson's. Erikson began his response to Newton's comments of the day before. From the start he made it clear that he would pay more attention to the "creed of one man" than to the "ideology of a party." His major interest seemed to be how "the New Newton" had emerged from "the old Huey"—how the thinker and the theoretician had emerged from the ghetto gunslinger, with a black beret, bandolier and gun.

He compared the "positive identity" that Newton had established for himself—the source of his dignity and stature as a man—with similar efforts by Martin Luther and

Gandhi. For Erikson the central dilemma facing a would-be revolutionary figure was not his commitment to violence as opposed to non-violence, but his commitment to *discipline*. Thus Erikson saw disciplined violence and disciplined non-violence as correlative rather than antagonistic. In making that point Erikson referred to a passing remark Newton had made about "armed love"—a phrase which Chester Kerr, director of the Press, said struck him



as a good title for any book that might result.

Erikson dealt with Newton's idea of intercommunalism in terms of his own theories of personal and social development, especially the notion of "pseudo-speciation." Erikson describes this social phenomenon as denoting "the fact that while man is obviously one species, he appears and continues on the same scene split up into groups (from tribes to nations, from castes to classes, from religion to ideologies) which provide their members with a firm sense of distinct and superior identity—and immortality. This demands, however, that each group must invent for itself a place and moment in the very center of the universe where and when an especially provident deity

caused it to be created superior to all the other mere mortals."

Picking up Newton's previous references, Erikson said that "pseudo-speciation" was the greatest obstacle to a "universal identity" for man. Erikson said that intercommunalism—a feeling of community within those who immediately live together and an emphatic connection with other communities throughout the world—could provide an alternative to pseudo-

speciation. Erikson quoted the young Marx: "Until the world revolution, no one anywhere will really be an adult." Perhaps the most perceptive use of Newton's intercommunalism, Erikson suggested, was in its redefinition of "adult," now defined in terms of pseudo-species.

One of the student participants described Erikson's comments as "a heavy rap."

In his response Erik Erikson had clearly tried to overcome the gap—intellectual and social—inevitable between a 68-year-old professor and a

29-year-old revolutionary. He had not embraced Newton's entire position with its accompanying commitments. Instead he had picked up Newton's arguments, given them a close examination, and turned them a bit to expose their various facets. He had shown how many of Newton's points fit into his own theories, recalling that in his youth in Vienna he had been a revolutionary himself, struggling against the Freudian establishment. He depicted his estrangement from his own native country as the stepson of a Jew in Austria in the face of an imminent Nazi invasion—and his temporary sense of homelessness as an immigrant to America. (In a discussion with students during one of the breaks, Erikson had spoken of the different levels on which he and Newton operated: "I'm an academic psychoanalyst; Newton, I think, is a bit of a prophet.")

During the colloquium and over two dinners, a personal bond between the two grew—Newton began to refer to Erikson as "Erik" rather than "the Professor." Yet in his response Newton seemed to think that Erikson had partly misunderstood his position or confused some of his points. He didn't feel that Erikson's problems in immigrating were comparable to his own sense of alienation from the current government. (Neither did Erikson, as he emphasized later.) Nor did Newton agree with Erikson's description of his commitment to disciplined violence. Rather, he said that the Panther strategy of announcing a willingness for armed struggle was less a tactic of "armed love" than a device to educate the community politically. "It's wrong to publish a military strategy for military reasons," Newton said, quoting Ho Chi Minh. "It's right to do it for political reasons." Later Newton reportedly said that he didn't think Erikson really em-

pathized with the revolutionary figures he wrote about, nor was he "really relevant" to the Panther's current revolutionary struggle.

Newton's relations with the student participants in the colloquium were less good. He apparently felt that "the students weren't with it politically; not that they didn't agree with me—they just didn't know what's happening." On the third day of the colloquium, the students had their opportunity to question the two principals. Most of their questions were directed at Newton—mostly they sought possible links between Newton's revolutionary commitment and their own lives: "How can we as college students relate to your philosophy?" "What does your theory tell us about how we should raise our children?" "How does your philosophy relate to Panther practice?" "What should we do as college students about the war in Vietnam?"

Newton answered the questions with reference to his previously staked out ideological positions. Although obviously frustrated with the tenor and direction of the student queries and feeling somewhat singled out as a target, he nevertheless responded patiently to most questions. Eventually, the students' questions became almost total paraphrases of questions previously asked: Newton's answers were paraphrases as well. The "dialogue" withered. Finally, after three hours, one student made an impassioned personal statement that the time for commitment had come; Newton had

obviously chosen to "pick up the gun," and it was time for each student to decide if he too was willing to make that commitment. "Right on!" mumbled Huey and excused himself to go to the bathroom as the colloquium ended.



Some of the students felt that Newton hadn't been entirely fair to their questions—that he had pulled words out of context without responding to the sense of their queries. They also felt that Newton's answers rarely went beyond his already thought-out ideology. On the other hand, if Newton was occasionally testy, it could be blamed on what Chester Kerr called "careless language" by some students. At one point, for example, a student asked Newton how he could possibly explain his intricate ideological system to the masses of the ghetto and middle America. "But I'm from the ghetto," Newton replied. "But you're intelligent." Here a hard smile played on Newton's lips. Half-laughing he said, "Let's take a break." One black student interjected, "Some people would call that a racist remark. I won't, but some people could."

Thus the decision by Kai Erickson and Elting Morison to avoid choosing "heavy political people," the hope of avoiding the cant of radical rhetoric, seemed to have backfired. Because almost none of the students shared Newton's

ideological commitments, they belabored precisely the point: Newton's commitment and their distance from it. Virtually none of their questions was directed toward Newton's theoretical development of intercommunalism; nobody challenged him on the philosophical underpinning on which he based his ideology. Newton reportedly had come to Yale to be "intellectually challenged on his philosophy not on his revolutionary tactics." What could Yale students—surely among those from whom the expropriated will expropriate—tell Huey P. Newton of revolutionary tactics?

The students were caught up in a self-construed dilemma about whether "to pick up the gun"—a dilemma certainly irrelevant to any real considerations in most of their lives. These Yale students—who prided themselves on their keen intellectual grasp—practically ignored the intellectual content of Newton's thinking to become engrossed in the emotionalism of his revolutionary appeal.

Thus they ignored their golden opportunity to develop the Newton-Erikson dialogue, the colloquium's real potential. Each of the principals had essentially delivered a position paper; neither seemed willing to question the other sharply in the colloquium's public forum—probably to avoid the dangers of "confrontation." The students could have acted as intermediaries between the two men to provoke their thinking on the important issues that the colloquium had raised: the development of revolu-

tionary identity and commitment, both philosophically and psychologically, and the illumination of those subtle areas where Marx and Freud speak to each other in theory and practice.

But they didn't. Almost all their questions were on the ideological level, where they had least to say to Newton; none of the questions led Newton and Erickson into a discussion of the philosophy that was the foundation of Newton's ideology. Could this impasse have resulted from the students' unconscious belief that a black revolutionary couldn't really think and talk philosophy? Could it have resulted from the students' own paucity of thought? Ideally



the students might have stood as the third leg of a triangle connecting these two important men; instead they stood between them, thwarting the deliberative process that Huey Newton and Erik Erickson had sought.

What began at Yale, however, didn't end there. Eight weeks later Erik Erickson and Huey Newton met again, this time in Newton's Oakland apartment. There, joined only by Kai Erickson and one associate of Newton's, they discussed in more open terms those matters of ideology and personal development that had been missing at Yale. Though they agreed that the Yale meeting had been "too big a circus," they also agreed that it was the beginning, for them, of a relationship that

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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
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Mr. Dalbey	_____
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Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
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Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FJMGO

NR 010 SF CODE

JUN 2 1971

8:13PM NITEL 6/2/71 JAK

TELETYPE
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY 40502/UP

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA RM DASH BPP (KBE).

SOURCE ADVISED JUNE TWO INSTANT SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JOHN SEALE

WILL DEPART SAN FRANCISCO AT EIGHT THIRTY P.M., JUNE TWO INSTANT,
ON PSA ~~FLIGHT~~ ^{FLIGHT} FIVE FOUR TWO ENROUTE TO LOS ANGELES,
CALIFORNIA. TO ARRIVE NINE FORTY P.M.

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SOURCE REPORTED NEWTON WILL VISIT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN LOS ANGELES AND WILL CONFER WITH [REDACTED] WHO

SOURCE UNDERSTANDS IS PRESNETLY AT [REDACTED] RESIDENCE.

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SOURCE BELIEVES PURPOSE [REDACTED] TRIP IS TO TAKE

[REDACTED] IN LOS ANGELES.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SFTELCALLS TO LA, THIS DATE.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT ACTIVITIES OF
NEWTON AND [REDACTED] WHILE IN LOS ANGELES.

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62 JUN 10 1971

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436

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 7 1971

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop	OP
Mr. Brennan	CD
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Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
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Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

NR 001 SF PLAIN

TELETYPE

12/18PM NITEL 6/6/71 FCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY JP/SCG

TO: DIRECTOR (105--165429)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157--1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON; AKA RM- BPP (KBE)

SUBJECT; JOHN SEALE, SUBJECT'S BODY GUARD AND BROTHER OF
BPP CHAIRMAN, BOBBY SEALE; [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] DEPARTED SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
ON AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT NO. EIGHTEEN, AT TEN FIFTEEN P.M.,
JUNE SIX, INSTANT, ENROUTE TO JOHN F KENNEDY AIRPORT,
NEW YORK, TO ARRIVE SIX FIFTEEN, A.M. JUNE SEVEN, NEXT
JOHN SEALE WAS CARRING TWO LARGE METAL FILM CONTAINERS WHICH PROBABLY
CONTAINED FEATURE LENGTH FILM ABOUT FRED HAMPTON.

INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM SOURCES INDICATE PROPOSE OF SUBJECT'S
TRIP POSSIBLE IS TO MEET WITH MAKERS OF FILM "SWEET SWEETBACK."

ADMINISTRATIVE:

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REG-47 105-165429-437

DEPARTURE OF ABOVE INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED BY SA [REDACTED]

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NEW YORK AND NEW HAVEN ALERT SOURCES OF SUBJECT'S TRAVELS
TO THOSE AREAS AND FOLLOW AND REPORT OF SUBJECT.

SEND

F-26

DCW

60 JUN 11 1971

FBI

Date: 5/25/71

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-2702) (RM)
SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON
RM - BPP
KBE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-31-80 BY 103 DBK/A

105-165429-729
RENYtel to Bu and SF, 5/15/71.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 5 copies of a LHM relating to the appearance of the captioned individual on the David Frost Television Show, 5/14/71.

Also enclosed is one copy of a tape recording such appearance. The original tape is being maintained by the NYO in the 1-B Section of captioned file.

Since no investigation remains outstanding in NY concerning the captioned individual, this case is marked RUC.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-161993)
- 1 - New York

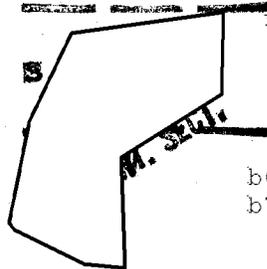
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6 ENCL. per det. LA 5/17/71
Copies to 150, SS
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JLA/jps

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57 JUN 14 1971

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
May 25, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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DATE 10-31-80 BY 193 DAK/8
6-26-87 SP5 WJ/PT

Huey P. Newton
Racial Matters - Black Panther Party

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

On May 14, 1971, Huey P. Newton appeared on the
David Frost Television Show broadcasted over Channel 5
WNEW TV, New York, New York.

Huey P. Newton initially thanked the people for fighting
for him while he was previously incarcerated since their
efforts resulted in his subsequent release.

Newton then went on to relate that the National
Association For The Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
had performed admirably for its time and place in history.
If there were no NAACP, there might not be today any BPP.
Newton noted that no one organization has all the answers and
that the leadership of the BPP was acutely aware of this.

Newton noted that in the past he was always
embarrassed by the title Supreme Commander of the BPP and
therefore, his title has been changed to Defense Minister
of the BPP and Servant of the People.

Change is an inevitable product of history and those
who are afraid of change are for the status quo. He noted
all ideas and groups must change with history and defined
revolution as the process which wipes out the old and plants
the new. The BPP itself does not plot per se to do anything
against the established order; however, such plotting as it

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outside your agency.

438
ENCLOSURE

Huey P. Newton

exists arises out of the experience of the black community.

He noted that he himself was in favor of non-violence; however, drew the distinction between the violence of the aggresor and the self-defense of the victim. The United States in his estimation is the primary aggresor in the world.

Newton noted that there were approximately 38 chapters and branches of the BPP throughout the country. The Harlem branch of the BPP left the party and is no longer associated with the BPP. Newton related that Eldridge Cleaver has done some very strange things in the recent past but has however made contributions to the party in the past. He recognizes that if it were not for Cleaver the party would probably not be where it is today.

Huey P. Newton defined the BPP as an organization which presents an organized structure through which the people can vent desires and persue their goals.

Newton declined to describe Eldridge Cleaver as an Agent of the Government and/or the CIA just because " he might be upset with him from time to time." Contradictions he noted are necessary for progress

Newton declared that the BPP wants the community to challenge the status quo and the party would serve as its voice and use strategies from time to time to insure the attention of the establishment.

Newton observed that policemen are workers also and that he himself seldom used the word "pig". The term "pig" is a matter of semantics and is the response of the victim to the aggresor. It is a rhetorical phrase utilized by the party to heighten the awareness of the black community. Newton stated that it was his hope that the developement of the BPP was not in an antagonistic fashion but realized that contradiction is a principle of the universe. He noted that the real problem in the world today is that the people want to control their institutions and retain destiny over their lives.

Huey P. Newton

Newton concluded his forty-five minute appearance with the statement that the police were probably responsible for the recent murder of New York City BPP functionary Sam Napier. He admitted that he has no direct evidence of such involvement by the police in Napier's murder, however, he has evidence that the police are capable of such behavior.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN -7-1971

KAC

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Bishop _____
- Mr. Brennan *OD* _____
- 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 _____

TELETYPE

NR005 NY CODE

345 PM URGENT 6-7-71 JPM

TO DIRECTOR 105-165429

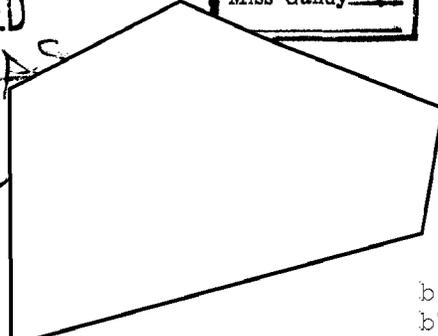
ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203)

FROM NEW YORK 157-2702 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-7-82 BY SPS



HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA; RM-BPP (KBE).

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST, ADVISED ELEVEN FIFTEEN A.M. INSTANT THAT
INFORMATION HAD BEEN RECEIVED CONCERNING AN INQUIRY BY THE NEW
HAVEN CHAPTER OF THE BPP CONCERNING WHETHER THE "GROUP" WAS
THEN ENROUTE TO NEW HAVEN. THE SO-CALLED GROUP ARRIVED AT
JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT THIS A. M. AND ACCORDING TO SOURCE, HAD
NOT AS YET LEFT FOR NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

b6
b7c

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EX 101

REC 43

439

15 JUN 9 1971

RESFTEL JUNE SEVEN INSTANT, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE.

NEW YORK SOURCE IS

b2
b7D

GROUP IS BELIEVED IDENTICAL TO THOSE DESCRIBED IN RETEL. NEW
HAVEN REMAIN ALERT FOR POSSIBLE ARRIVAL OF SUBJECT AND ASSOCIATES

END PAGE ONE

1-1-71
4406

PAGE TWO

IN NEW HAVEN DURING P. M. INSTANT. NEW YORK ATTEMPTING TO SECURE
ADDITIONAL DETAILS REGARDING SUBJECT'S PLANS. NYCPD ADVISED.

NEW YORK FOLLOWING.

END

TRC FBI WDC

FBI

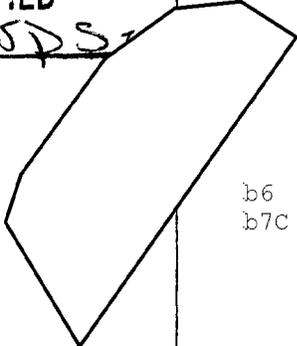
Date: 6/4/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: *REK* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON aka
RM - BPP
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: San Francisco



b6
b7C

Re Springfield airtel to Bureau dated 5/25/71.

San Francisco has received no information as of this date to indicate that NEWTON will travel to Cairo, Illinois to participate in the Second Annual National Survival Day activities on 6/19/71. Appropriate sources have been alerted and any information developed indicating that NEWTON will travel to Cairo will be immediately furnished to the Springfield Office.

For information of Springfield, in the past, on a few occasions when NEWTON had speaking engagements scheduled in the mid-west he did not appear and a representative of the Chicago BPP Office appeared in his place. If not already done, Springfield should consider advising Chicago concerning the activities in Cairo on 6/19/71 so Chicago can alert appropriate sources in the event a representative from the Chicago BPP Office is selected to speak in Cairo.

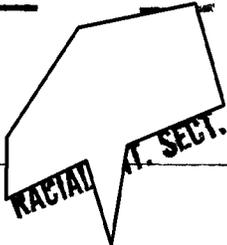
EX 101

REC-13

105-165429-440

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago (Info) (RM)
 - 2 - Springfield (157-2431) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco
- JC/jln
(7) *icc 806*

2 JUN 8 1971



b6
b7C

Approved: *REK* _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F397

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 9 1971

NR 011 SF PLAIN TEXT

9:34PM NITEL 6/8/71 CRH

TELETYPE

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5/SJS

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

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

b6
b7c

SUBJECT, JOHN SEALE, NEWTON'S BODYGUARD AND BROTHER OF BPP
CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE, AND [REDACTED]
ARRIVED SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ON AMERICAN
AIRLINES FLIGHT ONE FOUR FIVE AT FIVE FORTY P.M., JUNE EIGHT
INSTANT, FROM NEW YORK CITY. THEY WERE MET BY KNOWN BPP
MEMBER FROM OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EX-115

RENYTELCAL, JUNE EIGHT INSTANT

REC-8

ARRIVAL OF ABOVE INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED BY SAS [REDACTED]

b6
b7c

441

ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT WILL BE CLOSELY FOLLOWED AND THE
BUREAU KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT INFORMATION.

END

REC 4:

REMFBI WASH DC CLR

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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

NR 052 NY CODE

JUN 8 1971

812 URGENT 6-8-71 KEH

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM NEW YORK (157-2702)

HUEY P. NEWTON AKA; RM - BPP (KBE).

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] AMERICAN AIRLINES, NEW YORK

CITY, ADVISED THREE THIRTY P.M. INSTANT DATE THAT THE SUBJECT, HUEY NEWTON, WAS A LAST MINUTE PASSENGER ABOARD AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT ONE FOUR FIVE WHICH DEPARTED JFK AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY, THREE P.M. INSTANT, ARRIVING SAN FRANCISCO NINE FORTY-FIVE P.M. PACIFIC TIME. HUEY NEWTON WAS TRAVELING ALONE.

AT THREE FIFTEEN P.M. INSTANT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A BPP FUNCTIONARY IN THE NEW YORK CITY AREA,

HAD INQUIRED OF [REDACTED] IN NEW YORK

CITY ON SUCH DATE AS TO THE WHEREABOUTS OF NEWTON. [REDACTED]

INDICATED HE HAD HAD NO CONTACT WITH NEWTON AND WAS UNAWARE OF

HIS CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND OR WHEREABOUTS. [REDACTED] REVEALED THAT

HE HAD LAST BEEN CONTACTED BY NEWTON DURING THE EARLY A.M. OF

JUNE SEVEN LAST.

END PAGE ONE
7 JUN 21 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/29/80 BY SP3 JAB/CP
6-26-87 5:55 GJ/CP

REC 43

105-165429-442

b6
b7C

JUN 14 1971

PAGE TWO

(157-2702)

ADMINISTRATIVE

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL TO SAN FRANCISCO INSTANT
AND NY TEL TO ABOVE OFFICES JUNE SEVEN LAST, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE.

[REDACTED] PROVIDED THE ABOVE INFORMATION TO SUPERVISOR

[REDACTED]

NEW YORK SOURCE IS NEW YORK [REDACTED]

E N D

MKA FBI WASH DC

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 12 1971

TELETYPE

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

NR 007 SF PLAINTEXT

12:00PM NITEL 6/11/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTENTION: IDENT DIVISION)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 GPT

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

OAKLAND, CALIF., POLICE DEPARTMENT. ATTEMPTING TO LOCATE

[REDACTED] NEGRO MALE, BORN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] POSSIBLY [REDACTED] CALIF

[REDACTED] AS WITNESS TO TESTIFY IN THE RETRIAL OF

SUBJECT FOR MANSLAUGHTER SCHEDULED TO COMMENCE JUNE TWENTYEIGHT

NEXT. ATTEMPTS TO LOCATE [REDACTED] HAVE MET WITH NEGATIVE

RESULTS. OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT REQUESTS FILES OF IDENT

DIVISION BE SEARCHED TO DETERMINE IF [REDACTED] HAS ARREST

RECORD AND FOR ANY INFORMATION THAT MAY AID IN LOCATING HIM.

BUREAU REQUESTED TO SEARCH FILES OF IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

FOR ARREST RECORD FOR [REDACTED] AND IMMEDIATELY ADVISE SAN

FRANCISCO OF RESULTS.

END

9)S

HOLD

[REDACTED]

DICTIONARY

REC-35

FBI

REC'D-TELETYPE UNIT

Winn
6-11-71
Langk (Comm)

JUN 15 1971

Sent fax at 3:30 A
Tweaked

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

Handwritten initials

Handwritten initials

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 4 1971

TELETYPE

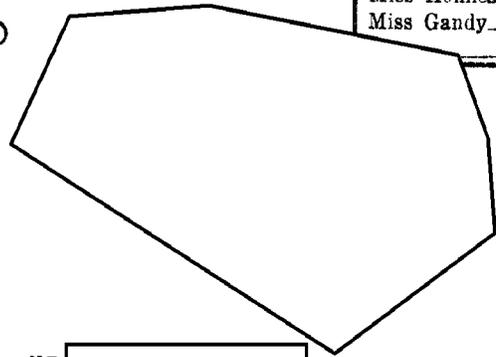
Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY [signature]

NR 021 SF CODE

9:24PM NITEL 6/3/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: D.I.D.)
LOS ANGELES
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P



HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP (KBE).

SOURCE REPORTED SUBJECT, JOHN SEALE, AND [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] RETURNED TO OAKLAND, CALIF., FROM LOS ANGELES,
CALIF., ON PSA FLIGHT AT TWO TEN P.M., JUNE THREE INSTANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JUNE TWO LAST.

SOURCE IS [redacted]

b2

SAN FRANCISCO WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW ACTIVITIES OF
NEWTON AND WILL KEEP THE BUREAU ADVISED.

END...

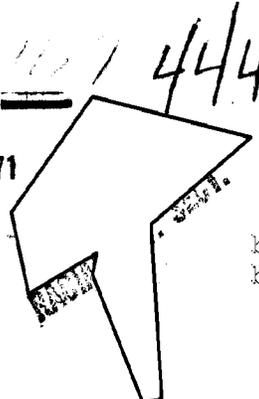
HOLD

1cc 806 940

EX 101

REC 27

JUN 15 1971



b6
b7C

51 JUN 21 1971

FBI

Date: 6/10/71

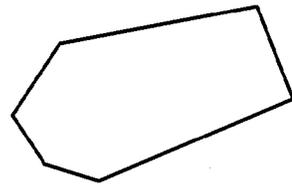
CDB
m

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

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



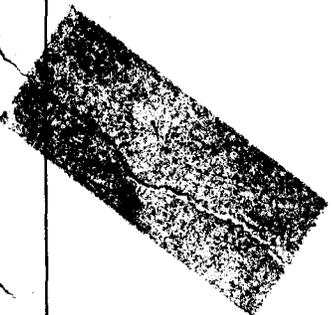
b6
b7C

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP (KBE)

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of
an LHM containing an article written by subject.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 JAC/mt

J



Copy to ISD, SS
by routing slip for
 info action
date 6/16/71
by JLAC/jr

EX-117

SJK

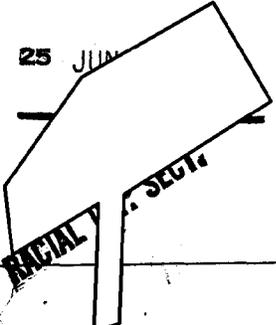
REC-35

105-165429-445

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco
- JLC/jr
(4) *1cc 806*

4 destroyed

ENCLOSURE



b6
b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 10, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

The June 5, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther", official weekly publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP), contained the following article written by Newton:

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.

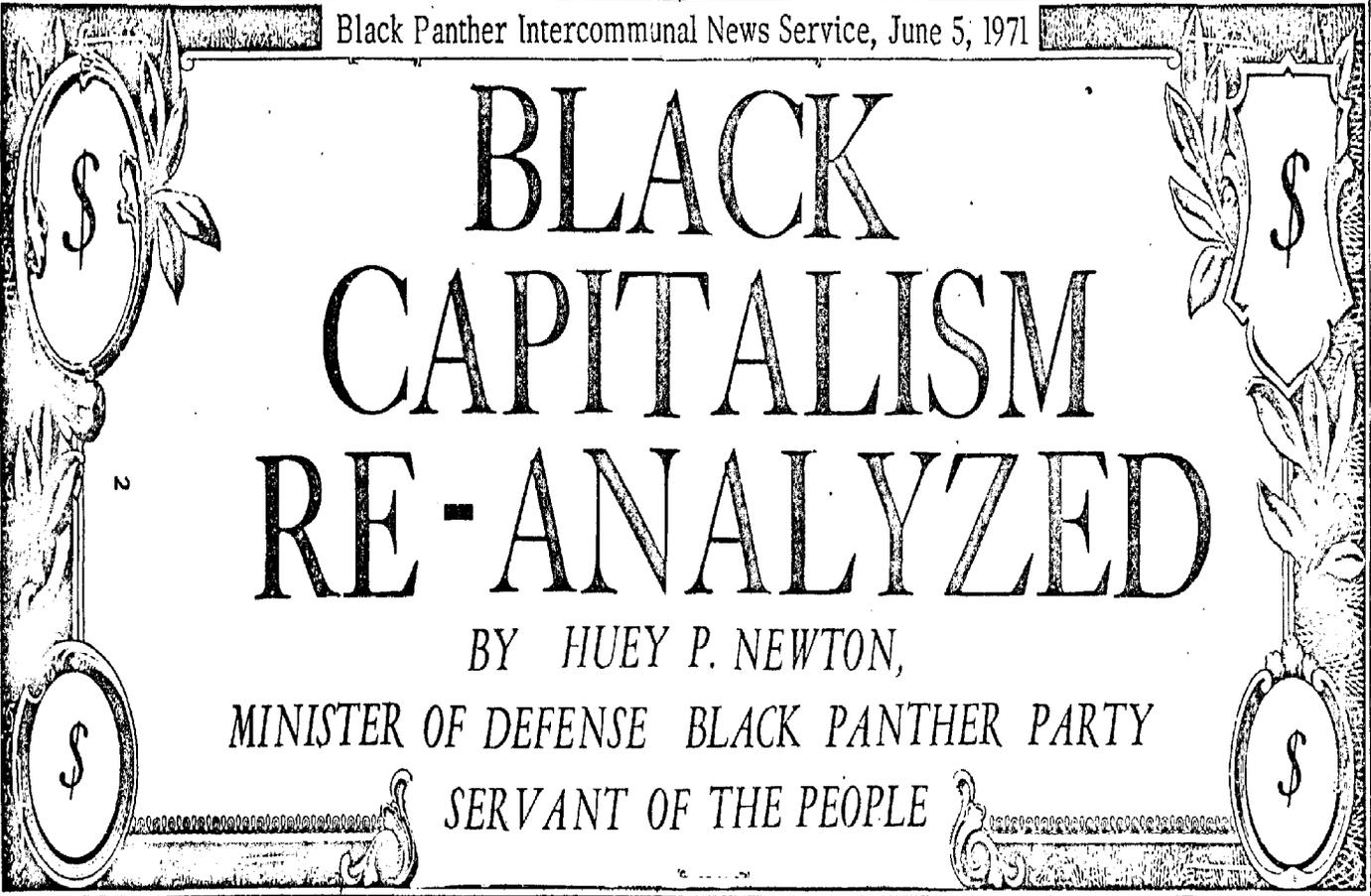
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-21-87 BY SP5CJ/DT

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ENCLOSURE

445

Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, June 5, 1971



BLACK
CAPITALISM
RE - ANALYZED

BY HUEY P. NEWTON,
MINISTER OF DEFENSE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

~~This~~ is a dialogue in our continuing discussion of the new thrust of the Black Panther Party as we begin to carry out the original vision of the Party. When we coined the expression "All Power to the People", we had in mind emphasizing the word "Power", for we recognize that the will to power is the basic drive of man. But it is incorrect to seek power over people. We have been subjected to the dehumanizing power of exploitation and racism for hundreds of years; and the Black community has its own will to power also. What we seek, however, is not power over people, but the power to control our own destiny. For us the true definition of power is not in terms of how many people you can control, to us power is the ability to first of all define phenomena, and secondly the ability to make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

We see then that power has a dual character--we cannot simply identify and define phenomena without acting, for to do so is to become an arm-chair philosopher. And when Bobby and I left Merritt College to organize brothers on the block, we did so because the college students were too content to sit around and analyze without acting. On the other hand, power includes action, for it is making phenomena perform in the desired manner. But action without thinking and theory is also incorrect, for if the social forces at work in the community have not been correctly analyzed and defined, how can you control them in such a way that

they act in a desired manner. So the Black Panther Party has always merged theory and practice in such a way as to serve the true interests of the community.

In merging theory with practice we recognized that it was necessary to develop a theory which was not good for one time and place and not another. We wanted to develop a system of thinking which was good anywhere--thus it had to be rather abstract. Yet our theory would relate to a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, so that our actions would always be relevant and profitable to the people while at the same time advancing their thinking so that they would move toward a transformation of their situation of exploitation and oppression. So we have always insisted on good theory and good practice; but we have not always been successful in carrying this through.

When the Black Panther Party defected from the Black community, we became, for a while, revolutionary cultists. One of the primary characteristics of a revolutionary cultist is that he despises everyone who has not reached his level of consciousness--or the level of consciousness that he thinks he is at, instead of acting to bring the people to that level. In that way the revolutionary cultist becomes divided from the people--he defects from the community. Instead of serving the people as a vanguard, he becomes a hero. Heroes engage in very ~~courageous~~ actions sometimes, and they often make great sacrifices,

including the supreme sacrifice, but they are still isolated from the people. Their courageous actions and sacrifices do not lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, nor do they produce fundamental changes in the exploitation and oppression of the people. A vanguard, however, will guide the people into higher levels of consciousness and in that way bring them to the point where they will take sterner actions in their own interests and against those who continue to oppress them. As I've said previously, revolution is a process not a conclusion. A true revolutionist will not only take courageous actions, he will also try to advance the people in such a manner that they will transform their situation. That is, delivering power to the people, for the true revolutionist, will help them define the social phenomena in operation in their community and then lead them to the point where they will seize the time and make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

Therefore as revolutionaries, we must recognize the difference between what the people can do and what they will do. They can do anything they desire to do, but they will only take those actions which are consistent with their level of consciousness and their understanding of the situation. When we raise their consciousness, they will understand even more fully what they in fact can do, and they will move on the situation in a courageous manner. This is merging your theory with your practices.

As we focus upon our theoretical analysis of the situation, we can become

too abstract and separate from reality; but the people are the reality--they are more in touch with the reality, and most of the time they reluctantly accept the reality. Then they develop certain defense mechanisms to cope with it and manipulate it, believing that it will be like this all the time with little change. What they don't realize is that it is changing all the time, sometimes more slowly than at other times, yet the situation is in a constant state of transformation. And the people lack an ideology, or a system of thinking, which will help them to analyze the changes. Therefore this leaves another power and other interests to shape the changes, rather than making the changes subject to the power of the people.

Therefore it is necessary to develop a system of thinking to analyze things, so we can find out what to do in order to produce a change in the desired manner and direction. Panther ideology is based upon dialectical materialism, which holds that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. That is, all phenomena, all social forces have both a positive and negative quality, which are constantly struggling with each other for dominance. These opposing qualities are unified within the same phenomena. It is this unity of the opposites and their continued struggle which gives motion to matter and maintains the constant state of transformation which produces change.

We recognize that these opposites have a dominant-subordinate relationship to each other. A qualitative

transformation occurs when there is a sufficient quantitative increase or decrease in one of these positive and negative or dominant-subordinate qualities. In the inherent struggle of the opposites, in which one of the qualities increases while the other decreases, both forces reach a nodal point and there is a reversal in their dominance. This reversal is a qualitative change. However, because all phenomena have internal contradictions, a new struggle begins and it will eventually bring a new reversal. This is the nature of the constant state of transformation of material phenomena. Our theoretical analysis of history and the present day has given us a better understanding of the contradictions in all phenomena.

When we attempt to integrate our theory with our practice, we must do so with the fullest understanding of this unity of the opposites which gives motion to matter. What we want to do is develop strategies and programs which use this understanding in the true interests of the exploited and oppressed communities. If power is the ability to define phenomena and then make them act in a desired manner, we must constantly exercise such power in the interests of the people. First of all we define or identify the positive and negative qualities in all phenomena in our communities. Secondly, we act to increase the positive side of these phenomena and decrease the negative, until we transform the situation by having the positive completely dominate the negative.

This is what revolution is about. Basically, it is a process of struggle between the old and the new, with the new attempting to gain dominance, while the old struggles to maintain control. In moving to direct and control the social forces active in our communities we are guided only by our ideology and the true interests of the people. We are free of any other controls, because we do not have any vested interests in the status quo. Our interest is to serve the people by helping them transform their reality, rather than reluctantly accepting it.

Point 3 of the original 10-point program of the Black Panther Party is, "We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community." That was our position in October 1966 and it is still our position. We recognize that capitalism is no solution to the problems we face in our communities. Capitalist exploitation is one of the basic causes of our problem. It is the goal of the Black Panther Party to negate capitalism in our communities and in the oppressed communities throughout the world.

However, many people have offered the community Black capitalism as a solution to our problems. We recognize that people in the Black community have no general dislike for the concept of Black capitalism, but this is not because they are in love with capitalism. Not at all. The idea of Black capitalism has come to mean to many people Black control of another one of the

institutions in the community. We see within this characteristic the seeds of the negation of Black capitalism and all capitalism in general. What we must do then is increase the positive qualities until they dominate the negative and therefore transform the situation.

In the past the Black Panther Party took a counter-revolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism. Our strategy should have been to analyze the positive and negative qualities of this phenomenon before making any condemnation. Even though we recognized, and correctly so, that capitalism is no solution or answer, we did not make a truly dialectical analysis of the situation.

We recognized that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time we have had such programs not only for survival, but for organizational purposes. Now we not only have a breakfast program for school children, we have clothing programs, we have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, we have programs for prisoners and their families, and we are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently we have begun a testing and research program on sickle-cell anemia, and we know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are Black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors.

All our survival programs are free. We have never charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs and we will not do so. We will not get caught up in a lot of embarrassing questions or paperwork which alienate the people. If they have a need, we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land. Survival programs will always be operated without charge to those who need them and benefit by them.

In order to carry out such programs we have always needed money. In the past we received money from wealthy white philanthropists, humanitarians and heirs to the corporate monopolies. At the same time we were engaging in a blanket condemnation of the small, victimized Black capitalists found in

our communities. This tactic was wrong, when we received the money for our survival programs from big white capitalists; and we freely admit to that.

When we say that we see within Black capitalism the seeds of its own negation and the negation of all capitalism, we recognize that the small Black capitalist in our communities has the potential to contribute to the building of the machine which will serve the true interests of the people and end all exploitation. By increasing the positive qualities of the Black capitalist, we may be able to bring about a non-antagonistic solution of his contradiction with the community, while at the same time heightening the oppressed community's contradiction with the large corporate capitalist empire. This will intensify the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed community and the empire; and by heightening that contradiction, there will subsequently be a violent transformation of the corporate empire. We will do this through our survival programs which have the interest of the community at heart.

We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization. In wars of decolonization the national bourgeoisie supports the freedom struggles of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie

takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group, even though they are exploiters. Therefore the people are in a better position to wipe the national bourgeoisie away after they have assisted the people in wiping out the foreign exploiters. (NOTE: Our analysis of the new conditions in the world, which are revealed in our development of the concept of Reactionary Intercommunalism, indicates that under the present circumstances the national bourgeoisie and their domestic equivalents are in a weaker position now than they were when they were in a state of colonialism or just freed from colonialism. This is because under Reactionary Intercommunalism the national bourgeoisie is in control of a smaller unit (a community) than before. Not only does this make them weaker, it also makes it more likely that a non-antagonistic transformation of their contradiction can take place because the objective interests of the national bourgeoisie are in many ways similar to those of the people who are victimized.)

Since the people see Black capitalism in the community as Black control of local institutions, this is a positive characteristic, because the people can bring more direction and focus to the activities of the capitalist. At the same time the Black capitalist who has the interest of the community at heart will respond to the needs of the people, because this is where his true strength lies. So far as capitalism in general is concerned, the Black capitalist

merely has the status of a victim, because the big white capitalists have the skills, they make the loans, and they in fact control the Black capitalist. If he wants to succeed in his enterprise, the Black capitalist must turn to the community, because he depends on them to make his profit. He needs this strong community support because he cannot become independent of the control of the corporate capitalists who control the large monopolies.

The Black capitalist will be able to support the people through contributing to the survival programs of the Black Panther Party. In contributing to such programs, he will be able to help build the vehicle which will eventually liberate the Black community. He will not be able to deliver the people from their problems, but he will be able to help build the strong political machine which will serve as a revolutionary vanguard and guide the people in their move toward freedom.

Our re-analysis of Black capitalism and its relationship to the community from the perspective of dialectical materialism, and our practical understanding of the needs of the community and the attitudes of the people toward Black capitalism leads us to a new position. Black businesses which have the interests of the community at heart will be able to contribute to the people through the community programs of the Black Panther Party. These free programs will help the community to survive and thus deter the

genocide which is always a threat to our existence here.

In return for these contributions, the Black Panther Party will carry advertisements of these businesses in our paper and urge the community to support them. We will never sell advertising space in the paper, but we will give space in return for contributions to the survival programs which are given free to the community. In this way we will achieve a greater unity of the community of victims, the people who are victimized by the society in general, and the Black capitalists who are victimized by the corporate capitalist monopolies. In this way we will increase the positive qualities of Black capitalism until they dominate the negative qualities, and exploitation will no longer be the reality which the community reluctantly accepts.

The community will see those who support their survival, and, patronize their places of business. At the same time the community will also criticize those who refuse to participate in their survival programs, and, turn their backs on them. If the establishment tries to come down hard on those businessmen who support the survival programs, then the community will recognize this as another form of oppression and will move to strongly defend their supporters. In that way the consciousness of the people and the level of the struggle will be advanced.

There is no salvation in capitalism, but through this new approach, the

Black capitalist will contribute to his own negation by helping to build a strong political vehicle which is guided by revolutionary concepts and serves as a vanguard for the people, serving their interests in their communities and advocating their interests before others. In a way our new position has the simplicity and completeness of a mathematical formula. When the Black capitalist contributes to the survival programs and makes a contribution to the community, the community will give him their support and thus strengthen his business. If he does not make any contribution to the survival of the community, the people will not support him and his enterprise will wither away because of his own negligence. By supporting the community, however, he will be helping to build the political machine which will eventually negate his exploitation of the community, but also negate his being exploited and victimized by corporate capitalism.

So we will heighten the contradiction between the Black community and corporate capitalism, while at the same time reducing the contradiction between the Black capitalist and the Black community. In this way Black capitalism will be transformed from a relationship of exploitation of the community to a relationship of service to the community, which will contribute to the survival of everyone.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK CAPITALISM RE-ANALYZED



SERVE THE PEOPLE
BODY AND SOUL



SERVE THE PEOPLE
BODY AND SOUL

101

FBI

Date: 6/2/71

CAB/SRA

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

**DATE 5-1-81 BY SP3 TAD/da
6-26-87 SP3 W/CPX**

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: SAC, MILWAUKEE (157-1113) (P)
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka;
RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE)
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re Milwaukee teletype to Bureau, 4/7/71.

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (AM) (Encs. 11)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Boston (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 6 - Chicago (RM) (Encs. 6) (2 - 157-Huey P. Newton)
 - (1 - 157-1291) (BPP)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])
- 2 - Cleveland (RM) (AM) (157-Huey P. Newton) (Encs. 2)
- 2 - Columbia (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Detroit (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Minneapolis (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Newark (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - New York (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - St. Louis (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 7 - San Francisco (RM) (AM) (Encs. 7)
 - (2 - 157-3765) (Huey P. Newton)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 157-1904) (BPP)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 157-1969) (BPP - Travel of Leadership)
 - (1 - 157-1203)

b6
b7C

13760

ENCLOSURE

EX-114

REC-23

105-165429-446

25 JUN 12 1971

Copy to Milwaukee (2 - 157-1113)
by routing slip for (1 - 157-600) (BPP)
 info action (1 - [redacted])
date 6/16/71 (1 - 157-926) (UW Afro American Ce
by TLM/JS (1 - [redacted])

b2
b6
b7C
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(43) *7-destroyed F316*
JUN 26 1971

**SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION**

NOT ENT. SEC.

MI 157-1113

Enclosed for Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM concerning a speech by HUEY P. NEWTON, at Madison, Wisconsin, on 4/3/71.

Enclosed for receiving offices are the following copies of LHM:

Baltimore - 2
Boston - 2
Chicago - 6
Cleveland - 2
Columbia - 2
Detroit - 2
Indianapolis - 2
Minneapolis - 2
Newark - 2
New York - 2
Philadelphia - 2
St. Louis - 2
San Francisco - 7.

For the information of Bureau, submission of LHM was delayed primarily to attempt to obtain a tape recorded transcript of NEWTON's speech and secondarily to identify owners of motor vehicles parked in the vicinity of NEWTON's speech.

[redacted] confidential source referred to in enclosed LHM, who attended NEWTON's speech on 4/3/71, advised on 4/5/71, that [redacted] whom he knows personally, promised him a copy of NEWTON's speech which was tape recorded by the University of Wisconsin (UW) Afro American Center.

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On 4/9/71, [redacted] advised that he talked with [redacted] on Saturday, 4/17/71, and was informed that the tape of NEWTON's speech was at Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, in Chicago, where it was being transcribed and that he would furnish him a copy of the transcript.

MI 157-1113

On 5/14/71, [] furnished a four page tabloid newspaper which carried the heading, "Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971," which contained a single article captioned, "On The Defection of Eldridge Cleaver From The Black Panther Party And The Defection Of The Black Panther Party From The Black Community," by HUEY P. NEWTON, [] advised he received this from [] on 5/8/71, at which time [] advised him this was a complete transcript of NEWTON's speech at Madison. [] advised he did not question [] as to the source of this newspaper so as not to arouse any suspicion. Source advised, however, after reading the article, that it appears to be essentially the same as what NEWTON said when he spoke at Madison on 4/3/71.

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Inasmuch as the paper furnished by [] appeared to be a possible special supplementary issue of the Black Panther Newspaper or a possible supplement to a regular issue of the Black Panther Newspaper, [] was recontacted on 5/19/71, at which time he stated that he could furnish no further information as to the original source or distribution of the paper.

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In view of fact that [] advised the paper contained a transcript of NEWTON's speech at Madison, which was corroborated by [] Milwaukee is reporting the article in its entirety in enclosed LHM rather than in synopsis form and is attributing information furnished by [] regarding NEWTON's speech as being furnished by the source on the date NEWTON spoke in Madison in order to further protect the source.

Agents who observed NEWTON and his party arrive and depart Madison and who also obtained license numbers on cars parked in the lot near Jay's Bar where NEWTON spoke are SA [] and SA []

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The Madison police officer who assisted in obtaining license numbers and who furnished names of owners on out-of-state license plates is [] Patrolman, Madison PD.

MI 157-1113

Copies of LHM are being furnished those offices covering out-of-state license numbers which were observed in the area where NEWTON spoke. Milwaukee has checked the current UW Student Directory under surnames of the registered owners of cars with out-of-state licenses and in those instances where a student with the same surname and home address were located, this information was included. Out-of-state license numbers in which the owners have not been identified are being set forth as specific leads. In those instances where it is noted the owner is a student at UW, receiving offices are requested to check indices and advise Milwaukee of positive information.

Milwaukee is indexing the names of registered owners of all cars observed and will also conduct indices search of these names and in the event of any references or main case files, the materials will be reviewed to determine if further investigation is warranted.

LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect confidential source [redacted] as information contained in attached LHM could reasonably result in the identification of this source and compromise his future effectiveness.

LEADS

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BOSTON DIVISION

At Boston, Massachusetts

Identify owner of Massachusetts License [redacted]

NEWARK DIVISION

At Trenton, New Jersey

Identify owner of New Jersey License [redacted]

PHILADELPHIA DIVISION

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At Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Identify owner of Pennsylvania License [redacted]

ARMED & DANGEROUS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin
June 2, 1971

~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On April 3, 1971, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed Huey Percy Newton, Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party (BPP), and five members of his entourage, including [redacted]

[redacted] members, Illinois BPP, arrive Madison Airport, 1:00 PM, where they were met by Sam Salter.

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A confidential source, who furnished reliable information in the past, advised [redacted] University of Wisconsin (UW) Afro American Center [redacted] made all of the arrangements for Newton's speech in Madison.

(A characterization of the BPP is attached in the appendix.)

Same source, as previously mentioned, advised on April 3, 1971, that subject and his party arrived at Jay's Bar, Route 51, Madison, at approximately 3:15 PM, where subject spoke before approximately 400 people. Source advised Newton made the following speech:

~~"Confidential"~~

DECLASSIFIED ON 5-1-81
BY SP2 TAP/ada

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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

105-16-446
ENCLOSURE

Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971 C.

ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
AND THE DEFECTION OF
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By Huey P. Newton,

Minister of Defense of The Black Panther Party and Servant of The People

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The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions, because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. But we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a new return to the original vision of the Party.

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution". This was in response to another contradiction - the criticisms raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our above-ground action -- openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground, and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization above ground so that the people will relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive to them. When you go underground without doing this, you bury yourself so deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be just that--striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending--because the people cannot relate to them and there is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.

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The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people, by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors who come to the community in many forms--from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors, the people would support us and defend us. They would know that, in spite of the oppressor's interpretations, that our only desire was to serve their true interests; and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground, but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us, because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full scale development of our original vision and come out of the twilight zone which the Party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, and the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party

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and murders of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten-Point Program -- our survival program. Our programs would be meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black community and oppressed people are found in North America the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle, because it serves the true interests of oppressed people and administers to their needs -- this was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology. It was structured by the practical needs of the people, and its dreamers were armed with an ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.

When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had been through many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the Twentieth Century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.

When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together, in a systematic

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D. Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971

ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
AND THE DEFECTION OF
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

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manner. We did this through our basic Ten Point Program. In actuality it was a 20-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe". This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.

The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions, for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom, it is not making a political statement and could even be counter-revolutionary.

We realized at a very early point in our development, that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalism wiped out slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. This is why when capitalism wiped out feudalism, capitalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist; but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended, so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion; we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for freedom, and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words they have to see first some basic accomplishments, in order to realize that major successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will

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have to guide them into this understanding. But he can never take them from A to Z in one jump, because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore he is no longer a revolutionary, if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process - non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the policemen in front of the office of Ramparts magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were Police Alert Patrols all over the country, but we were the first armed police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the

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support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time an action is revolutionary is when the people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have, your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary, because the fascists carry guns--in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power is the gun, but the emphasis is on grows. The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon, so that you can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that, "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of getting rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end

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in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

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I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of Ramparts Magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as the Revolution and the Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process, and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards and community police or something like this. This is why we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way they would get salvation is through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office. Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested

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in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of Ramparts. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This mov



was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

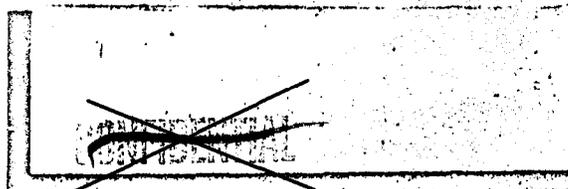
What the revolutionary movement and the Black community needs is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program - the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs, so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community, so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The Black community does not relate to them, so we were left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was not necessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed, because I would not stand for it. But Eldridge's

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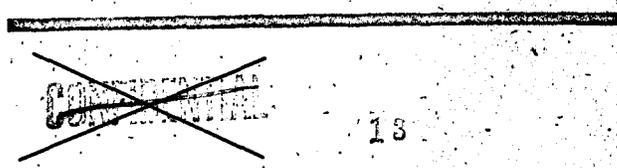


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influence brought this about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it.

Eldridge was never fully in the leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby was snatched away from us, I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership, because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party. But I knew that he could make a contribution; and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't do it. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind, because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer the people an "either-or" ultimatum. We must instead gain



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the support of the people through serving their needs. Then when the police or any other agency of repression tries to destroy the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when we were related to in a positive way.

So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver and he has defected from the Party, because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy, because the people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect

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analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival program. We can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests. We can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

HUEY P. NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK-PANTHER PARTY,
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE



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~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

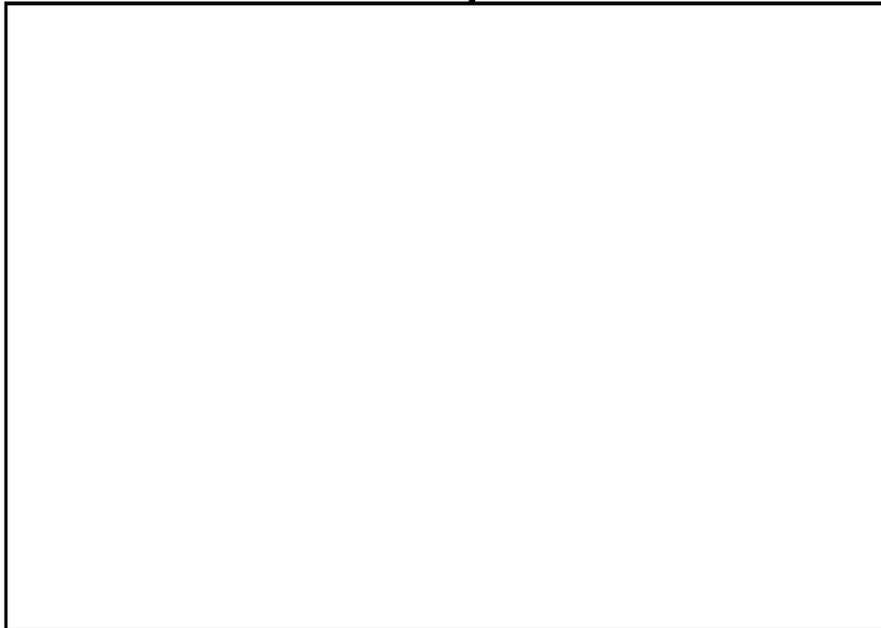
During Newton's speech the following license numbers were noted on cars parked in Jay's Parking Lot by Special Agents of the FBI and a representative of the Madison Police Department, which numbers were subsequently checked through the appropriate Motor Vehicle Departments:

Delaware

PC4091

James & Watson Funeral Home,
Main Street,
Millsboro, Delaware.
1966 Ford Station Wagon

Illinois



lists Current University of Wisconsin (UW) Directory same home address.

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~~"Confidential"~~

~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

AV1124

Chrysler Leasing Corporation,
Avis Rent-A-Car,
10319 Belle Plaine,
Schiller Park, Illinois.
1971 Dodge four door.

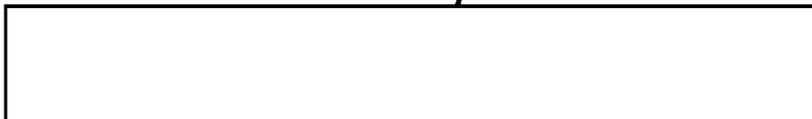


567180

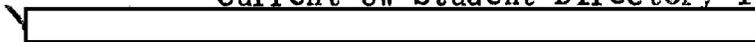
Chrysler Leasing Corporation,
Avis Rent-A-Car,
10319 Belle Plaine,
Schiller Park, Illinois.
1971 Dodge four door.

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Indiana



Current UW Student Directory lists

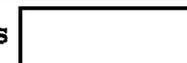
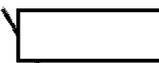


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Maryland



Current UW Student Directory lists
same home address.



~~"Confidential"~~

~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Massachusetts

[Redacted]

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Missouri

[Redacted]

Current UW Student Directory lists [Redacted]

[Redacted] same home address.

Michigan

[Redacted]

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b7C

Minnesota

[Redacted]

New Jersey

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Current UW Student Directory lists [Redacted]
with the same home address.

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

[Redacted]

Current UW Directory lists a [Redacted] same home address.

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[Redacted]

Current UW Directory lists an [Redacted] same home address.

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Current UW Directory lists [Redacted] same address.

[Redacted]

New York

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Current UW Directory lists a [Redacted] same home address.

~~"Confidential"~~

~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

[Redacted]

Current UW Directory lists a [Redacted] same home address.

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[Redacted]

Current UW Directory lists a [Redacted] same home address.

b6
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Ohio

[Redacted]

Current UW Directory lists a [Redacted] same home address.

Pennsylvania

[Redacted]

South Carolina

[Redacted]

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b7C

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

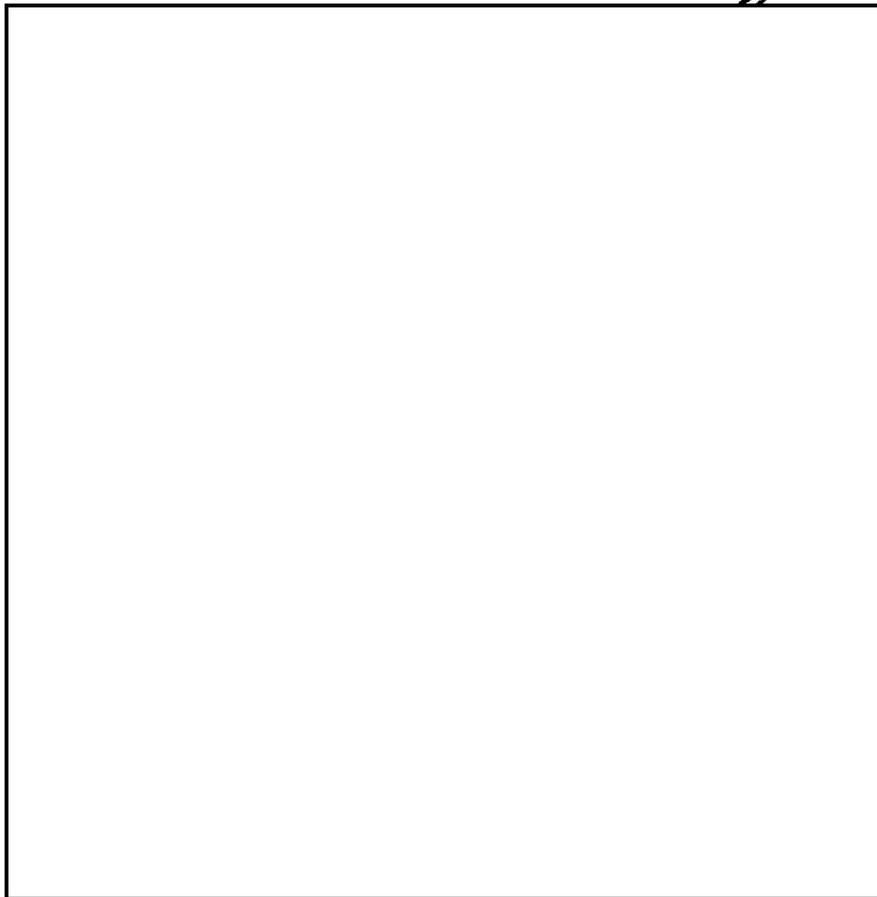
Current UW Directory lists
same home address.

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Wisconsin

J74353

Schappe Pontiac, Incorporated,
801 East Washington Avenue,
Madison, Wisconsin.

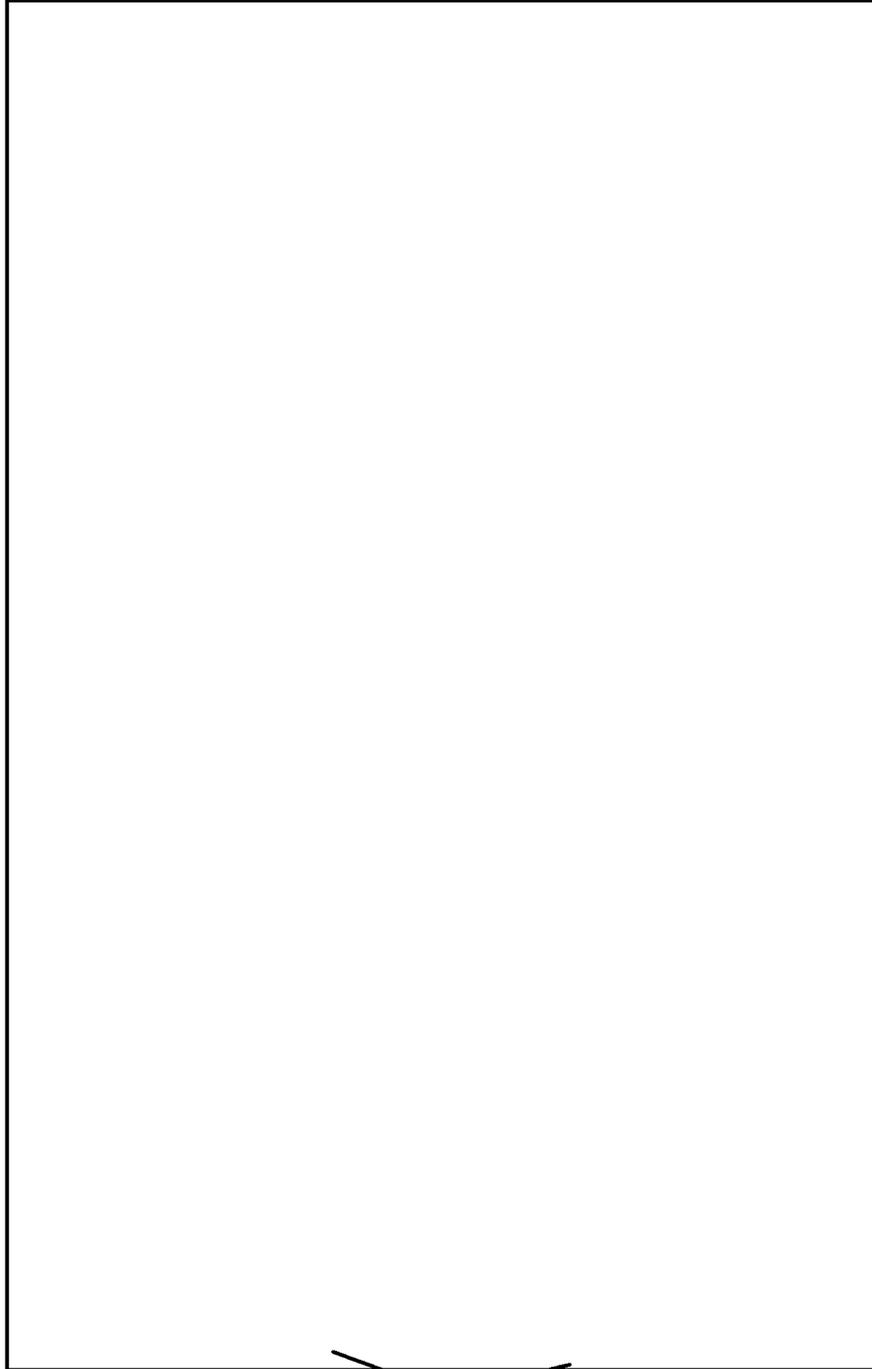


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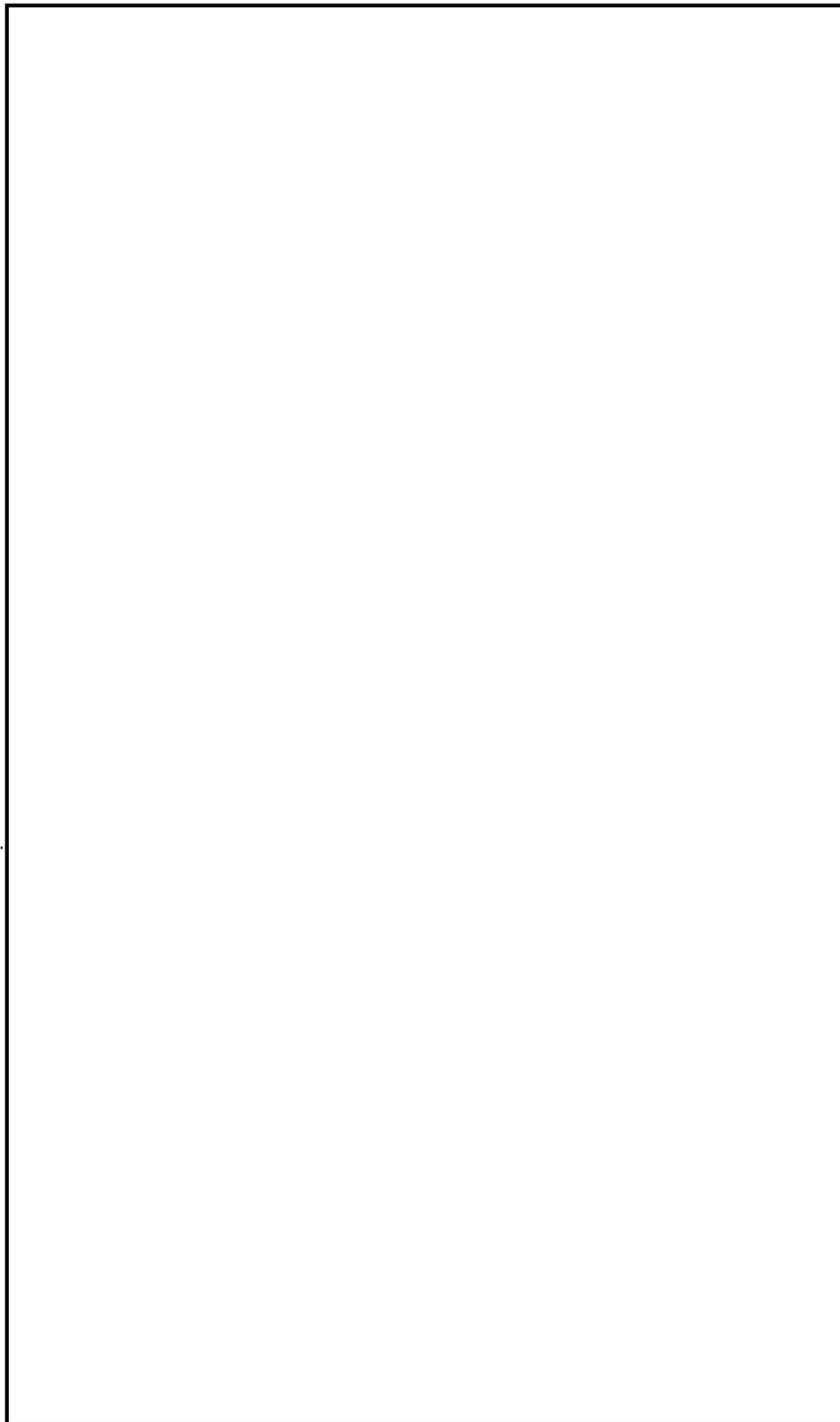


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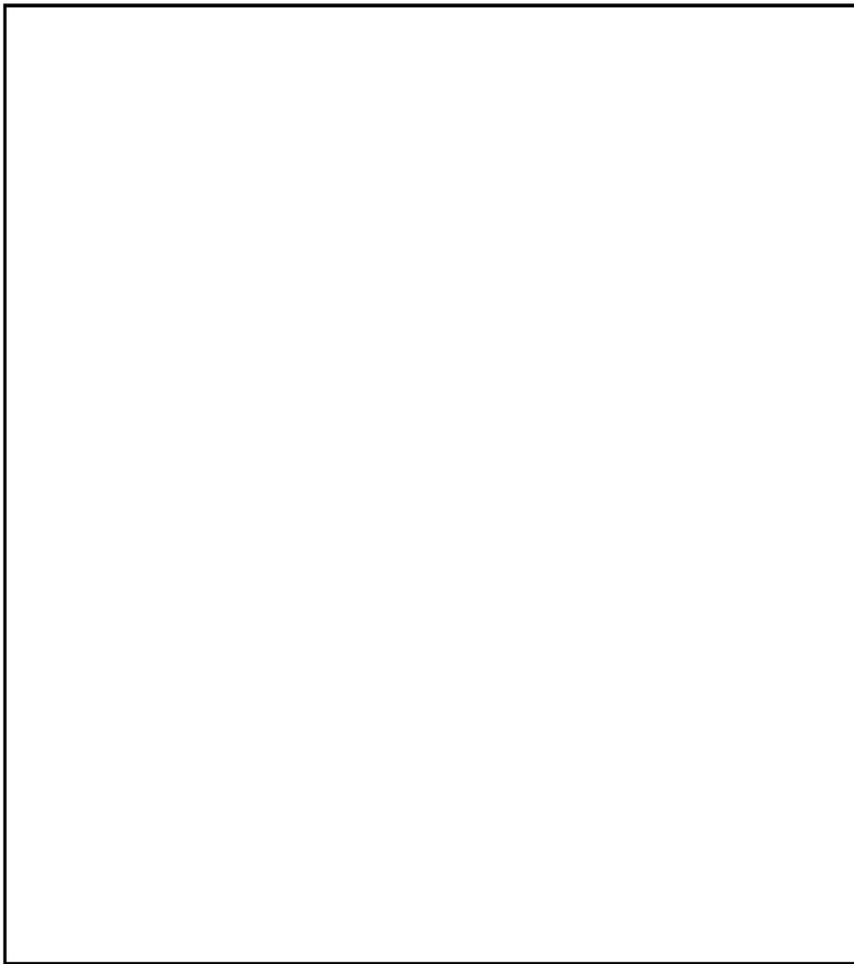
HUEY PERCY NEWTON



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HUEY PERCY NEWTON



V69430

1968 Volkswagen.
State Auto Sales,
1960 State Street,
Racine, Wisconsin.

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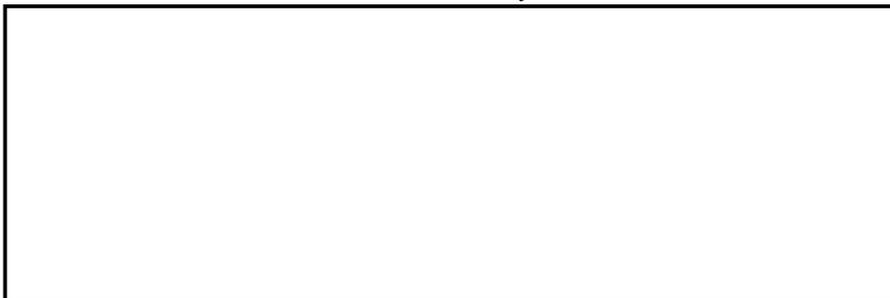
HUEY PERCY NEWTON



C26963

1967 Chevrolet.
The Peoples Bookstore, Inc.,
302 Main Street,
Racine, Wisconsin.

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W10214

1971 Chevrolet.
Koch Motors, Inc.,
313 West Johnson Street,
Madison, Wisconsin.

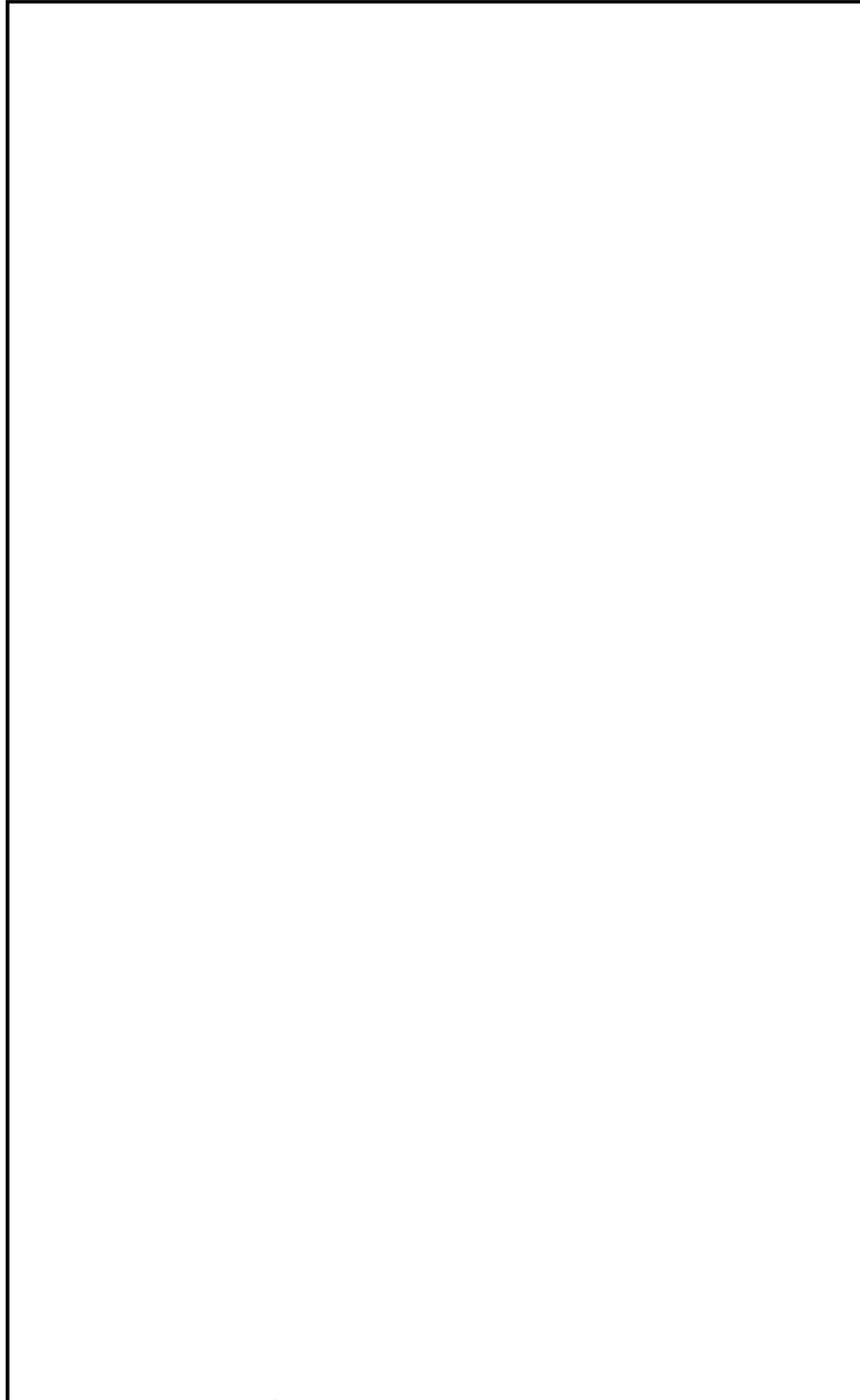
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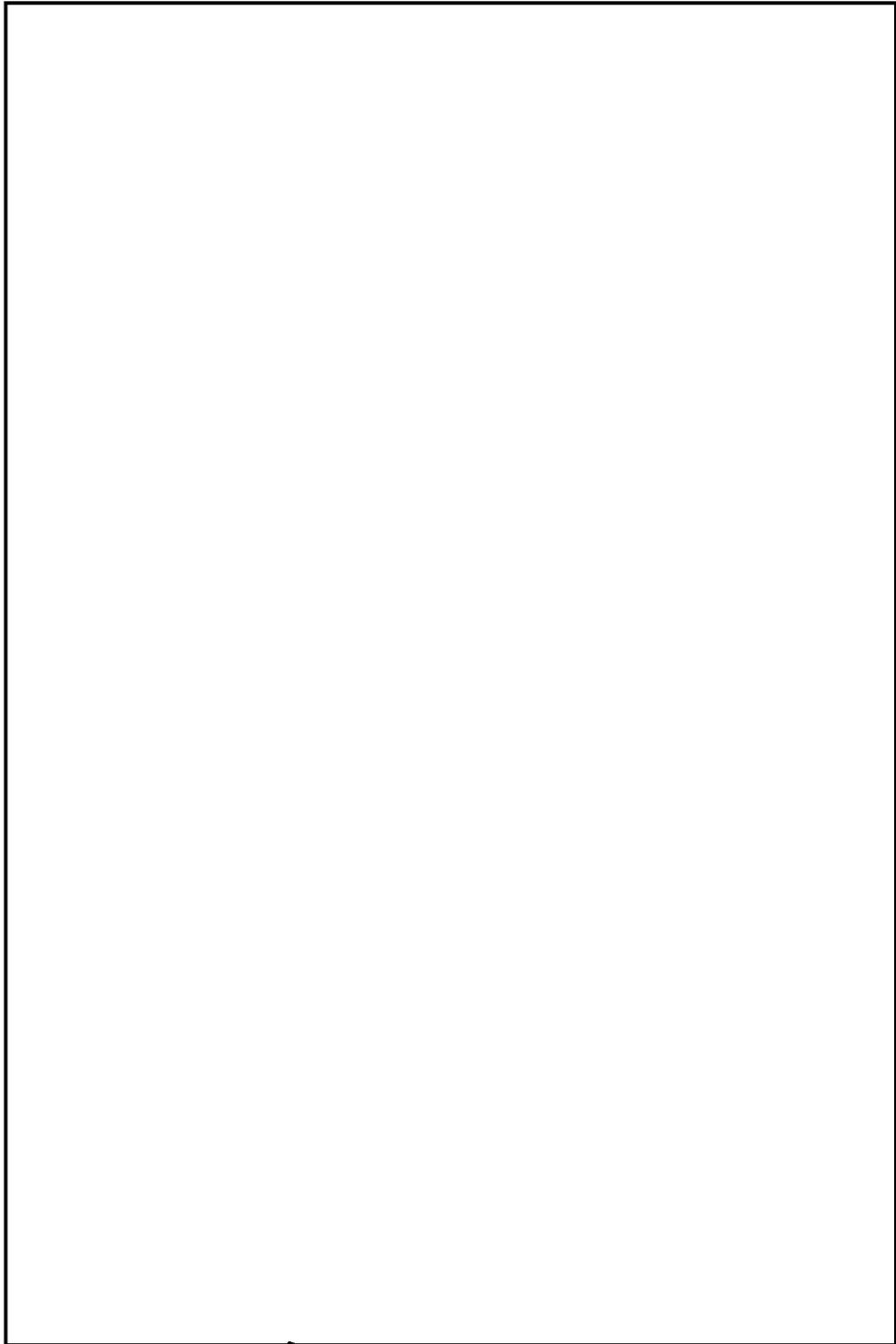


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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

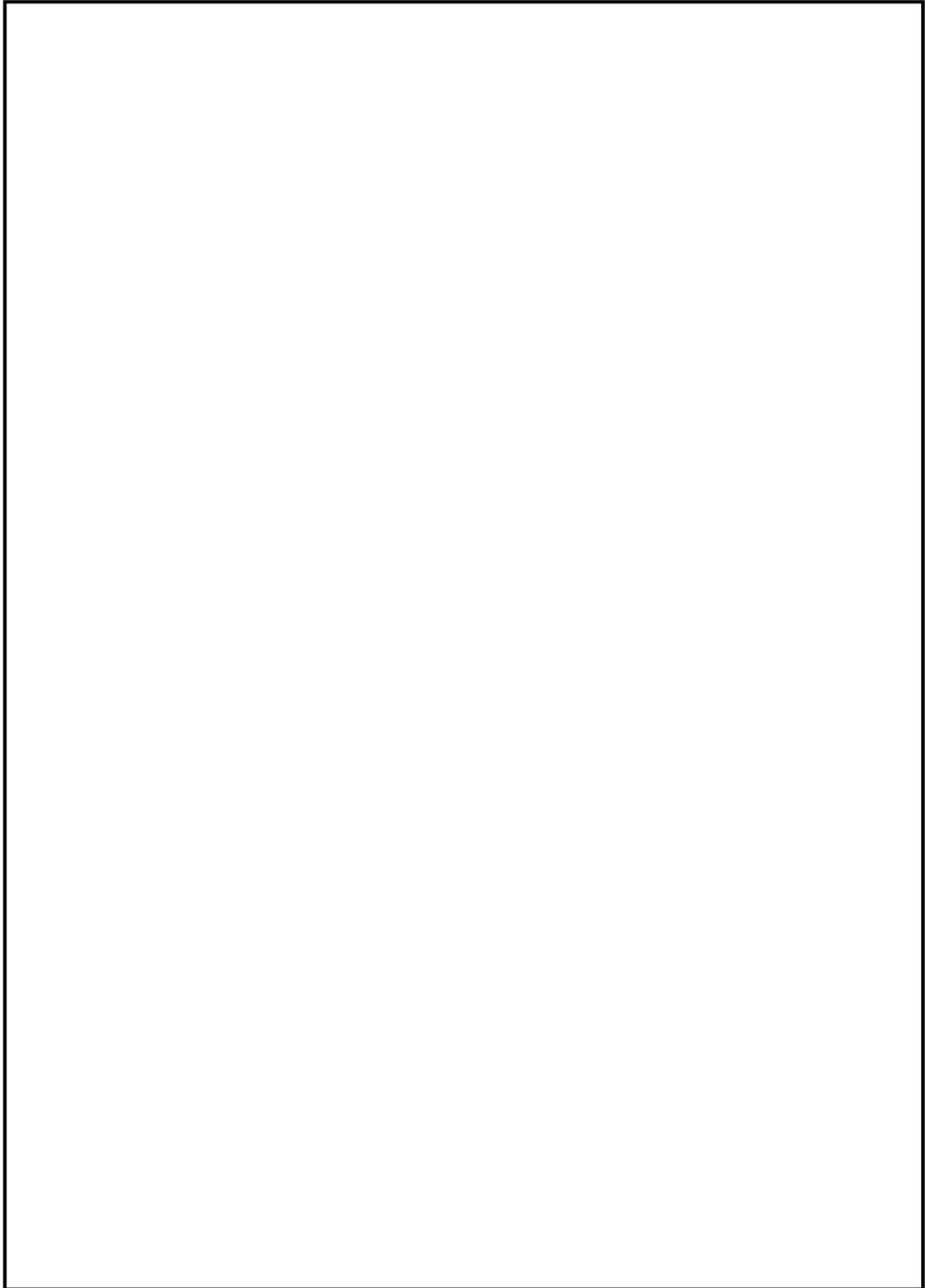


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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

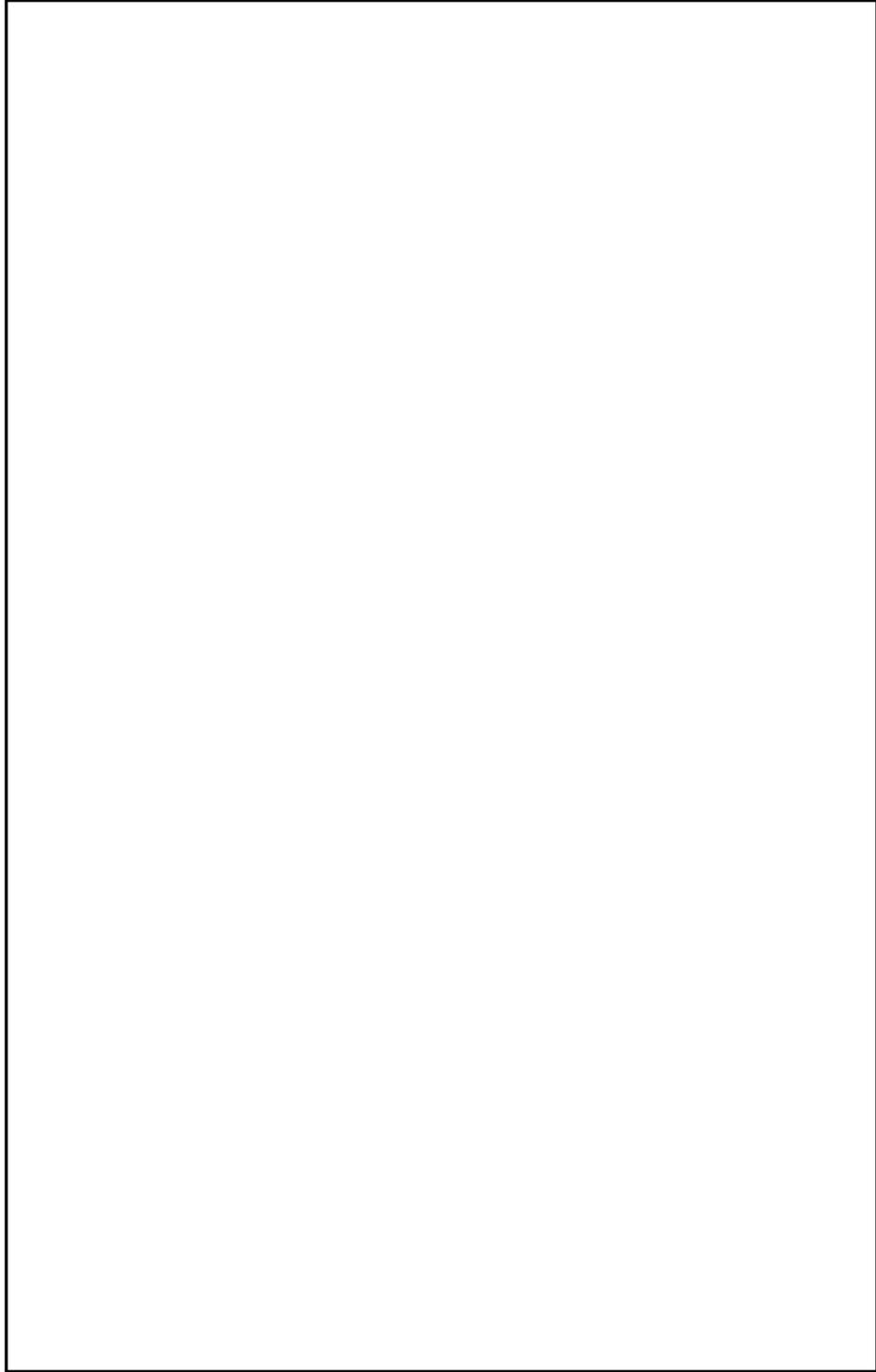


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28 ~~"Confidential"~~

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON



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29 ~~"Confidential"~~

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

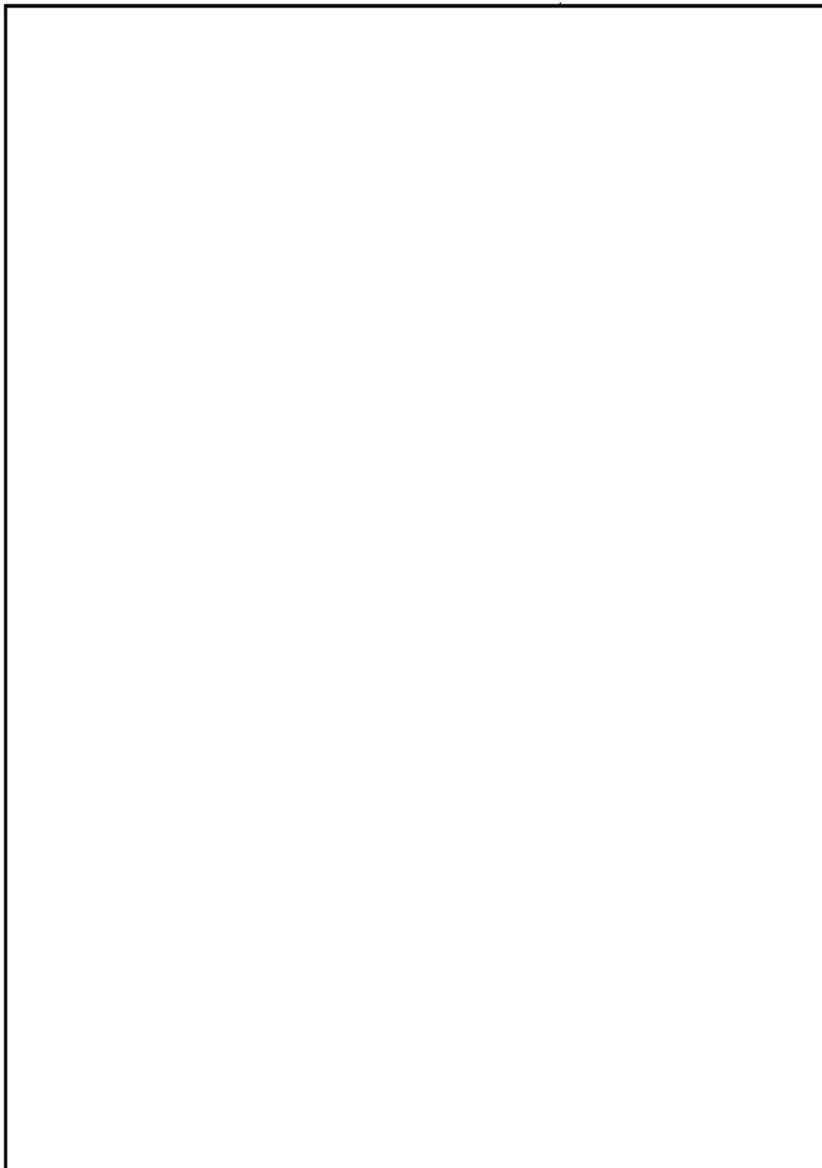


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HUEY PERCY NEWTON



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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

At approximately 4:40 PM, on April 3, 1971, Special Agents of the FBI observed Newton and his party leave Jay's Bar and travel to the Madison Airport where they boarded North Central Flight 272, leaving Madison 5:30 PM, scheduled to arrive Chicago, 6:45 PM.

On April 1, 1971, the same source, as used previously, advised the Afro American Center, [redacted] [redacted] agreed to pay the BPP \$2,500 plus \$375 expenses for Newton's travel to Madison, in addition to paying \$250 for the rental of Jay's Bar.

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~~"Confidential"~~

FBI

Date: 6/4/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5G/pt

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: San Francisco

rc

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau, dated 5/21/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of a
Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) concerning the Subject.

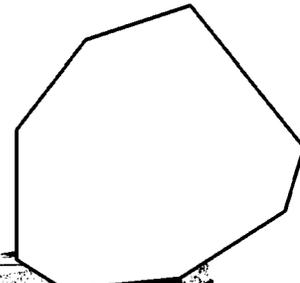
The tape recording made of NEWTON's speech at the
Black Odyssey Festival at the time of broadcast on Radio
Station KDIA on 5/30/71 is being retained by the San Fran-
cisco Office.

4-destroyed
1cc 806

Copy to 1SD, SS
Routing slip for
Info action
6/15/71
7/8/71

EX-109

REC- 29



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b7c

Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
San Francisco

nmh
(4)

ENCLOSURE

105-165429

17 JUN 10 1971

RECEIVED SECT.

60 JUN 15 1971

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

1972



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 4, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5/CPJ

Page one of the May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther", the official weekly publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP), contained a statement of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the BPP, on the dismissed case against BPP Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins:

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

"The dismissal of the case by the State of Connecticut against our Chairman Bobby Seale and our Comrade Ericka Huggins is a clear indication that the might and power of the People is beginning to show. That the judge in New Haven was forced to say, "It is humanly impossible to find a jury", means several things; that the State was not willing to spend another several million dollars; that a re-trial would be so obscene as to cause an even greater and louder demand from the People for Bobby and Ericka's freedom than before; and that no where could a jury of twelve people be found that would bring back a conviction.

"We certainly will be glad to welcome Bobby and Ericka back among us; but we are not so foolish as to allow this compromise to cloud

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

105-165439-446X

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

our vision; Bobby and Ericka will be back among the People, but they are not free, the People are not free; and there are hundreds more political prisoners, George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers, Ruchell Magee, Angela Davis, and all the unknowns, all the Black and poor people viciously incarcerated right now in this country's maximum security camps, and the masses of oppressed people throughout the world that are still suffering under the direct or indirect boot of oppression of the U.S. ruling circle.

"It is the power of the People and the People only to whom we will be thankful and the People in whom our faith rests for the future. Bobby and Ericka have spent two long years in isolated and barbarous prisons, and nothing will justify those years, except the victory of the People, Black People, poor people, all the oppressed people of the world over the fascist, imperialist U.S. Empire.

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

The May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" also contained the text of the statement given by Newton on May 19, 1971 to the Black Odyssey Festival at Berkeley, California.

On May 30, 1971, San Francisco Radio Station KDIA, broadcast what it represented to be a tape of Newton's speech at the Black Odyssey Festival. A recording of this broadcast was made and the content is essentially the same as the following excerpt from the Black Panther Party newspaper.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON,
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE
TO THE BLACK ODYSSEY FESTIVAL

*The Center for Urban-Black Studies
Graduate Theological Union
Berkeley, California May 19, 1971*

Since 1966, the Black Panther Party has gone through many changes; it's been transformed. I would like to talk to you about that and about contradictions. I would also like to talk about the Black Panther Party's relationship with the community as a whole and with the church in particular.

Sometime ago when the Party started, Bobby and I were interested in strengthening the Black community, that is, a comprehensive set of institutions, because there is one thing we lack and that is community. We do

have one institution that has been around for some time and that is the church. After a short harmonious relationship with the church, in fact a very good relationship, we were divorced from the church, and shortly after that we found ourselves out of the good favor of the whole Black community.

We found ourselves in somewhat of a void where we were alienated from the whole community; and we had no

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1971

way of being effective, as far as developing the community is concerned. The only way we could aid in that process of revolution--and revolution is a process, it's not a conclusion, or a set of principles, or any particular action--was by raising the consciousness of the community. Any conclusion or any particular action that we think is revolution really is reaction because revolution is a developmental process. It has a forward thrust which gets higher and higher as man becomes freer and freer. As man becomes freer he knows more about the universe, he tends to control more and he therefore gains more control over himself, that's what freedom is all about.

So I'll talk about the mistakes that were made. Sometimes I hate to call them mistakes because maybe they were necessary things to bring about the necessary change in the Party, the necessary transformation, or bring about the new. I am sure that we will have other kinds of contradictions in the future, some that we don't know about now because they are in rather low-key. I am sure they will build up to hurl us into a new thing.

We see the church itself as going through phases of development. Sometimes it has found itself somewhat isolated from the community. Today the church is striving to come back into the favor of the community; so with the church the Black Panther Party will attempt this also.

A short time ago there was an article that appeared in the Black Panther Paper, if you read that poli-

tical organ, I hope that you do. It's called "The Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community." (Editor's note: In that article, the Minister of Defense stated: "We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.") I would like to concentrate today upon the defection of the Party. I think that's a larger unit, for sure, and I hate to place blame upon individuals in our Party in particular, because they're always governed by a collective called the Central Committee. When I disagree with the Central Committee (and I did much disagreeing and arguing when I was in prison, but I was outvoted) when we come out of the meeting, I support the position of the Party until the next meeting.

I think at first that we have to have some organized apparatus in order to bring about the change necessary. The only time we leave our political

machine or our institution altogether is when we feel that we cannot bring about the change. As a matter of fact, the very posture of the organization of the institution will strip us of our individual dignity. That would leave no room for us to change anything, because we'll be stripped of that basic quality that's necessary for us to go on struggling to make the new. So I feel that this was the case with the Party and that can be argued one way or another, but individually I thought that the Party still should be held together. I knew if I left we would have to form a new Party, a new institution in order to be that spur or that guiding light in the community. Also I would have to contend with new contradictions.

We always say that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. I'll mention this word time and time again because I think that it's responsible for much suffering. When things collide it hurts; but the collision is also responsible for development. Without contradictions everything would be stagnant, because contradiction is that principle where opposing forces struggle against each other in order to gain dominance based upon their unity. So everything has an internal contradiction, and, as I pointed out, the church also has that.

Contradiction, or the strain that tries to make the inferior superior to the thing that is in control, gives motion to matter. We see this throughout the universe, in the physical world as well as in the biological world. We also see it in cultures. We see that de-

velopment comes when the phenomenon occurs that we call acculturation. That is, two societies meet, when cultures meet they collide because they have a contradiction, and both are modified. They say that the stronger shows less change and the weaker more change. All the time the weaker is attempting to gain dominance over that other part. But something happens, they both will never be the same again because you have a kind of synthesis, where you have the thesis, antithesis, and the synthesis. In other words that it's all working toward the truth of the trinity. This principle of contradiction, this striving for harmony, seems to operate in all of our disciplines and we can see how it operates.

So the Black Panther Party was formed because we wanted to oppose the evils in our community. Some of the members in the Party were not so refined--we were grasping for organization. It wasn't a college campus organization; it was basically an organization of the grass roots, and anytime we organize the most victimized of the victims, we run into a problem. To have a Party or a church or any kind of institution, whether we like it or not, we have to have administrators. The institution, the organization, or the Party in this case--how it functions, how effective it is--will depend upon how knowledgeable, how advanced in thinking the administrators will be. We attempt to apply the administrative skills--if you are a grass-roots organization--to the problems that are most heard in the communi-

ty. When we do this, it is somewhat abstract in a way.

History shows that it's there, and because most of the parties that have led people out of their difficulties to change the situation have administrators that have what we sometimes call the traits of the bourgeoisie or else de-classed intellectuals. In other words they are the people who have gone through the established institutions, rejected them, and then applied their skills to the community. They gave it to the community, therefore making their skill not a bourgeoisie skill, but a people's skill. It was transformed through the contradiction of applying what's usually bourgeoisie to the person who is oppressed; and that itself is a kind of transformation.

With our Party we're not so blessed with this. History does not repeat itself; it goes on also transforming itself through its dialectical process. We see that our Party, while we have administrators (we need them in the Party), the victims have not received that bourgeoisie training. So I will not apologize for our mistakes, our lack of a scientific approach that we tried to use and put into practice. It was a matter of not knowing, of learning, but also starting out with a loss, a loss that history has never seen. That is, that a group attempting to influence and change the society so much and at the same time have its administrators as much in the dark much of the time as the people that they are trying to change. In our Party we have now what

we call the Ideological Institute where we are teaching these skills. And we also invite those people who have received a bourgeois education to come and help us, letting them know that they will, by their contribution, make their need to exist--as they exist--null and void. In other words, after we learn the skills they will not be bourgeois anymore, because that will evaporate with its application.

I explain this to show some of the mistakes. I won't go into particulars but I will show you generally what happens, because it's also happened to the church. I say that everything seems to negate itself through contradiction. Remember it is transformed by the contradiction, so therefore its old quality, its old composition is transformed so much until it has a new composition. We call it a thing negating itself; sometimes we call it the negation of the negation, because just as it is formed, it is also being negated by something else, and we see that this goes on in the process of development.

As far as the church is concerned, the Black Panther Party, and other community groups who call themselves concerned with the political and not the spiritual, criticize the spiritual. We say that it's only a ritual; it's irrelevant, and therefore we have nothing to do with it. We say this in the context of the whole community having something to do with the church,

usually on one level or another. That is one way of defecting from the community, and that is exactly what we did. Once we stepped outside of the church with that criticism we stepped outside of the thing that the community was involved in and said to them, "You follow our example; your reality is not true and you don't need it." I think that people do the thing that they think they need and they probably do it on that level, one way or another.

Now without judging whether the church is operating in a total reality, I'll venture to say that if we judge whether the church operates in a situation of relevance to the total community, we would all agree that it does not. That is why you develop new programs and become more relevant so your pews will be filled on Sunday.

So we will say that the church is in its developmental process, then; first it needs to exist. We feel that with our new direction, which is an old direction as far as I am concerned, but we'll call it new, because there has been a reversal in the dominance in the Central Committee of our Party because of reasons that you probably know about. So we go to church and we are involved in the church and we're not doing it in any hypocritical way. I think that it is a thing that man needs at this time, and he needs it because of what? Because we scientists cannot answer all of the questions. As far as I am concerned when all of the questions are answered, when the odd is not answered, when the unknown is not answered, then there is room for God because that unknown is God. God is a

thing that we know nothing about really, and that is why as soon as the scientist develops or points out a new way of controlling the universe or part of it,

suddenly that thing is not God. In other words, at one point when thunder clashed it was God's clap, putting his hands together. As soon as we found out that it was not God, then we say that God has other attributes but not that one. So in that way we took on what was His before, you see? But you still haven't answered all of the questions, so He exists. And those scientists that say they can answer them are dishonest.

So we go into the church realizing that we cannot answer the questions at this time, that the answers will be delivered at some time, and we feel that when they are delivered they will be explained in a way that we can understand and that we can control. We noticed--I went to church for years, my father is a minister and I spent 15 years in the church, this was my life as a child--we saw one thing! That is as we approach the unknown, we see that sometimes a group of people will find something out or feel that they have discovered something they can control and say this is not God, while the other group will say that we have to approach my God differently for the simple reason that they attribute other characteristics to God. So we get many denominations, you see, all struggling to understand.

When I was going to church I used to hear much of the time, they would

say that God is within us and so therefore God is some part of us. And God is that part of us that's very mystical, in the sense that we don't understand it. But as man develops and understands more and more, then he will approach God, and finally he will reach heaven and therefore he will merge with the universe. I've never heard one preacher say that there is a need for the church in heaven, the church would negate itself. As man approaches his development and becomes larger and larger, the church therefore becomes smaller and smaller because it is not needed any longer. Then if we really get ministers who will deal with the social realities that cause the misery, so that we can solve them, so that man will become larger and larger, then their God within will come out, we can see it and merge with it. Then we will be one with the universe.

So I think it was rather arrogant of my Party to criticize the community for indulging in a practice to deliver this answer. The only thing we will criticize in the future is when the church does not act upon these evils that we feel cause man to go on his knees. The man goes on his knees and humbles himself under the awe, that large force that he cannot control. But as man becomes stronger and stronger, his understanding greater and greater, he will have a closer walk with thee: You note they say walk and not crawl.

So with the church we will all start

again to control our lives and control our communities. Even with the Black church we have to really create a community spirit. We say that the church is an institution, but in itself it is not a community according to sociology. The sociological definition of a community is that a community is a comprehensive collection of institutions that will deliver our whole life, provided that we can reach most of our goals within it. It serves us and we create it in order to carry out our desires. In the Black community we have the church as an institution that we created, they let us create. They warred against us, but finally we got that compromise and we worship as a unit, as a people concerned with satisfying their needs. At the time the white church was not satisfying our needs, because the actual questions could not be answered in human terms because they felt we were not human beings. So therefore the white church does not answer our cause or our problem at all, so we formed our own. They let us form it because they felt if we're not human beings then why should we go to church? So through that negative thing a positive thing came out again. We started to administer fraternities, anti-lynching groups and so forth, but they still would not let our community exist. We came here in chains and I guess they thought we were meant to stay in chains. But this wasn't the case and the way we started to move out and have that forward thrust was to

organize a political machine or trying to develop a community so that ~~we could~~ have the apparatus in order to fight

back. You cannot fight an organized machine back individually, so we would work with the church in order to establish a community to satisfy most of our needs so that we can live and operate as a community group.

The Black Panther Party, with its survival programs, plans to develop the institutions in the community. We have a clothing factory we are just erecting on Third Street, where we will soon give away about 300-400 new clothes a month. And we can do this by robbing Peter to pay Paul. What we will do is start to make golfing bags under contract to a company and with the surplus we will buy material to make free clothes. Our members will do this. We will have no overhead because our collective--we'll exploit our collective by making them work free. We'll do this not just to satisfy ourselves--like the philanthropist, or to serve--to save someone from going without shoes, even though this is a part of the cause of our problem. People make the revolution; we will give the process a forward thrust. If we suffer genocide we won't be around to change things. So in this way our survival program is very practical.

What we are concerned with is the larger problem, so we will be honest and say that we will do like the churches, we will negate our necessity for existing. In other words, after we

accomplish our goals then the Black Panther Party will not need to exist because we have already created our heaven right here on earth. What we're going to do is administer to the community the things they need in order to get their attention, in order to organize them into a political machine. In other words the community will then look to the Party and look to those people who are serving their needs in order to give them guidance and direction, whether it is political, whether it is judicial, or whether it is economic.

So our real thing is to organize across this country. We have 38 chapters and branches and I would like to inform you that the so-called split is only a myth, that it does not exist. We lost 2 chapters in that so-called split and I will tell you that the burden is off my shoulders, I was glad to lose them because it was like a yoke, I was frozen. Even though I couldn't make a move I already told you that I wouldn't get out of the whole thing then, because certain people had such an influence over the Party. For me to have taken that stand it would have been an individual stand. So now we're about three years behind in our five year plan, but we will now move to start to organize the community around the survival programs, like administering shoes.

We have a shoe factory that we're opening up on 14th and Jefferson. We have the machines and everything else donated. We'll use it to get inmates out of prison because most of us know how to make shoes through making shoes in the prison. So it will serve two purposes. We can give them a position in the shoe factory and therefore get somebody out on parole; secondly they'll come out with the idea of giving a certain amount of shoes away each week, and we'll have a right to wear shoes program. We'll point out that everyone in the society should have shoes and we should not have a situation like in Beaufort County, South Carolina where the children--many of them--70% of the children suffer brain damage because of malnutrition. They have malnutrition because of the combination of not enough food and parasites in the stomach. The worm eats up half the food that they take in. Why? Because the ground is infested with the eggs of the worms and they don't have shoes to wear. So as soon as we send a doctor there to cure them they get the parasites again. So we think that a shoe program is a very relevant thing, first to make them live, to create those conditions so that they will grow up and be able to work out a plan to change things. If they have brain damage, they will never be a revolutionist because they cannot plan because they have already been killed. That is genocide in itself.

So we will do this and we will point

out to this government, to this social order, that they must administer to its people because they say that they're supposed to be a representative government, representing the needs of the people. Then serve them. If they don't do this then they have a right to be criticized. What we will not do in the future is jump too far ahead. We can jump too far ahead and say that the system absolutely cannot give us anything which is not true, the system can correct itself to a certain extent. What we are interested in is for it to correct itself as much as it can do and after that if it doesn't do everything that the people think is necessary then we'll think about reorganizing things.

To be very honest again I think there's great doubt whether the particular arrangements can do this. But until the people feel the same way I feel then I'll be rather arrogant to say dump the whole thing just as we were arrogant to say dump the church. Let's give it a chance, let's work with it in order to twist as many contributions and compromises out of all the institutions as possible and then criticize after the fact. We'll know when that time comes, when the people tell us so.

We have a program attempting to get the people to do all they will do. It's too much to ask the people to do all they can do, because we know we can do everything. But that is not the point, the point is how do we get them to do all they will do, until they

eventually get to the point they will have to be doing all they can do because they will be satisfied with everything else? This is the kind of program we have.

When the Party started we started because we recognized that what was growing out of the movement was what we called a cultural cult group. We defined a cultural cult group as an organization that disguised itself as a political organization, but really it was more interested in the cultural rituals of Africa in the 1100's before the contact with the European. Instead of administering to the community and organizing it, they would rather wear bibas and get African names and use this and demand that the community do the same and do nothing about the survival of the community. Sometimes they say that "well if we get our culture back then all things will be solved," this is like saying to be regenerated and born again is to solve everything. We know that it is not solved.

We went into a thing just as closed in as the cultural cultist group. You might know many churches that are very reactionary and you might call them a religious cult. They go through many rituals but they're divorced from reality. Even though we have many things in common with them we say they isolate themselves from reality because they're so miserable and reality is so hard to take. We know that by us operating within the reality does not mean that we accept it; we're operating within it, so that we can

change it, because what we do as revolutionists we're somewhat abstract in our approach. The people are always real. They think they are real, but we know that reality is changing all the time, but what we want to do is harness those forces that are causing the change in order to direct them in a desirable direction. In other words the development will go on, but we have no guarantee that it will develop so man can live. We have no guarantee that the bomb won't be dropped, but we know that there are certain ways that we can plan for the new reality, and in order to do this, we have to take some control over the now. So the people who withdraw, like I mentioned the religious cultist group, do the same thing as the cultural cultist group.

These are new words that we have coined. The Panthers are always coining words, because we have to keep defining the new reality, the new phenomena. The old words confuse us sometimes, because things have changed so much. So we try to stay abreast, by developing or manipulating definitions, the old lexical definitions become so outdated after the qualitative leap (the transformation) that it doesn't match at all what we're talking about now.

The new word that we are talking about now is what I was guilty of. I was guilty of this when I offered the Black troops to Viet Nam--I won't talk about whether it was morally right or wrong--I will say that anything that you say or do as a revolutionist that does not spur or give the forward thrust to the process (of revolution),

is wrong. Remember that the people are the makers of history, the people make everything in their society. They are the architects of the society and if you don't spur them on, then I don't care what phrases you use, whether they are political or religious, you cannot be classified as being relevant to that process. You might be reactionary because if you know you're wrong and do these things then you're reactionary because you are very very guilty. You deserve many stripes. Some of us didn't know. I'm probably more guilty than anyone. I keep searching myself to see whether I knew we were going wrong. I couldn't influence them (the Central Committee) and maybe I should have been charged with an individual violation and gotten out that they didn't know. I think most of them didn't know, so they're not as guilty as I am. But anyway, the new word that we call what we went into for a short length of time--a couple of years--is revolutionary cultist.

The revolutionary cultist uses the words social change, they use words for being interested in the development of society, he uses that terminology, you see. But his actions are so far divorced from the process, and organizing the community until he is living in a fantasy world. So we talk to each other on the campuses, or we talk to each other in the conspiracy of the night, with concentration upon the weapons thinking that these things will produce change, without the people themselves changing it. Of course peo-

ple will do courageous things and call themselves the vanguard. But the people who do things like that are either heroes or criminals. They are not the vanguard because the vanguard means spearhead, and the spearhead has to spearhead something, if nothing is behind it, then you are divorced from all the masses, and, not the vanguard.

I am going to be very criticized now by the revolutionary cultists and probably even more in the future because I view the process as going in stages. I feel that we can't jump from A to Z, we have to go through all that development. So even though I could see a thing is not the answer, I don't think it's dishonest to involve myself in it for the simple reason that the people tend to take not even one step higher, they take a half a step higher.

Then hang on to the reality or what they view as the reality, because they can't see that it is constantly changing and when it finally changes (qualitatively) they don't know why. Remember that part of the reason it changes around them is because they are there, so they participate whether they like it or not.

So what we will do now is involve ourselves in anything or any stage of development in the community, support that and try to introduce some insight into it. Then we will work very hard with the people in the community and with this institution so that it can negate itself. We will be honest about this and we hope they are honest. They will be honest if they accept this thing, that is the reality that everything

is negated and this is how we go on to higher levels.

I would like to say this to notify you that in the future there will be many articles that come out. Most of them will be re-analysis. I am doing an article now called "To Re-analyze Black Capitalism", but I'm not going to go into that because it's a long rap. But I think this is the kind of thing we're involved in and we'll judge how successful we are by whether we can take the community with us.

I was warned when I got up here that it would be more appropriate for a question-and-answer period, so I guess that we'll start now because I'm subject to go on and on.

QUESTION: I would like to know in your Re-Evaluation of your former stance in relationship to the community, in what ways do you expect to merge or bring together the community of the Catholic Church into the Black Panther Party?

MINISTER OF DEFENSE: First that I say that we can't change the reality, or direct it, or harness the forces until we know them. We have to gather information about it. We can gather information about the church by experiencing the church. As a matter of fact that is how we gain facts, through empirical evidence, observation and experience. So in order to do this we have to go there. You see the only laboratory in society we have is the community itself, and we view ourselves as not only scientists but also activists.

Now we say we try to merge theory

with practice. So we're going to churches now. I went to church last week for the first time in 10 years, I guess. We took our children with us. We have a youth institute, the Samuel Napier Youth Institute. We have about 30 children now and we took them to church and involved ourselves. We plan to involve ourselves in many community activities, going through the behavior the church goes through in order to contribute to the community. We also hope to influence the church, as I'm sure the church will influence us. Remember that we said that even when whole societies and cultures meet they are both modified by each other. And I am saying that the very fact that we're there is the new ingredient in the church and we know that we will be affected, and we hope that they will be affected. But I warn you that we hope that we will have more effect than you.

Just briefly I mentioned our Youth Institute. We have children from 3 to 14, most of them have already been kicked out of schools and we have a shortage of facilities because the hard core Black community or what we want to be the community now is just an aggregate. People who happen to be Black.

We are teaching them first what I mentioned before, bourgeois skills. This is a necessary thing for us to learn, in order for us to understand the phenomena around us, the society.

On the second hand, we don't like the way the skills have been used, so we're going to use them a different way. Thirdly, our children are not going to withdraw. As far as I'm concerned I don't like parochial schools, I don't like separate schools, but I think that sometimes you have to use a strategy, just as the Black Panther Party is a Black organization. We know that we live in a world of many cultures and ethnic groups and we all interconnect in one way or another. We say that we are the contradiction to the reactionary western values, but we cannot separate because we're here. Technology is too far advanced for us to isolate ourselves in any geographical location--the jet can get there so fast and so can the early-bird TV set--so what we have to do is share the control of these devices.

So far as our children are concerned the only reason they are at this separate school is the public schools were not giving them the correct education. They can hardly learn to read and write. I don't want them to end up as I did. I only learned how to read after I was 17 and this will not happen to them. I've only been reading for about 10 years or so, and that's not very good--I don't read very good. Anyway our children, just as we're going back to the church, our whole plan is for our children not to graduate from our school and live in a fantasy that everyone has the understanding that they do. Our effort is to keep them in there just as long as it will take

for them to go back into the school in order to organize it and make the school relevant. In other words we're going to send them back into the wilderness, but we're going to send them with their purse and their scribes with them this time.

QUESTION: When David Hilliard spoke to the National Committee of Black Churchmen that met in Berkeley, he called the preachers who were gathered there a bunch of pimps and motherfuckers, and bootlicking pimps and motherfuckers, which is information that never should have been made public anyway. And he threatened that if the preachers did not come around that the Panthers would off some of the preachers. Imagine that if you're not able to influence the Black church as much as you think that you will, will the Panther Party return to this particular stance?

MINISTER OF DEFENSE: If you understood my talk, the Black Panther Party will not take the separate individual stand. We'll only take the stand of the community because we're interested in what the community will do and will do to get themselves liberation. We will not be arrogant and we wouldn't have the most rudimentary knowledge if we didn't know that we cannot bring about the change. It was very wrong and almost criminal for some people in the Party to make the mistake to think that the Black Panther Party could overthrow even the police force. It ended up with the war between the police

and the Panthers, and if there is a war, it needs to be between the community and the reactionary establishment or else we're isolating ourselves.

As far as what David Hilliard said, what it did was alienate you, and that's what you're talking about. So therefore it alienated us also, it put us in a void where blood was spilled from one end of this country to the other, our blood, while the community watched. Our help watched on, you see? But it was more our fault than theirs, because we were out there saying that we were going to lead them into a change. But we can not lead them into a change if they will not go. As a matter of fact, we cannot exist individually if we don't band together to resist the genocide against all of us. So just as I criticize David Hilliard, I criticize myself, because I knew that stuff was going on and I argued against it, I didn't leave the Party and finally the change came about.

And so what I say about it is that I understand, and the reason that I didn't leave was that it wasn't an outrage to my humanity even though I cringed everytime. Because I understood that he did it not out of hatred but because of love. He did it because he was outraged by the church's inactivity, as you're outraged (not you, but you in the Plural), outraged at this situation, and he was outraged, of course, because of your isolation. So we're all in the same boat; so when we end up in the same boat that means we're unified right there. 15*

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

F B I

Date: 6/7/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) BY RLW
DATE 4/3/83

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-5552)
RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP (KBE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-19-82 BY 7514 JCK/BJP
6-26-87 SP6 2/10/87

Re San Francisco teletypes dated 6/2/71 and 6/3/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned as above. Two copies of this LHM are being enclosed for San Francisco.

Sources utilized in the attached LHM are:

- Source One
- Source Two
- Source Three



Informants of the Los Angeles Division have not as of yet ascertained what transpired during NEWTON's visit to the _____ residence. The Buick vehicle registered to _____ has been determined to be used by _____

Indices of the Los Angeles Division reflect that _____ is the name of the business operated

- ENCLOSURE
- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 5 - Los Angeles
 - (1 - 157-5154)
 - (1 - 100-69849)
 - (1 - 100-38324)
 - (1 - 100-67274)

Copies to 150, SS
6/15/71
JLA/jr

RHR:vjh
(9) 1 - destroyed

REC 19 105-165429-446X1
7 JUN 10 1971

b6
b7c

LHM declassified 1/6/76 GTT
Field office + agencies notified by
PLS 1/6/76 GTT/lte

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY
DATE

b2
b7D
b6
b7c

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

LA 157-5552

[redacted] and is located at [redacted]
California. Los Angeles indices also reflect that [redacted]
[redacted]

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

b6
b7C

Los Angeles is attempting to determine the purpose of the meeting with [redacted]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
June 7, 1971

HUEY P. NEWTON
RACIAL MATTER -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1-19-82
7514 JAH/ey
SP5C/upt 6-26-87

An Appendix page for the Black Panther Party (BPP) is attached.

The following sources have provided reliable information in the past.

Source One advised that Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander of the BPP; [redacted] and John/Seale, former Production Manager of the BPP newspaper, intended to fly to Los Angeles from San Francisco on June 2, 1971. Source One reported that Newton would visit [redacted] in Los Angeles and also confer with [redacted]

b6
b7C



Source One also advised [redacted] intended to bring [redacted] to Los Angeles and leave [redacted] with [redacted] there.

b6
b7C

Source Two advised that, on June 2, 1971, Newton, [redacted] Seale, and [redacted] deplaned from Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA) Flight 542 at Los Angeles International Airport at 9:40 p.m. The party of four was taken

105-165429-446X1



ENCLOSURE

HUEY P. NEWTON
RACIAL MATTER -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by an airport limousine service to the Ramada Inn at 9620 Airport Avenue near the air terminal. The group entered the bar at the hotel and remained there until 10:30 p.m. While in the bar, Newton and Seale appeared to have a discussion, during which there was obvious disagreement. Later, Seale left the group and made a phone call. At approximately 10:30 p.m., the group left the bar and met several people in a parking lot, at which time [redacted] [redacted] taken away in a Volkswagen sedan.

Newton, [redacted] and Seale then took a cab to [redacted] which is the residence of [redacted]. Source Two also advised that parked in front of the residence was a vehicle registered to [redacted] and a Buick registered to [redacted] of Los Angeles.

b6
b7c

Source Two advised that, prior to midnight, June 2, 1971, [redacted] vehicle and the Buick both departed the residence. At approximately 3:00 a.m., a dark colored Volvo automobile left [redacted] residence and drove into a residential canyon area of Beverly Hills. This vehicle had two persons as occupants, one of which was a Negro female. The other could not be positively observed. Source Two also advised that, at approximately 3:30 a.m., this vehicle returned to the [redacted] residence, after which all lights were extinguished.

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b7c

Source Two advised that no activity was noted at the [redacted] residence for the rest of the early morning of June 3, 1971, until approximately 12 noon, at which time Newton and Seale were driven to Los Angeles International Airport. Both individuals were observed boarding a PSA flight which departed Los Angeles at 1:15 p.m. on June 3, 1971.

Source Three advised that [redacted] visited the BPP pad located at [redacted] in the late morning on June 3, 1971. Source Three advised [redacted] had said she had wanted to see [redacted] a BPP member in Los Angeles, while she was in town. Source Three advised that

b6
b7c

HUEY P. NEWTON
RACIAL MATTER -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

transportation was arranged [redacted] to travel from 78th Street to the airport at about 12:30 p.m. because she had to catch a flight back to the Oakland, California area.

b6
b7c

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.

map

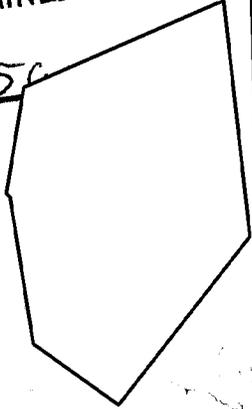
PLAINTEXT

6-12-71

oid

TELETYPE

URGENT ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5C



TO SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

REURTEL JUNE TWELVE INSTANT.

BASIS INFORMATION FURNISHED MAYBE IDENTICAL

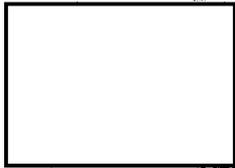
b6
b7C

BORN

SIMILAR DESCRIPTION. NO FBI NUMBER ASSIGNED.



b6
b7C



EX-113
REC-31

105-165429-447

JUN 17 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 12 1971

6:55 PM mas
TELETYPE

58 JUN 21 1971

Law

- Tolson
- Tavel
- Walters
- Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165)

DATE: 6/15/71

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

FROM: *[Handwritten initials]*
SUBJECT:

HUEY P. NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP (KBE)
OO - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-81 BY SP5G/px

ReNYlet to Bureau 12/7/70.

Relet reported that on 11/13/70, a representative of Harcourt Brace and Jananovich, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York City, successors to Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., advised that the book entitled "The Panther" to be authored by subject and J. HERMAN BLAKE will not be published until late Fall, 1971.

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK: Will determine if the above-mentioned book is still scheduled to be published and will attempt to obtain an advance copy of the book.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - New York (157-2702) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco
- JLC/jr
(6)

112

REC-35

105-165429-448

20 JUN 18 1971

REC'D INT. SEC



56 JUN 24 1971

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 28 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY

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	_____
Mr. Beaver	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 004 SF PLAIN
3:44 PM URGENT 6/28/71 MCC
TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) IP

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY FRANK VUKOTA,
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED SUBJECT APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY
SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND, MORNING OF JUNE TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT.
SUBJECT'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY, FILED A CHALLENGE TO THE
GRAND AND PETIT JURY PANELS. MATTER ASSIGNED TO SUPERIOR COURT
JUDGE HAROLD HOVE, DEPARTMENT SIX, AND RECESSED UNTIL JUNE
TWENTYNINE NEXT, WHEN GARRY WILL PRESENT WITNESSES CONCERNING
MAKE UP OF JURY PANELS.

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY DONALD WHITE
IS HANDLING PROSECUTION.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ALL DEVELOPMENTS.

END

MSE

FBIWASH DC

56 JUL 6 - 1971

100-80428D

REC 16

449

JUN 29 1971

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b7c

WJK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5 DSC

6/28/71
PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

CA URGENT

TO: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1 -

b6
b7c

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON
RM-EPP; KBE

REURTEL MAY TWENTY-SEVEN NINETEEN SEVENTY-ONE.

NEWTON'S TRIAL FOR MANSLAUGHTER SCHEDULED TO BEGIN TODAY,
JUNE TWENTY-EIGHT.

SAN FRANCISCO KEEP BUREAU ADVISED BY TELETYPE OF DEVELOP-
MENTS.

JLA:mlb *mRB*
(3)

NOTE:

Retel advised Newton's trial rescheduled for today.
We should be kept advised as Newton is Supreme Commander of
the EPP and there will be considerable publicity in this trial.

EX-115

REC 16 *105-165429-450*

22 JUN 29 1971

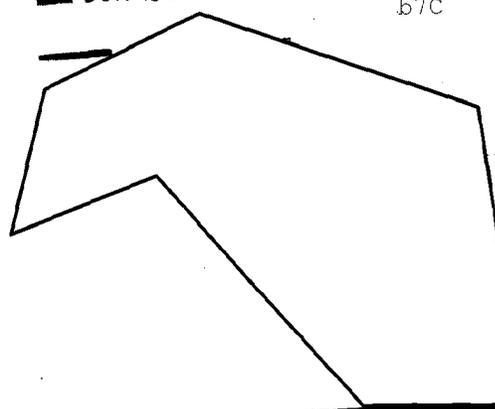
b6
b7c

- Tolson _____
- Sullivan _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Brennan, C.B. _____
- Callahan _____
- Casper _____
- Conrad _____
- Dalbey _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Soyars _____
- Beaver _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- andy _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

56 JUL 6 1971

- MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 29 1971

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

TELETYPE
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY SP5CW

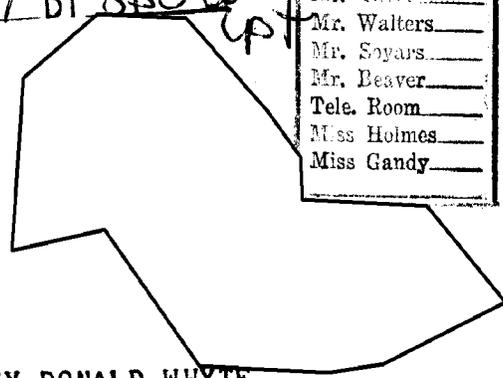
NR 012 SF PLAIN

8:52PM NITEL 6/29/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE)



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b7c

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY DONALD WHYTE,
OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED SUBJECT APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR
COURT, DEPARTMENT SIX, JUNE TWENTYNINE INSTANT, WERE PRE-TRAIL
ARGUMENTS BY HIS ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY TOOK PLACE. GARRY CONTINUED
HIS CHALLENGE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE PETIT AND GRAND JURIES. GARRY
CALLED ELEVEN SUPERIOR COURT JUDGES AS WITNESSES TO SHOW HOW NAMES FOR
ALAMEDA COUNTY GRAND JURIES SELECTED.

WHYTE STATED HE DOES NOT EXPECT THE SELECTION OF TRAIL JURY TO
BEGIN UNTIL WEEK OF JULY SIX NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EX 101

RESFTEL JUNE TWENTYEIGHT LAST.

END

REC-32

105-165429-451

DEB AA WA DC FBI FOR SEVEN

JUL 1 1971

96, c.s. [unclear]
58 JUL 7 - 1971

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

6/24/71

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-15-82 BY 9542 BSA/lip
6-26-87 JPS/cjw
original handled

ReBuairtel 6/18/71.

The information mentioned in paragraph two of reairtel was furnished the Bureau previously in the following communications:

San Francisco report 1/14/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON; this report contains information concerning NEWTON's "Survival Program".

San Francisco LHM 1/27/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON, which set forth the complete text of NEWTON's speech at Boston College, 11/18/70, concerning "The Survival Program".

San Francisco LHM 3/8/71, captioned BPP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, which set forth the text of NEWTON's interview on the JIM DUNBAR television show KGO-TV, 2/26/71, in which NEWTON first used the phrase publicly of "survival pending revolution".

San Francisco LHM 3/22/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON, reporting the NEWTON - LOUIS FREEMAN "Black Montage" program on radio station KDIA, 2/28/71, in which NEWTON again used the term "survival pending revolution".

New York LHM 5/25/71, concerning NEWTON's appearance on the DAVID FROST Show 5/14/71, in which NEWTON pointed out that the Panthers believed in "non-violence".

Milwaukee LHM 6/2/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON which set forth the text of NEWTON's speech at the University of Wisconsin, 4/3/71, concerning the "survival program".

San Francisco LHM 6/4/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON which set forth the full text of NEWTON's 5/30/71, speech at the "Black Odyssey Festival", Berkeley, California, in which NEWTON expounded his "survival program" theories.

2 - Bureau (RM-RRR)
2 - San Francisco

DET/jr

(4)

51 JUL 13 1971

105-165706

NOT RECORDED

FBI JUN 29 1971

4-2-50
105-165706
ORIGINAL FILED IN

SF 157-1204
DET/jr

San Francisco LHM entitled BPP - ORGANIZATION, 5/18/71, reported that the party was dropping the term NCCF and that all Panther groups in the future would be known as BPP Chapters.

The recent statements by JOHN SEALE and [redacted] concerning the decision to discontinue publicizing purges in order to avoid pinpointing purged individuals to law enforcement is being included in the current investigative report concerning the BPP now in the process of preparation and this will be submitted to the Bureau in the immediate future.

b6
b7c

San Francisco LHM 5/20/71, entitled [redacted] San Francisco LHM 4/5/71 entitled STRONGHOLD CONSOLIDATED PRODUCTIONS and Los Angeles LHM 4/30/71 entitled [redacted] all contain information concerning [redacted] relationship with NEWTON. The intimate relationship between [redacted] and NEWTON was not submitted in LHM form for dissemination since this appears to be a personal escapade only and was included in the bi-weekly airtel summary as background information. However, an LHM concerning this relationship is being submitted.

WFO LHM 5/3/71, entitled BPP - TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP, set forth information concerning ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's travels in the Congo.

CIA teletype to the Bureau 5/8/71, contained the same information but it was marked specifically by CIA "no dissemination" and therefore was not submitted in LHM form.

San Francisco LHM 3/24/71, entitled BPP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, contained the information concerning the European solidarity groups and the Red Panthers.

Paris LHM 5/19/71, entitled BPP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, reported the factionalism among BPP supporters in France.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, this office will continue to prepare LHM for dissemination of pertinent BPP activities.

In addition, the BPP investigative report, which pursuant to Bureau instructions must be submitted semi-annually, but which has been submitted on more frequent intervals by this office will continue to correlate for dissemination purposes all important developments and activities on the part of the BPP.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 6/30/71

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (157-877) (RUC)

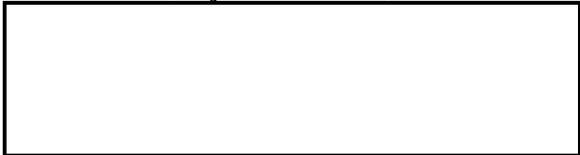
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka;
RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY SP5C

Re Milwaukee airtel to Bureau dated June 2, 1971,
enclosing LHM of the same date.

Page 18 of referenced LHM indicated that Minnesota
licenses registered to the following persons were observed in
a parking lot during the speech of HUEY PERCY NEWTON at
Madison, Wisconsin, on April 3, 1971:



b6
b7C

Indices of the Minneapolis Division indicate that
the above persons are all on the Security Index from the
Minneapolis Division and have been identified by sources as
members of the Worker's League in the Minneapolis area.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - Milwaukee (157-1113) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco (157-3765) (RM)
 - 1 - Minneapolis
- DTD:mjt
(7)

REC-37

REC-37

105-165429-45

100-806-9-57D
7/1/71
54 JUL 9 1971 FHO

JUL 6 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 30 1971

TELETYPE

NR 006 SF PLAIN

6:30PM NITEL 6/30/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY SPJG/gpt

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Bremer	_____
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

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA. RM - BPP (KBE)

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, THIS DATE ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

CHARLES R. GARRY, DEFENSE ATTORNEY IN NEWTON TRAIL CONTINUED HIS QUESTIONING OF ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT JUDGES AND JURY COMMISSIONER RE MAKEUP OF GRAND AND PETIT JURY PANELS. COURT RECESSED UNTIL TOMORROW WHEN ARGUMENTS WILL BE HEARD ON DEFENSE MOTIONS CHALLENGING THE JURY PANELS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JUNE TWENTYNINE LAST.

END

RECD THREE

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

EX-117

REC 17

453

62 JUL 8 1971

FBI

Date: 6/24/71

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-16706)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1291) (P)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHICAGO DIVISION
RM - BPP
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/27/81 BY SP2 [signature]
6-26-87 SP3 [signature]

On 6/22/71, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and who has been assigned the permanent symbol CG T-6 in captioned matter, provided the following:

b2
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b7C

[redacted] a member of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, Chicago, was in contact with [redacted] of that Chapter, in which regard [redacted] inquired as to the possibility of obtaining the services of Minister HUEY NEWTON for an engagement in Chicago in late September, 1971. [redacted] was advised by [redacted] that "the Minister" is not performing public speaking engagements any longer.

The above is provided for the information of the Bureau and San Francisco.

IN THE EVENT THE ABOVE IS DISSEMINATED, IT SHOULD BE PARAPHRASED AND CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - (1 - 105-165429) (HUEY P. NEWTON)
- 3 - San Francisco (157-1904) (RM)
 - (1 - 157-1203) (HUEY P. NEWTON)
- 4 - Chicago
 - (1 - 157-1291 SUB F)

[Handwritten signature]

EXACT COPY

b6
b7C

CES/sls
(10)

NOT RECORDED
100 JUL 8 1971

Approved: 57 JUL 9 1971 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-109700-4714

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 6 1971

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

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

6:51 PM NITEL 7/6/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

TELETYPE
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY 3

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

b6
b7C

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE,
OAKLAND, CALIF., ON JULY SIX INSTANT, ADVISED THAT MOTION BY
DEFENSE TO SQUASH ADMISSABILITY OF NEWTON'S PRIOR CONVICTION
IN NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR DENIED. SELECTION OF JURY BEGAN BUT NO
JURORS YET SELECTED AND IT IS ANTICIPATED IT WILL TAKE REMAINDER
OF THIS WEEK TO SELECT JURY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWO LAST.

UACB, SAN FRANCISCO WILL NOT SUBMIT A DAILY TELETYPE
CONCERNING SELECTION OF JURY UNTIL JURY COMPLETED. THIS CASE
WILL BE CLOSELY FOLLOWED HOWEVER, AND BUREAU WILL BE APPROPRIATELY
ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END.

RECD FIVE

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

EX-100

REC-11

105-1203-454

70 JUL 12 1971

FBI

Date: 6/25/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

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

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/pt

TDR

[Handwritten initials]

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM concerning Subject.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~confidential~~" to protect the identity of the sources, disclosure of which could affect the national defense adversely.

[Handwritten initials]

Source one is
Source two is

b2

The article mentioned in the LHM, captioned "Statement By HUEY P. NEWTON To The Black Odyssey Festival" on 5/19/71 was submitted to the Bureau by airtel and LHM on 6/4/71.

The article appearing in the 6/5/71 issue of "The Black Panther" concerning black capitalism by NEWTON, as mentioned in the enclosed LHM, was furnished to the Bureau by airtel and LHM dated 6/10/71.

The article by NEWTON concerning the movie "Sweet Sweetback" that appeared in the 6/19/71 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper with [redacted] furnished to the Bureau by LHM.

ENCLOSURE

REC. 105-165429-455

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (RM)
 - 3 - San Francisco
 - (1 - 100-51311) (J. HERMAN BLAKE)
- JLC/wgs
(5)
- Copie to ISD, IDIU, SS*

JUL 1 1971

1cc 806

7/7/71
JLA/jn

Approved: FZZ
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6
b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 25, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5CW
ON 6-26-87 JPH

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On May 26, 1971, source one reported that [redacted] [redacted] was editing a transcript of a speech by Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), which Newton had made on May 19, 1971 at the Black Odyssey Festival, Berkeley, California. According to the source, after [redacted] had completed the editing of the transcript, the text of the speech would be printed in the May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

b6
b7c



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.

~~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

455

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

The May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" contained the text of Newton's speech mentioned above.

On May 29, 1971, a second source reported that [] had told Newton on that date [] hopes to have the book he is currently writing about Newton and the BPP completed around June 1, 1971. Newton requested [] edit transcripts of speeches previously given by Newton and include those speeches in the book.

On June 11, 1971, second source reported that [] was then writing an article for Newton to be printed in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther." This article will be a critique of the movie "Sweet Sweetback" and taken from notes made by Newton and Newton's secretary, Gwen Hodges, when they had viewed the film.

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On the same date, this source also reported that an article by Newton appearing in the June 5, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" had been rewritten and edited []. This article was captioned "Black Capitalism Re-Analyzed," and it states that black businessmen should contribute to the BPP in return for which the BPP would advertise the donor "free" and its newspaper so the community and the people would know whom to support.

The article concerning the movie "Sweet Sweetback" appeared in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" as scheduled.

On June 6, 1971, Newton traveled to New York City to meet with Melvin Van Peebles, producer and director of the movie "Sweet Sweetback." Newton took with him a film titled "The Death of Fred Hampton," which he hoped to have Van Peebles review in an effort to secure Van Peebles' support in having the Hampton film shown in theaters as a co-feature with "Sweet Sweetback." Newton returned from New York on June 8, 1971.

On June 10, 1971, source two reported that while in New York City, Newton went to the offices of Cinemation, the distributant office for the film "Sweet Sweetback." When Newton arrived at the office, he encountered a white man, who

-2-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

was supposedly in charge of the office, and the white man immediately inquired as to why Newton had come to that office. Words of anger were exchanged between Newton and this individual, and Newton threatened to slap the face of this "rich cat" and take over his office. However, Van Peebles arrived before any blows were struck and proceeded with Newton to Van Peebles' residence for discussion. According to [redacted] who accompanied Newton to the office and residence of Van Peebles, the residence was a filthy place, presided over by the "ugliest white woman in New York, and who Newton described as "looking like a woodpecker."

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According to this source, Newton and [redacted] dined with Van Peebles in his residence, but that Newton had to get drunk in order to "take it." Van Peebles supposedly showed his black supremacy theories by ordering the white woman around, and [redacted] complained that his flea-ridden cat kept jumping up on her while at the residence. Newton discussed with Van Peebles his desires to have Van Peebles review the film "The Death of Fred Hampton," and Van Peebles agreed to take it to a screening room and look it over. However, Newton was certain that Van Peebles was not interested in the film because when it was returned to Newton the next day, Newton noted that the seal on the canister containing the film had not been broken. Newton complained to the source that Van Peebles did not bother to even come to the airport to see Newton before he returned to California and instead sent his woman with the film. As a result of this meeting with Van Peebles, Newton concluded that any social message in "Sweet Sweetback" had gotten into the picture by accident, and what Newton saw in the film was not a self-projection of Van Peebles, but only Newton's own interpretation. In that regard, Newton stated that Van Peebles showed a lack of social consciousness concerning the movie, and Newton was disillusioned with Van Peebles after their meeting. Newton further claimed that Van Peebles was really "bad" and he did not understand his own movie.

-3*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

June 25, 1971

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character

Reference San Francisco letterhead
memorandum, dated and
captioned as above.

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

4

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: July 6, 1971

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765)

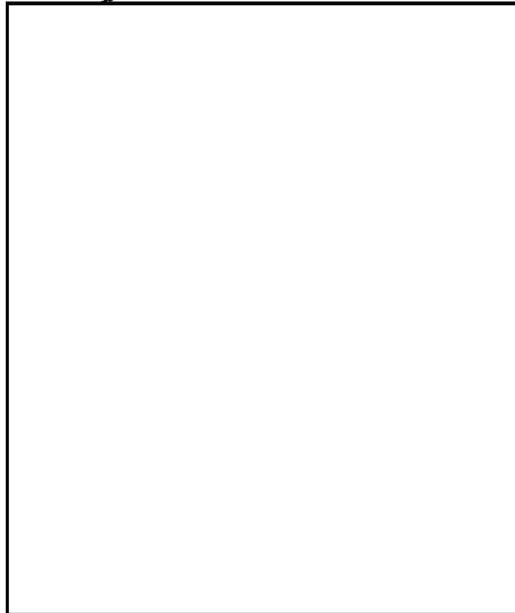
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka
RM - BPP;
TREASON (KBE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5 GJE
LPT

(OO: San Francisco)

Re Milwaukee airtel and LHM dated 6/2/71.

Referenced LHM, pages 16 and 17, listed the following individuals as holders of automobile licenses of vehicles parked in the vicinity of Jay's Bar, Route 51, Madison, Wisconsin, on April 3, 1971. HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, was the principal speaker at a BPP affair held at that bar on that date:



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EX-114

456

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (157-1113) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-1203) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
- 1 - 157-3715

CES/jto
(6)

REC-23

10 JUL 8 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.
INT. SEC.

58 JUL 16 1971

CG 157-3765

Chrysler Leasing Corporation
Avis Rent-A-Car
10319 Belle Plaine
Schiller Park, Illinois
1971 Dodge four door



b6
b7C

Indices of the Chicago Office contained no references identifiable with any of the above captioned individuals.

The following confidential informants who are familiar with BPP activities or members of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP in Chicago, advised as of June 25, 1971, they could furnish no information regarding the above individuals and knew none of them to be affiliated in anyway with the BPP:



It is noted that the two automobiles bearing Illinois license plates assigned to the Avis Rent-A-Car Company were according to [redacted] rented by [redacted] at the request of the BPP in Chicago and carried members of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP to Madison on April 3, 1971, to serve as bodyguards for HUEY P. NEWTON following his arrival by air. The identities of those serving in this capacity other than [redacted] are unknown.

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b7D

In view of the above, Chicago is taking no further action in this matter.

FBI

Date: 6/25/71

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)
SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON, aka.
RM - BPP
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-11-83 BY 1678 RFP/OK
6-26-89 SP5CJL/OK
T.D.

DECLASSIFIED BY: _____
ON: _____

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of
an LHM concerning activities of Subject.

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to
protect the identity of the source, the disclosure of which could
affect the national defense adversely.

Source utilized in the LHM is [redacted]

Two (2) copies of this communication are being
furnished to Los Angeles Office for information inasmuch
as [redacted] reside within that division.

b2
b6
b7c

Copies to ISD, IOIU, SS
7/7/71
JLC/jb
1cc 806

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY RLW
DATE 8/5/83

EX-105

ENCLOSURE REC-39

105-165429-457

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 4 - San Francisco

JUN 30 1971

JLC/jb #S-3
(8)

RACIAL I
SECT.

b6
b7c

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 25, 1971

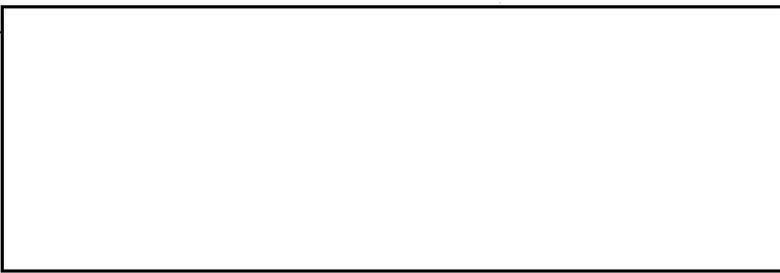
HUEY P. NEWTON

8-11-82 1678 RFA/Djs
SP5W/pt 6-26-87

On June 23, 1971, source reported that [redacted] from Los Angeles, California, had arrived at the apartment of Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Defense, 1200 Lakeshore Avenue, Apartment 25A, Oakland, California, at approximately 7:15 P.M. on that date. Indications are that [redacted] travelled from Los Angeles to Oakland via air.

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b7C

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.



b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group I~~
~~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.

10-1-4-457

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY P. NEWTON

Source further advised that [] spent the night of June 23-24, 1971 in Newton's apartment and that no discussions concerning BPP policy and procedure took place.

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[] Source also reported on June 24, 1971 that [] departed Newton's apartment at approximately 11:15 A.M., June 24, 1971 to return to Los Angeles.

- 2* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

June 25, 1971

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title HUEY P. NEWTON

Character

Reference San Francisco 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.

5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 9 1971

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

TELETYPE

NR 013 SF PLAIN

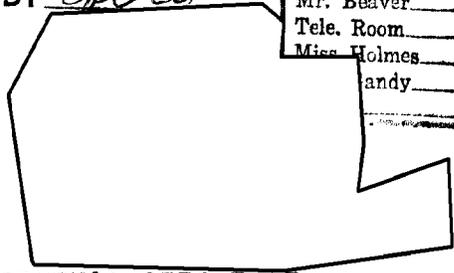
8:58PM NITEL 7/11/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY 3056

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).



b6
b7c

ROBERT BERNARD, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE AT
OAKLAND, CALIF., THIS DATE ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

JUDGE DISALLOWED DEFENSE CHALLENGE OF GRAND JURY PANEL.

PRE-TRIAL PROCEEDINGS TODAY COVERED DEFENSE MOTION TO EXCLUDE
EVIDENCE OF NEWTON'S PRIOR CONVICTION IN NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR FOR AN
ASSAULT WITH KNIFE, AND INVOLVED TESTIMONY FROM NEWTON THAT HE WAS
UNAWARE OF HIS RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT WHEN HE TESTIFIED IN NINETEEN
SIXTYFOUR. EVIDENCE OF SUBJECT'S PRIOR CONVICTION IS IMPORTANT
INASMUCH AS IT ALLOWS STATE TO ASK FOR A SENTENCE OF TWO TO FIFTEEN
YEARS FOR MANSLAUGHTER. DISTRICT ATTORNEY EXPECTS MATTER OF EXCLUSION
OF PRIOR CONVICTION WILL BE DISPOSED OF TOMORROW AND SELECTION OF
JURY MEMBERS WILL BE NEXT ORDER OF BUSINESS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JUNE THIRTY LAST.

EX 101

END

HOLD

REC-39

458

JUL 9 1971

JUL 13 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 2 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CDL
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Mr. Tom	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5C

NR 007 SF PLAIN

8:00 PM NITEL 7/2/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE)

JACK MEEHAN, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE AT
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, JULY TWO INSTANT, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

PRE-TRIAL TESTIMONY IN HUEY P. NEWTON CASE CONTINUED THIS DATE
CONCERNING ADMISSABILITY OF NEWTON'S PRIOR CONVICTION IN NINETEEN
SIXTYFOUR. BOTH SIDES ARGUED MATTER AFTER COMPLETION OF TESTIMONY
AND SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE ADVISED THAT HE WILL RULE ON THE MATTER JULY
SIX NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFNITEL JULY ONE LAST.

END

HOLD

REC 20

17 JUL 9 1971

61 JUL 19 1971
MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 712-A 9&D

459

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 10 1971

TELETYPE

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-89 BY SP5 C/...

NR 001 SF PLAIN
4 32 PM NITEL 7/10/71 BEH
TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP (KBE).

DONALD P. WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THAT ON JULY NINE LAST SELECTION OF
ALTERNATE JURORS FOR NEWTON'S TRIAL WAS COMPLETED. JURY MADE
UP OF TEN WOMEN AND TWO MEN. ALTERNATE JURORS ARE TWO BLACK MEN,
ONE BLACK WOMAN AND ONE WHITE WOMAN.

DEFENSE ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY, AND ASSISTANT DISTRICT
ATTORNEY WHYTE, DELIVERED OPENING STATEMENTS ON JULY NINE LAST
AND THEN CASE RECESSED UNTIL TEN A.M. JULY TWELVE NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE JULY EIGHT LAST.
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

EX-105

REC-47 105-165429-460

JUL 13 1971

DRL FBI WASH DC

15D
JUL 15 1971

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b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 8 1971

TELETYPE

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

PT

4c

NR 004 SF PLAIN
9:44 AM URGENT 7/8/71 MCC
TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/cpt

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

R

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE,
OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED SELECTION OF JURY FOR NEWTON'S TRIAL
COMPLETED AND OPENING STATEMENTS ARE TO BEGIN MORNING OF JULY
EIGHT INSTANT.

JURY CONSISTS OF TEN WOMEN AND TWO MEN, WHICH INCLUDES ONE
BLACK, ONE LATINO AND ONE GRADUATE STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA. A BLACK WAREHOUSEMAN AND A JAPANESE WOMAN WERE
SELECTED AS ALTERNATES.

REC-50 105-165429-461

ADMINISTRATIVE

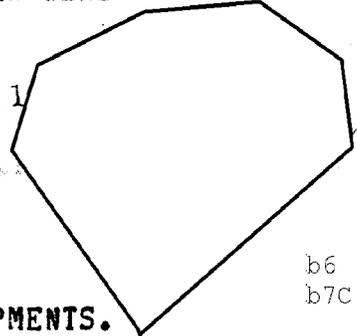
RESPTL JUL SIX LAST.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

53 JUL 20 1971 MR. BRENNAN

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR



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FBI

Date: 7/6/71

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
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Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
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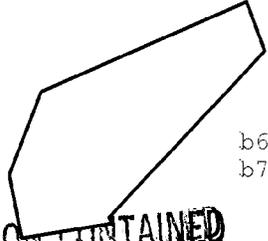
Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON aka
RM - BPP
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)
OO: San Francisco



b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5/ST

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM dated 6/25/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM setting forth article by Subject which appeared in the 6/19/71 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~confidential~~" to protect the identity of the source, disclosure of which could affect the national defense adversely.

Source is

b2

ENCLOSURE

REC-39

EX-100

105-165429-462

JUL 13 1971

- Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
- San Francisco

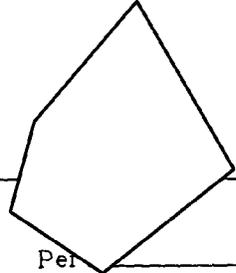
/pkv

Copies to 150, 1014, 55

7/15/71

JLA/jps

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Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

1971



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

July 6, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5 SC
ON 6-26-81

On June 11, 1971, a source reported that Huey Percy Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), had viewed the movie, "Sweet Sweetback" in an Oakland, California theatre on two or three occasions and had liked the movie so much that he wanted to write an article about it to be printed in "The Black Panther" newspaper. Newton took [redacted] with him to view the movie, and they made written notes about the film, from which the article would be prepared.

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.

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On the same date, the source advised that [redacted] was using the notes made by Newton and [redacted] on the movie "Sweet Sweetback" and was in the process of writing an article for Newton to be printed in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper. This article will be a critique of the movie "Sweet Sweetback", and Newton will be shown as the author when it is printed in the BPP newspaper.

~~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.

462

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON



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The article concerning the movie "Sweet Sweetback" appeared in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper as scheduled. An introduction to the article was written by BPP Chairman Bobby Seale and several photographs from the movie accompanied the article. Following is the introduction and the article as it appeared in the BPP newspaper:

²
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HE WON'T BLEED ME

A REVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF SWEET SWEETBACK'S BAADASSSSS SONG
BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY BOBBY SEALE,
CHAIRMAN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The feeling that I have now that I am back on the scene with Brother Huey P. Newton is one where I remember the time when Brother Huey was always there to interpret the cultural things and symbolic forms and expressions of the people in different forms of art. This was over three and a half years ago, the last time Brother Huey and I were together.

Now that I am back on the scene I have had the chance to be with many righteous Party members and community people. Together we have shared the experience of going to the theatre to see "Sweet Sweetback" the latest movie on the set. Our Minister of Defense, righteous, beautiful Brother Huey P. Newton was there interpreting all the symbolic meanings of the movie, and showing the essence of the real-life experience of the Black community as it is put together in "Sweet Sweetback."

It seems that it has taken nothing more than the fact that Brother Huey P. Newton is free, and now I find myself free from Jail Number One and out in the larger social prison. But we are with our people in the Black community and Brother Huey P. Newton is now giving forth a profound in-depth analysis, a beautiful revolutionary people's analysis of "Sweet Sweetback." He is grasping for us the people all the symbolic meanings of the movie and explaining them to us.

*When we have read the analysis given by Brother Huey we should unite as brothers and sisters in the struggle and go back and see "Sweet Sweetback" but not to be entertained, we should do it because we can be educated and our consciousness and understanding can be increased. I am going to see it again with Brother Huey's analysis as my guide. I hope you will too.
Bobby Seale*

THE BLACK PANTHER SATURDAY JUNE 19, 1971

The very popular movie produced and directed by Melvin Van Peebles called "Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song" contains many very important messages for the entire Black community. On many levels Van Peebles is attempting to communicate some crucial ideas, and motivate us to a deeper understanding and then action based upon that understanding. He has certainly made effective use of one of the most popular forms of communication--the movie--and he is dealing in revolutionary terms. The only reason this movie is available to us with its many messages is because Black people have given it their highest support. The corporate capitalist would never let such an important message be given to the community if they were not so greedy. They are so anxious to bleed us for more profits that they either ignore or fail to recognize the many ideas in the film, but because we have supported the movie with our attendance we are able to receive its message.

It is the first truly revolutionary Black film made and it is presented to us by a Black man. Many Black people who have seen the film have missed many of its significant points. I have seen the film several times and I have also talked to about 50 - 60 others who have seen it and each time I understand more.

When Van Peebles first presented the film he refused to submit it to the Motion Picture Association to be rated because he knew they were not

competent to judge its content. He knew the film was not something which would upset the Black community because of its explicitness. He wanted youth and children to see it because he knew they would understand it. Yet the movie was given an "X" rating over his protests, thus making it impossible for the youth to see. But it has a real message for them, for just like "Moo Moo" one of the youthful characters in the movie, they are our future.

Melvin Van Peebles had great difficulty obtaining the funds to make this movie, therefore it is a low-budget movie. In some parts the sound and the lighting are not as good as they might have been if he could have had greater freedom to make the film. I have found that its messages and significance are clearer when I combine viewing the film with listening to the record of the sound track and reading the book. I would urge all of you who want to understand the deep meanings of the movie completely to also buy the record and the book. (NOTE: The book is available in paperback for \$1.00, and the record for \$5.98. Both may be obtained for \$6.00 by sending a check or money order to Lancel Books, 1560 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036)

"Sweet Sweetback" blows my mind everytime I talk about it because it is so simple and yet so profound. It shows the robbery which takes place in the Black community and how we are the real victims. Then it shows how the victims must deal with their situation.

using many institutions and many approaches. It demonstrates that one of the key routes to our survival and the success of our resistance is unity.

"Sweet Sweetback" does all of this by using many aspects of the community, but in symbolic terms. That is, Van Peebles is showing one thing on the screen but saying something completely different to the audience. In other words he is signifying, and he is signifying some very heavy things. I am going to go through the film and analyze some of the scenes, and then I am going to talk about some of the general ideas put forth in this truly revolutionary movie.

When the movie opens we see the faces of the women; there are young faces and old faces, light faces and dark faces, but in all of them there is a sign of weariness, sadness, but also joy. You soon recognize that the women are in a house of love, a house of prostitution, a house of ill-repute, and of course it is all of these things, depending on what position you are viewing it from. This is the essence of the whole film, the victim and the oppressor looking at things in a much different way, from a different point of view.

The women are tired, yet they are happy. This is because they are feeding a small boy. As you look at the women you see that they are strong and beautiful Black women, definitely African in ancestry and symbolic of Mother Africa. The size of some of their

breasts, signifies how Africa is potentially the breadbasket of the world. The women are feeding stew to a small boy who is apparently very hungry, and as he downs it they keep offering him more. These women with their large breasts potentially could feed and nourish the world, and if this is so, certainly they have the potential to raise their liberator, for that is what the small boy is, the future of the women, of Black people, liberation.

They are in a house of prostitution not of their own will, but because of the conditions the oppressor makes for us. They are there to survive, and they sell their love to do so, therefore our love is distorted and corrupted with the sale. When you have nothing else left you give up your body, just as when you are starving you might eat your fingers; but it's the conditions which cause this, not the desire to taste your own blood; you have to survive.

The women standing around the small boy are not saying anything but by continuing to nourish him they are telling him that they can give him more than enough, not only food, but much love. This love is not for sale, so therefore it is uncorrupted, it is pure love, sacred and holy. Even though the boy is weak and has many sores in his face, with the love and nourishment

of the women he can become a very strong man. The sores in his face come from malnutrition and poor health, and Van Peebles is signifying the fine line between survival and death. Even though the women can feed him and clear up his malnutrition, they cannot do it freely and totally, because they have to also sell, they have to sell in order to provide.

I have seen small children in the Brounsville section of Brooklyn, in West Oakland, in Chicago, and in Harlem with sores on their bodies like those on the boy's face. That is why we have health and food programs, because we are determined to make them healthy again. The women in the film are doing the same thing. They know he is their future and so they give him love and nourishment that he might become a strong man, but not just a man in the physical sense, but that he might become a liberator.

Next we see the boy is healthy and growing, working as a towel boy in the house of prostitution. Then we see the prostitute making love to him. But this was a scene of pure love and therefore it was a sacred and holy act. Even though it was in a house of prostitution, it was not a distorted or corrupt thing. We see this by the very words the woman uses, because she tells the boy that he ain't at the photographer to get his picture taken; she tells him to move. In the background we hear religious music, signifying what is happening and what will happen later. First there is "Wade in the Water", and we recognize that

the boy is being baptized; then there is "This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine," signifying what will happen in the future. The music indicates that this is not a sexual scene,

this is a very sacred rite, for the boy, who was nourished to health, is now being baptized into manhood. And the act of love, the giving of manhood, is also bestowing upon the boy the characteristics which will deliver him from very difficult situations. People who look upon this as a sex scene miss the point completely; and people who look upon the movie as a sex movie miss the entire message of the film.

What happens is not a distorted act of prostitution even though it takes place in a house of prostitution. The place is profane because of the oppressive conditions, but so are our communities also oppressed. The Black community is often profane because of the dirtiness there, but this is not caused by the people, they are the victims of a very oppressive system. Yet within the heart of the community, just as in the film, the sacred rite of feeding and nourishing the youth goes on; they are brought to their manhood as liberators.

Van Peebles shows this in the film, because when the love scene is completed, the boy is no longer a boy, he has become a man. He doesn't have a climax until he reaches an adult age. Even though we may have sexual intercourse as children, we don't have a climax; it is an introduction which

makes it a part of something which is not alien to us. But in the film the climax came at the appropriate time, after he has become a man; that is, he has learned the deep significance of what she was trying to teach him. It wasn't an act or any mechanical sort of thing, but it was the building of his spirit.

So he grows a moustache while he is having sexual intercourse with her, from about 10 years old he ends up about 25. But as soon as he reaches a climax, that is, as soon as he becomes a man, then he is ready to go out and fight. This is symbolized by his putting on his hat, because when you put on your hat, it symbolizes that you are fixing to go somewhere.

The whole film is centered around movement, his putting on the hat to go, and his running and running. I think this shows the alienation he feels in his position. He is constantly in movement or "in the process". When you are in process you are always going or preparing to go. These symbols are used very well.

The oppressor would not view the love scene in the same way, because his whole introduction to sex is from a perverted perspective, divorced from his whole being. That is why he rated the film "X", because what he saw was a sex movie. We know that it is much more than that. He is introduced to sex as something outside of himself, while it is hard for us to remember our first sexual experience. It is not something outside of us. It grows in

us as any other part of our personality, and it is very integrated just as our arms, our hand or our breathing. This is why it was very necessary to have this young boy having this relationship in a place that is viewed from the outside as dirty and profane, because our community is also considered dirty and profane.

But we do love and we have holy experiences at the same time that we are being stripped of everything else. Then we sell that holiness in order to survive; but it's not holiness anymore, it's transformed by the sale. But nevertheless, the holiness is a part of us, so it serves us. But at the same time the holiness serves us, it remains as dirtiness to the outsider, because he is the cause of the profane conditions of the victims, and also because what he is getting is not love, but the sale of the prostitute.

To the boy she was not a prostitute because there was no money passed, instead she introduced him to the thing that would give him his fullness as a person and his survival in the end. She introduced it to him as a boy because it is said: "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old, he will not depart from it." (Proverbs 22:6) Of course he won't depart from it, if it becomes an integral part of his personality, because to depart from it is to depart from himself. The women were giving the boy more than simply a survival thing because he was their hope, and this is why they feel happy

about the sacrifice they are making. You can see it on their faces when they are feeding him, or at the point of orgasm when the woman tells him that he has a sweet back, and that is where he gets his name. Not only is he baptized into his fullness as a man, he gets his name and his identity in this sacred rite.

Every time after that when Sweetback engages in sex with a sister, it is always an act of survival, and a step towards his liberation. That is why it is important not to view the movie as a sex film or the sexual scenes as actual sex acts. Van Peebles is righteously signifying to us all. The first scene was far from anything sexual, that is why the holy music during the scene. It is only dealing with sexual symbols, the real meaning is far away from anything sexual, and so deep that you have to call it religious.

When Sweetback puts on his hat he does not leave the house, he does not leave the victim's ghettos, he graduates and starts to perform there in a freak show. He would simulate sexual intercourse before an audience that paid to observe this scene. He starts

out playing the part of a dyke, with false breasts and a beard, but then his fairy godmother comes along, he gets his wish and becomes a man before the audience, taking off his beard and showing his penis--it looks like a missile and shocks the audience.

While this is going on, the cops are harassing Beate, the owner of the cat house. He has been paying them

off and doesn't want to be bothered, but they want one of his men as a scapegoat arrest. The cops break off their harassment from time to time and go over to observe the freak show, even though they have seen it many times.

Sweetback is now having sexual intercourse with the sister, but there is no holy music because it is not love; it is a performance given in order to survive. He is selling himself to the audience and the cops who are the real freaks. Dylan's "Ballad of The Thin Man" would apply here, because in the song the freaks go to see the geek who offers them a bone and they don't know why. But you see the audience or the freaks--including the cops--don't have to be there. They cause the conditions which make it necessary for people to go to these lengths to survive, and then they pay to see the performance the people put on. They are the real freaks and the people go through the act with real hostility and hatred for the people who cause them to be there in the first place.

There are also Blacks in the audience, and this is a stroke of genius by Van Peebles, because it symbolizes the total blindness of the audience of freaks. They are laughing at a situation, when they are in fact getting their heads cut off. That's like Dylan's sword swallower, who in the end will thank the audience for the loan, because they were really there, only they did not know it. The scene shows how far the oppressor will go, because when it is asked if anyone in the audience wants to challenge Sweetback, this white boy

couldn't hold his girlfriend down. The announcer would not let her go out there, because the police were watching.

The police, as I said, are taking payoffs and letting the house exist, and this is an indictment of them. Not only do they cause the conditions, they then pay to go see it, because it is amusing to them. But the freak show is not put on by freaks but by victims. The victim does what he has to do to survive because of his crippled and victimized position. The freak pays him for his laughter and the victim accepts the pay, but with vengeance in mind.

I think that it is ironic and also very symbolic that even while I am writing this, I can look out of my window and see the Oakland Auditorium where the Oakland Police Officers Assoc. is holding its annual circus. I don't see any Blacks going in. We are realizing more and more that it has always been a circus. They have tried to make a circus of our circumstances and our communities, but our awareness is growing and we are moving toward dealing with the situation in a very decisive manner, just like Sweet Sweetback did.

In the film and in the community the oppressor keeps demanding more and more from the victims--that is why they want one of Beattie's men. But this is also why the victim with the lowest levels of awareness will be

brought into consciousness and revolutionized because he is doing what he is doing in order to survive, but eventually his very survival is at stake. The oppressor won't even let your acts of survival continue, he tries to totally crush you, so that survival becomes a very revolutionary act. At the point of life and death, all of the hatred for the oppressor is unleashed for survival purposes.

The police in the film really don't want Sweetback. All they want to do is use him for a cover, because they are going after Moo Moo, the young revolutionary. Sweetback goes along with them because of his low level of consciousness. This is no hard task because when an individual victim acts without awareness of the situation, he is just like the organism that wants to survive. **THE UNITY COMES OUT OF CONSCIOUSNESS.**

For a short while Moo Moo and Sweetback are handcuffed together, but when the police start to beat the life out of Moo Moo, they separate them and tell Sweetback to stand aside. Sweetback attempts to look away from their beating of Moo Moo.

This shows the arrogance of the aggressor, thinking that he has all the control--his Jehovah complex. He thinks that he has his victims so completely in line, that this freak show performer who is paying them so that he can survive, will have no feelings for another victim.

Sweetback attempts to look away while the police are beating Moo Moo. Just the turning away is showing how much of the time the masses attempt to dismiss the atrocities of the oppressor, even when attempts are made to communicate to them. They will pretend that they are too busy with other things because they are trying to survive; but they fail to realize that their real survival depends upon their social consciousness and therefore unity. The oppressor will demand more and more of them until they will perish without that unity.

At its lowest level, survival is just the organism getting by as an individual person or as an individual family. What they must realize is that the oppressor will not allow that, he will keep demanding more--high unemployment, poor housing, poor health and poor education, and more taxes--until their very death. So they attempt to look away; but because of compassion and their identity with the whole situation, they cannot completely turn their backs, and this is what causes the neurosis of some Blacks.

But through Sweetback, Melvin Van Peebles is righteously signifying, and teaching the people what must really be done to survive. When Sweetback realizes that he cannot turn his back, he takes the handcuffs, the chains which have been used to hold him in slavery and he starts to kick ass. Using his handcuffs as a weapon against the oppressor rather than as the tool of submission, he downs both of the

policemen, almost cutting off their heads.

This is a very bloody scene, but it was very important that they showed the blood all the way up his arm. It makes me think of the statement by Frantz Fanon in his book *The Wretched of The Earth* where he says that the peasant creeps into the settler's room at night and cracks the settler's head open. Then the blood spurts across his face, and it is the only baptism he ever remembered.

The Black audiences really respond to this scene, because it is another baptism; but instead of wading in the water as Sweetback did earlier, this is a baptism in the blood. As each blow went down, you could hear the tension being released in the audience, because right at that moment it was a climax for the audience.

One of the few criticisms I have of this film is that there is no religious music behind this scene. This is no more a scene of violence than the earlier baptism was one of sex;

it was a growing into manhood. Sweetback grew into a man when he was in bed with that woman and he also grew to be a man when he busted the heads of his oppressors there. When he was with the woman, it was like a holy union, and when he takes the heads of his oppressors, it is like taking the sacrament for the first time. In the first baptism he did not become a whole man because he went into that freak show, but when he is baptized in the blood, he righteously moves on

to a higher level, because the next time he is with the police with handcuffs on, he gets away, and the time after than when he is with the police with handcuffs on in that pool hall, he knows what he must do and he does it.

Like I said before, Van Peebles is righteously signifying, because he engages the audience in a climax in the scene when Sweetback downs the police. What he does is equate the most ecstatic moments in the film with the actions he is encouraging the people to engage in, so he is advocating a bloody overthrow, because the victims want to survive.

The next point that Van Peebles develops in the film is the need of the Black community for greater unity, and how the lack of unity will only deliver us into the hands of our oppressors. What happens? Sweetback helps Moo Moo get up, but then Sweetback goes his own way and makes it back to the cat house and there he encounters Beattie. Beattie starts to give him advice, but everybody recognizes that Beattie is not really responding to Sweetback's situation. Van Peebles gets this point across beautifully. While he is giving this advice, Beattie is sitting on the toilet. He wipes himself, gets up, and without washing his hands, he takes a towel and wipes his face. This is signifying that what is coming out of Beattie's mouth is the same thing that is coming out the other end--shit and nothing else. Notice that Sweetback never says a word to

Beattie, but he does not have to, because Beattie is deaf--he cannot hear what is being said anyway.

When he leaves Beattie the camera shows Sweetback with a terrifying look on his face. He has realized that those he knows best have such a low level of awareness that he cannot expect aid from them. He realizes that the lack of unity is a very hurting thing, and when he walks out of Beattie's place, he walks right into the hands of the police, who pretend to be nice until they realize that he is not playing the part of the meek victim. Then they work him over thoroughly.

Sweetback is saved by that same community unity he failed to find with Beattie. The people rescue him by pretending to be in need of money, and

therefore they offer to wash the car of the police. Instead they are engaging in a very revolutionary act and they save the brother from the oppressor, while at the same time delivering a deadly blow to the police. What Sweetback has done for Moo Moo is repeated for him by the community.

Sweetback is on his own now, but he is locked into a pair of handcuffs. How does he get them off? Through unity. He goes to a woman who he has been with before, and she tells him to beg. This is obviously not the first time this has happened, but Sweetback cannot beg anymore because he has been trans-

formed by the baptism in blood. He needs her at this moment, but sexuality cannot be based on war any longer, it has to be based on love and unity. He makes love to her and after that the handcuffs are off. This signifies that it is the unity between the Black man and the Black woman which is able to liberate them both.

In his first baptism Sweetback acquired the ability to love, but he could only truly love and unify with the woman, when he had done away with the people who made his woman the oppressor's woman and himself the oppressor's man. Then they could really have the unity which is symbolic of the liberating love of the Black man and woman.

Sweetback is on his own again, but this time without the handcuffs. In the meantime the film takes us back to the cat house and his old boss Beattie. Beattie is being hassled by the police who want to know where to find Sweetback. Beattie doesn't really know, but if he did, he would have told them, because Beattie has no consciousness, he is deaf. And to prove how true this is, the police finally deafen him.

Sweetback moves through the community, looking for the assistance he needs to get away. He doesn't get all that he needs, but he gets all that each can give. At the church he gets a Black Ave Maria and the power sign. The minister recognizes that his religion is a hype, because he tells Sweetback that Moo Moo is giving the people the real religion.

At the gambling den he gets little apparent sympathy. The manager keeps telling him he is a dead man, and he really does not need money. In this scene Van Peebles is again showing the community of the victimized, just like the performers in the freak show, because the manager explains to Sweetback that he cannot make any money on his operation. By the time he gets finished paying off everybody who is exploiting him, he pays a dollar and a dime for every dollar he makes. This is another example of the oppressor demanding more and more of the victims.

But the gambler does what he can - he gives Sweetback a ride. There is some unity, but not enough; and during the ride Sweetback spots Moo Moo, the man he left behind, and they are reunited. This is as it should be, because Sweetback is leaving the community with the person who was the beginning of all this, Moo Moo. They are two unlike characters, but yet they are linked together.

Moo Moo symbolizes the revolutionary who is trying to free the people, his whole program is pointed toward people like Sweetback, community people who are very unaware, yet they are trying to survive. Sweetback then symbolizes the most unconscious persons in the community, people who are sometimes viewed as more worthless than the pimp. Sweetback is not a pimp and would not do as much as a pimp would; he is much less aggressive. A pimp will work at putting girls on the block, watching them,

collecting money, beating them and controlling them. He may also steal and deal in dope and so forth. Sweetback won't do any of this and yet the women love him, because he's got such a sweet sweet back. He will just stay home and the women will bring him everything he needs. He accepts their goods, but he doesn't care what they do. So the sweetback is actually more worthless than the pimp on one level, because he won't take the chances that a pimp would to survive. He has submitted more, almost to the point where he is a vegetable and is just taken care of. So the fact that Sweetback would not stand any more victimization, that he identified with Moo Moo as being one of the victims, and the fact that Moo Moo's revolutionary program is pointed to the lowest level of consciousness in the community means that even though they are unlike characters, even though Moo Moo is young and Sweetback is older, it is not unlikely that they would be bound together because they are, in fact.

When the gamblers get Sweetback and Moo Moo to the edge of town, they tell Sweetback to buy himself a last supper because he is a dead man. Their level of consciousness is so low that they will help him to a point, but they still believe that ultimately the oppressor will triumph and Sweetback will die.

Sweetback and Moo Moo are determined to survive, however, and they begin their journey. The encounter

with the motorcycle gang shows a number of things. First of all it is a triumph of the soul force (which the women gave Sweetback in the first scene) over all the mechanical developments of the oppressor. When he is challenged to a wrestling duel, the gang leader picks up a motorcycle to show brute strength. Then with the knife the gang leader shows how effectively they have mastered this weapon. When the gang leader reveals herself to be a woman, Sweetback knows that she is no match for the weapon he chooses. The gang promises to do them in after she does him in, but in the end "the Pres" is laid out on the ground in complete submission. The Black women showed him the way to liberation and he used his knowledge effectively.

Van Peebles is also signifying other things in the motorcycle gang scene. First of all there is the symbol of the strength of the white woman over the white man--and they don't even know it. Then there is the symbol of the Aryan--the superior race. The president of the gang is big and robust, the image of white superiority. The only criticism I have here is that her hair should have been blonde rather than reddish, but the idea gets across. The idea also comes across that the

people have the ability to triumph over all these symbols of oppression. They will save us.

I should point out that in his duel with the Aryan someone has stuck a derby hat and a silly little ~~thing~~ on Sweetback. It is like a performance, a minstrel show or a cakewalk thing. But Sweetback takes off the derby hat and in that way he tells the others that this is no performance, this is dealing for survival. He deals and he survives, much to their disappointment, and they roar off on their motorcycles, leaving their conquered leader on the floor.

Some of the gang betray Moo Moo and Sweetback telling them that since Sweetback has won the duel, they will take care of him and Moo Moo by giving them shelter in a mountain cabin; they instead send the police. This cabin contains a pool hall and when the police arrive, Moo Moo and Sweetback are playing pool. When the police enter, Sweetback offers his hands for the cuffs but then moves, using them to down one policeman. But he is without a weapon to deal with the other one and Moo Moo has been shot. Sweetback uses familiar survival techniques, however, because he deals with what he has available to him. The pool cue becomes a spear and he staves the policeman through the chest, and then drills him all the way to the hilt of the cue. It is not technology that saves him; it is his ability to use the familiar features of the Black community. There is another important message.

The rest of the scenes show the unity of the community and its

creativity in dealing with survival situations. Sweetback sends Moo Moo on a motorcycle because he is the future. Then he makes it on his feet, by himself. He makes his plea to his feet to do their thing and they never fail him. All he has is his feet and one knife, and he gets by.

In the meantime the police are in the conference room and the commissioner tells them he wants the killers and niggers. Then he calls the Black policemen aside to apologize. They never say a word during the movie, but in their faces you see that they are dead. They are dead, because they are separated from the community of victims of which they are a part.

The police vamp on the entire community. They raid a motel and rip out the eyes of a brother. When they realize that he is not Sweetback their reply is "So What?" Melvin Van Peebles is making it plain that we are all Sweetbacks and we are all united in this victimization. At one point they bring

Beatle to the morgue to identify a body as Sweetback; they run their games again with some speech about democracy and communism. They use their idea of bourgeois democracy against the community; but Beatle is a deaf man, and has been deaf for a long time. In some respects he is also a blind man, because even though he operates a cat house and survives, he cannot read. They are the cause of his problems, he cannot hear, he cannot see, yet they want him to be

"irresponsible citizen" and help them. We see that Beattie has been subjected to the Biblical dictum: "Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire." (Matthew 18: 8-9)

Van Peebles is continuing to signify and send out messages to the Black community. When Beattie sees that the corpse in the morgue is not Sweetback, he breaks up with joy. He gains his hearing in a sense, and also his sight. "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it" (Matthew 16:25) We see the message very clearly because the camera immediately switches to a shoe shine stand where the brother is shining the man's shoes with his ass, and he is really telling the man, for Beattie, what he can do.

So the police go through the community searching for Sweetback, and the people stand as one. They don't know anything. The message here to the community is to "stop snitching", there is need for unity, not for revealing our secrets. When I was in the penitentiary I learned the worse crime ~~one~~ inmate can accuse another of is snitching. Van Peebles shows how

the community can avoid this and save themselves from their oppressors.

In the meantime we see Sweetback making it through the edges of the city and heading for the desert. He has none of the high-powered technology of the oppressor, but he does have his feet. In one scene we see him going by a large factory, it looks like a chemical plant or something like that. Here you see the drama being symbolized to its fullest, Sweetback with his feet, making it on by the man's highest manifestation of technological skill, and you realize that this is the drama develop-

ing, the soul-force of the people against the technology of the oppressor. The only question is which will win? The answer is given by Sweetback in his plea to his feet, he says:

Come on feet
cruise for me
come on legs
come on run
come on feet
do your thing
who put the bad mouth on me
anyway the way I pick em up
and put em down
even if it got
my name on it
won't catch me now.

There is Sweetback's answer to the oppressor's technology, even if the bullet has his name on it, it won't catch him now. Why? Because Sweetback has feet, and they will save him.

This is also the beginning of the dialogue between the running Sweetback and the colored angels. As soon as he hits the desert where the situation is really going to be bad, the colored angels come in and try to discourage him, but he has feet, he has heart, and he has courage, and in the dialogue he resists their discouragement as much as he resists the technology of the police who are always searching.

Now I would like to discuss the movie from a different angle, instead of a scene-by-scene analysis. I want to talk about some of the important ideas signified in various scenes. Some of these ideas have been mentioned already, but I think that it is important to re-state them because Melvin Van Peebles uses them so effectively and he is trying to advance our awareness and understanding, so we repeat for added emphasis.

The first key idea or concept which I think the movie presents to us is the need for unity among all the members and institutions within the community of victims. We see the idea of unity between the young and the old beautifully expressed in the love and care which the women give to the young boy, and also in the concern Sweetback expresses for Moo Moo after he realizes that he is truly unified with Moo Moo. You will recall that Sweetback has an actual dialogue at only six points in the movie, three of these points are in relationship to Moo Moo. So the revolutionary and the righteous street brother see their functional unity. When Sweetback first

cops and saves Moo Moo, Moo Moo then asks Sweetback where are we going? What does Sweetback say? "Where did you get that 'we' shit?" This indicates that Sweetback does not understand his need for unity with Moo Moo. Yet after his encounter with Beatle, Sweetback realizes that he cannot depend on his boss, the guy he should have been able to depend on, but Moo Moo was somewhere out there being hunted and so was Sweetback--and they were united.

Then when the gamblers are giving Sweetback a ride to the edge of town he spots Moo Moo and he tells his comrades to stop. This is the second time he speaks about the revolutionary. Now when Moo Moo gets in the car he tells the brothers who he is, but they still don't see their need for unity, because to them he is not Moo Moo, he is the guy who got their partner into trouble. They blame the victim rather than those who victimize him, but this is because of their low level of awareness. Sweetback did that earlier, but he was revolutionized by his awareness of the true situation. Our unity will come out of consciousness, and this is the point of the movie, to raise the consciousness of the Black community.

The movie also demonstrates the functional unity between the present and the future. Once again we see this in the women giving nourishment and love to the boy who is their future--their liberator. If they did not feed him

able to liberate them. So pending the revolution they must do all they can to help him survive.

We also see the unity between the present and the future when Sweetback visits the church. He gets no help but he gets a little more understanding of the true nature of his contribution to the community. The minister tells him that what he did for Moo Moo was the correct thing. He says: "You saved the plant that they were planning to nip in the bud. That's why the Man's down on you." Then later when Sweetback has another chance to escape, but without Moo Moo, he tells the Black motorcyclist to take the young brother instead. The motorcyclist asks Sweetback if he knows what he is doing and he replies: "He's our future, Brer. Take him."

The movie also demonstrates the value of unity among the entire Black community. This is shown at the very beginning when the movie titles appear indicating that the movie is starring THE BLACK COMMUNITY. There is no hero, there is no one outstanding individual, there is the community. At the end there are some names of participants, but it does not even tell what roles they played. This is all an attempt to play down the individualistic approach to our survival in favor of an expression of unity among the entire community.

This unity is also demonstrated by the fact that Sweetback has almost no dialogue in the entire movie. He says hardly anything at all. Why? Because the movie is not starring Sweetback,

it is starring the Black community. Most of the audiences at the movie are Black and they talk to the screen. They supply the dialogues, because all of us are Sweetback, we are all in the same predicament of being victims.

This is clearly seen when Sweetback comes back to Beatle for help. Sweetback says nothing, but Beatle lets it come out of both ends. The audience replies to Beatle for Sweetback, and they supply the dialogue. This happens throughout the film. So the thing to do is not just see the film, but also to recognize how you the viewer are also an actor in the film, because you are as much a victim of this oppressive system as Sweetback.

The unity of the community is shown throughout the film and we should get the message the brother is signifying to us. When the community sets the police car afire and saves Sweetback, that is an expression of unity. When they deny ever having seen him in order to permit him to escape, that is an expression of unity. When they raid the motel and rip the brother's eye out, they say "So what?" when told this is not Sweetback. But it is Sweetback in a sense, because the brother is another victim, like all of us are. When Beatle is rolled up to the morgue and realizes that the body they show him is not Sweetback, he sees his unity as a victim with his

brother) he failed to help who is also a victim. And Beale cracks up laughing--they are unified. And in the next scene at the shoeshine stand Van Peebles signifies to the man that he can kiss his ass.

Another expression of unity in the film is the power symbol. When the minister tells Sweetback the significance of the job he has done for Moo Moo, he then says a Black Ave Maria for him, but ends up giving him the power sign--unity. Then when Moo Moo gets on the motorcycle to escape and then leave Sweetback, this is different from their first parting. They give each other a soul shake, so that even though they go separate ways they are unified.

Finally the film demonstrates the importance of unity and love between Black men and women. This is shown again in the scene where the woman makes love to the young boy but in fact baptizes him into his true manhood. Then again when the woman makes love to Sweetback and then gets the handcuffs off him, we see that these are not sex scenes, they are love scenes in a very holy and righteous context. The second woman wants Sweetback to beg, but he can beg no longer because he has been transformed. His baptism in the blood transformed him--he has ripped off his oppressors and he is truly a man; he can never beg again, and he does not.

For a long time the Black community has been a collection of people who survive together in one place, but unity is essential for liberation as well

as survival. When we have this unity, the faith of one becomes the faith of another as in the case of Sweetback and Moo Moo. When we have our consciousness increased to the point that we understand this, we will have our unity. But we must understand that the victimizers will always try to prevent this unity.

Another idea the film gets across is the different point of view between the victim and the victimizer. The victimizers cannot accept the reality and truth of the view of the victims, and therefore they say that the victims are always wrong in their view of reality. Indeed, they even go so far as to signify that the victims cannot control and direct their own lives. This is seen first of all in the fact that the film is labeled with an "X" rating. This is an

act of the victimizers, trying to control what we shall see, and more than that, trying to say that the ways in which we are forced to survive are profane and dirty. They say that we are like freaks in a show; but we understand that in fact the freaks are those who force us to live in wretched conditions, they may be profane conditions to the oppressors, but we know how to make our conditions a survival situation and we do not see ourselves as profane. The oppressors see Sweetback as a sex film, but if we truly understand ourselves and unify with Sweetback, we will see that the film advocates a bloody overthrow of the oppressor. Melvin Van Peebles is righteously signifying.

The view of the victims is seen in many ways. One of them is in the understanding of Moo Moo and Sweetback. They both know that they are victims, although Moo Moo has not really gotten his complete program together for the community. Yet they seek the same goals of freedom and liberation, and they recognize that sometimes you have to use stern stuff to accomplish your goals. They also recognize that even though the community may not support you entirely, they will support you to a point and that you must go as far as the community will go, and then move out on your own, leading the people to a higher level of consciousness. Sweetback relies on the community much more than Moo Moo, because he understands that revolution is a process, going from A to B to C and so forth, rather than trying to get the people to jump from A to Z.

The oppressor does not understand this, he does not understand the strength of the will of the people. When the two policemen catch Sweetback after he leaves Beale's place, they are friendly because they cannot accept the idea that the community will free itself. So they ask Sweetback how many people were in the ambush? How did they work it? The oppressors cannot accept the idea that the oppressed could do this without a lot of planning, without a large number of people. It was Sweetback and Moo Moo, ~~but to~~ the victimizer it had to be more than

that. A difference in point of view, a point of view which is too often used to control us, but we must make our own point of view prevail.

Another difference in point of view is seen with the chains which are used on Sweetback twice in the film. To the oppressor they are the chains which keep us in a submissive position, but each time for Sweetback, the oppressed, they become tools of liberation. We will be even stronger when we learn how to turn the oppressor's tools against him, rather than submitting to them.

Another idea which Melvin Van Peebles puts across is the uselessness of cultist behavior in our struggle for survival and liberation. In earlier issues of the paper I have talked about the revolutionary cultist, the cultural cultist, and the religious cultist. Van Peebles strikes some heavy blows at the religious and cultural cultists. For example, the minister understands that he is not moving the people toward their true liberation. He tells Sweetback that what he is doing is giving the people a hyp, which gives them a little happiness, but he then goes on to say that Moo Moo and the younger guys are laying down the real religion. So this is a blow against those religions in the Black community which do not help people deal with the conditions which drive them to their knees, but instead want to keep the people on their knees.

The strongest blow against cultist behavior, however, is saved for the cultural cultists. We see this in the African garb which the minister is wearing. This is signifying that a lot of cultural nationalism and the meaningless religions in the community are deceiving the people in the same ways.

In another way the film makes this point more strongly and also indicates the true way to liberation. When Sweetback arrives at the gambler's den, the men around the table are engaged in a conversation. The manager has complained to Sweetback that he cannot even make any money on this operation because he is paying off so many others. Cultural cultists offer many empty solutions to our oppression, and this scene hits at these solutions.

After the manager's speech one gambler says: "And Africa shall stretch forth her arms," and then another replies "Yeah, and bring back a bloody stump." Now we have to understand the true issue in order to see this as a blow at cultural nationalists, who are cultural cultists--with African clothes, bones, and other things, but no way to liberate the people. Cultural cultists, who try to claim that they have the way, often use this scripture to support their ideas: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." (Psalms 68:31) You can see that what Van Peebles is signifying is that those who use

such meaningless arguments to mislead the people have nothing to offer because when they stretch forth their arms, they will draw back a bloody stump. Still, however, Van Peebles does show us how a bloody stump may not be a meaningless thing, if we get out of that cultist bag. How does he do this? He shows the blood on Sweet-

back's arms each time he downs the cops. In his first baptism by blood, there is blood all the way up to his elbow. And later when he downs the cops in the poolroom, there is blood up to his elbow again. That is the true route to liberation, stern action when the situation demands that you seize the time, and turn away from cultist behavior.

There is another key idea which comes through repeatedly, and that is the ability of the people to survive even under the harshest conditions. We do this by using the means available to us and never worrying about the fact that we don't have all the technology that the oppressor has. You will recall that Sweetback was in chains and in the back of the police car when the people "washed" it with gasoline. What did the Brother do? He made it out of the car and then walked right through the police and firemen who were arriving to try and deal with the situation. He walked right through them--he did not panic and run, he just calmly turned a situation of oppression to his advantage.

Later on when Sweetback and Moo Moo had separated for the final

time, the Brother was faced with a very difficult situation, and he had very little to carry him through. But when the colored angels began to get down on him, he told them "I got feet." This was again symbolizing survival. It was not simply that he had feet, however, he also had the ability to use the technology of the oppressor in his own interest. He did not become discouraged because he had no car. Van Peebles could have had him steal a car, but instead he had Sweetback use the basic skills of survival, with nothing but the things he had learned for surviving the oppressor for so many years on the block. He doesn't have a car, but he rides--on the top of a truck, inside the back of another truck, on a freight train, he uses the oppressor's

technology, but in his own interest.

He also survives by using the system against itself. He meets another traveler and pays him to change clothes and run when he is chased. This throws the police off his trail and helps him survive, but it also means that he ends up with clothes which are much more suitable for his long run across the desert. Later in the film, when he is near the border and the dogs are after him, the two men--the owner of the dog and the police--get into a fight among themselves about whether the dogs will be untied. This is all to Sweetback's advantage, turning the oppressors against each other, and he makes his escape.

In another way he survives the way

that the Black community has always survived, by using the resources at his command even though they are not the resources others would use. Survival forces some very harsh decisions on us. When his wound is causing him to suffer, he urinates upon the earth and uses his own urine to make a mudpack which he applies to the wound--it produces a rapid healing. These are the kinds of home remedies we have long had to use because we could not get proper medical attention. Later, we see him bathing his face in a pool of muddy water. It sustains him. When I saw it I thought of that song which says "I'd rather drink muddy water, and sleep in a hollowed out log, than stay here and be treated like a dirty dog."

These are survival techniques all the audience can identify with because they realize they are necessary. They don't identify with the time he catches that lizard and downs it, raw. But this is no different from the times when we had to eat the chitterlings, hog maws, and other foods, not because we wanted to, but because that was all we had to eat. We may deny it, we may not identify with it, but it carried us through. And the point we should understand is that if you do not submit to the oppressor, you may be forced to make some harsh decisions, eat some undesirable foods, but this is better than being well-fed in some social prison.

Sweetback has only one tool with him, his knife, and he uses it very effectively. It reminds me of that point in *The Wretched of the Earth* where Fanon says that if you don't have a gun, then a knife will do. He uses his knife to escape at the rock concert, by pretending to be making love to the girl in the bushes. He uses the knife against the lizard. And then when he hears the dogs coming after him, he again pulls it out and he uses it-- he really deals. But we should know it would be this way, because earlier in the pool room when he was facing the policeman with a gun what did Sweetback have? A tool the community knows how to use very effectively, a pool cue. But he did not use it to down pool balls, he turned it into a spear and downed the oppressor. You don't need a gun, what you need is the consciousness of what it will take to survive and prevail in any given situation-- and then act accordingly.

So what I have done is given you a scene-by-scene analysis of the movie, then an analysis of some of the major ideas and concepts which the movie puts forth. Now I will show how the movie also raises the consciousness of the community by analyzing it in terms of some aspects of the ideology of the Black Panther Party. We see ideology as a systematic way of thinking about phenomena, not as some set of abstract conclusions. Our approach is one that uses dialectical materialism, which holds that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. Everywhere,

in all of life, the social forces, the natural forces, and the biological and physical forces, we can find contradictions. What we mean is that in every phenomenon there is a contradiction between opposing forces which struggle to gain domination over each other. We call this the thesis and antithesis, or the unity of the opposites. Because these opposites are both unified and constantly in struggle with one another, they give motion to the matter composing the phenomenon. So we say that matter is constantly in motion, or constantly in a state of transformation. The transformation takes place in a dialectical manner, with the thesis struggling against the antithesis; these are the contradictions. The struggle is resolved in a synthesis, which contains elements of the old contradictions, but is at a higher level, and then a new set of contradictions arises.

The essence of the ideology of the Black Panther Party is that we recognize that matter is constantly in transformation in a dialectical manner. But when we understand this and understand the forces in operation, we can control them and direct them in a manner which is beneficial for the community. Therefore what we want to do is understand the contradictions within every aspect of the Black community and move on them by trying to increase the positive side of each contradiction until it comes to dominate the negative side. This is how we define power--the ability to define phenomena and make them act in a

desired manner.

If you understand where the Panther is coming from, you will understand that Sweet Sweetback is a beautiful exemplification of Black Power, for what he does is decide how he wants things to come out and then he makes them act in a desired manner. The movie is also an exemplification of the dialectical analysis and the constant transformation of phenomena. I don't know whether Melvin Van Peebles was aware of this when he made the movie, but it does have these features, and probably so because the Panther ideology is an extremely effective approach to all phenomena. It gives us lots of insight and understanding.

For example, we say that all phenomena contain contradictions with positive and negative qualities. To control the situation, then, what you must do is increase the positive qualities of any phenomenon until they dominate the negative qualities. Sweetback does this on a number of occasions. Take for example the chains. The handcuffs are definitely negative when they are used to keep him in submission; but when Sweetback realizes that he can ignore the beating of Moo Moo no longer, what is he to use for a weapon? Then the same chains which were used to bind become tools of liberation--their positive qualities are used to overcome their negative qualities. He did this again when he was caught by the police in the pool room--he offered his hands for the chains. Not because he wanted them, but because he realized that this would put the police

off their guard, and also give him another weapon to use against them. We see this again, when the police are using helicopters, cars and guns, and the radio to track down Sweetback. What does he use? Their technology; but in a positive way--he hitches rides on trucks and trains, and they help to deliver him from the jaws of the monsters who are using the most advanced technology to try and capture him. If we understand dialectical materialism, we will understand more about how to look at both the positive and negative qualities of phenomena so that we can control our destiny.

The film also shows the positive and negative features of community institutions. In other articles I have said that the Black Panther Party was wrong in its blanket condemnations of community institutions, instead of analyzing their qualities. The movie shows the positive and negative features of the church, for example. The minister is saying to Sweetback that he has nothing to offer the community, he can only give the people a hype which will bring them a little bit of happiness in their misery, and he cannot offer Sweetback a hide-out because the police--("the Man") knows everything. This shows his negative and reactionary side. At the same time we see his positive and progressive side, because he is operating a withdrawal center where people addicted to drugs can come and dry out. There is no blanket condemnation, he shows the church making a real contribution to the survival of the community. What

needs to happen is for people with a higher level of consciousness to increase the positive contribution the church makes until the positive becomes the most important feature of the church, then it will be able to do more for the people.

The same is true in the case of the gambler. He cannot offer Sweetback any money, he is exploiting and he is also exploited, and when the Brother really needs help he has no money to give him. What's more, the advice he gives is worthless because he says that Sweetback is dead and tells him to get himself a last supper. But there is also a positive quality to the gambler, because he will give Sweetback and Moo Moo a ride for part of the way. Actually he can give them a ride all the way to the border, but he will only give them a ride to the edge of town where they run into the motorcycle gang. But the point is made very well, that you have to work with the people as far as they will go, and not jump too far ahead by forcing them to do things they do not want to do at that particular level of consciousness. So he carries the positive qualities of the gambler as far as they will go, and then strikes out again. This is taking your revolution from point A to point B, rather than trying to jump from A to Z in one step. We have to find out what the people will do and get them to do that much.

The progression of the people as their consciousness increases is shown

in the case of Beatle. At first Beatle is an individual surviving at a basic level, running a cat house and then giving up one of his men in order to continue to operate. Then Beatle offers advice which is nothing more than a pile of dung. Next we see Beatle going through the revolutionizing process, because if he knew where Sweetback was, he would have told on him. But because he was deaf before and because he cannot cooperate with the police, they actually deafen him--the conditions revolutionize him. When we next see Beatle it is in the morgue scene and he cracks up as he realizes that Sweetback has escaped - they are unified. Beatle has seen that he also is a victim and there can be no cooperation with the oppressor because they will bleed you to death; if you want to live you have to resist. And the shoe shine man uses his ass on the shoes of his oppressor.

There is also a progression within the community. They rescue Sweetback, and aid him as much as they can in his escape, then they become deaf to their oppressors. That is a way of hearing the plea of Sweetback to his feet and giving him enough lead time to let his feet do their job.

The community's progression is also shown in the transformation of the colored angels. We hear the voices of the community as the police search for Sweetback, but when he reaches the desert we hear the voices of the angels in a dialogue with Sweetback. On the record Melvin Van Peebles

refers to this as an opera (an opera is merely a story told in song), and the dialogue between Sweetback and the angels is really Sweet Sweetback's BaadAsssss Song. In the book Van Peebles refers to the angels first as colored angels, then he refers to them as Black angels. On the record he refers to them as Reggin (spell it

backwards) angels. The point is that the angels are against the interests of Sweetback, but they are transformed, because their interests are in fact the same as his. This is the dialogue with the angels, the baadasssss song:

If you cant beat em join em
Thats what they say

You talkin bout yesterday

You cant go on like that Sweetback
Not long as your face is Black

Yeah I'm Black and I'm keepin on
Keepin on the same ole way

They bopped your mama
They bopped your papa

Wont bop me

They bopped your sister
They bopped your brother

They wont bop me

THEY BURNED OUR MAMAS

THEY BEAT OUR PAPAS

THEY TRICKED OUR SISTERS

THEY CHAINED OUR BROTHERS

WONT BLEED ME

WONT BLEED ME

WONT BLEED ME

They bled your mama

They bled your papa

But he wont bleed me

Use your Black ass from sun to sun
Niggers scared and pretend they don't see
Deep down dirty dog scared

Just like you Sweetback

Just like I used to be
Work your Black behind to the gums
And you supposed to thomas tell he done
You got to thomas Sweetback

They bled your brother
They bled your sister
Yeah but they wont bleed me

Progress Sweetback

Thats what he wants you to believe
No progress Sweetback

He aint stopped clubbing us for 400 years
And he dont intend to for a million

He sure treat us bad Sweetback
We can make him do us better

Chicken aint nothing but a bird
White man aint nothing but a turd
Nigger aint shit

Get my hands on a trigger

You talkin revolution Sweetback

I wanta get off these knees

You talkin revolution Sweetback

You cant make it on wings
Wheels or steel Sweetback

We got feet

You cant get away on wings

wheels or steel Sweetback

Niggers got feet

He bled your brother

He bled your sister

Your brother and your sister too

How come it took me so long to see

How he get us to use each other

Niggers scared

We got to get it together if he kicks a brother

It gotta be like he kickin your mother

They hype you into sopping the

Marrow out your own bones

Justice is blind

Yeah and white too

Justice is blind

The way she acts she gotta be

The man is jive

Not too jive to have his game

Uptight in your kinky bean

Stand tall Sweetback he

Aint gonna let you

I'm standing tall anyway

The man know everything Sweetback

The man know everything

Then he ought to know Im

Tired of him fuckin with me

Use your feet baby

Rrr motherfucka

Rrr Sweetback

He wont bleed me

We can see the transformation of the angels if we see the ~~opera~~ in relationship to the scenes in the movie. When he arrives at the desert, the most difficult and lonesome part of his whole trip, the colored angels chastise and ridicule him. They believe, like the gambler, that he is a dead man and it will only be a matter of time until he is caught. So they signify, about how the Man bopped his brother and sister, how he bled his momma and poppa, and how he will get Sweetback. But Sweetback is determined because he knows they won't bop him, they won't bleed him. Why? "I got feet". All he is signifying is that I can deal, and I can survive.

When he uses his urine mixed with mud to make the pack which heals his wounds, the angels begin to change. They see too that he will survive, so they start to become Black. They recognize that they too are like Sweetback, and they point out that they have been treated bad too, but they have been acting like Uncle Toms. Sweetback is going to get his finger on a trigger, get off his knees, and fight a revolution. So when he makes the mudpack, the Black angels begin to tell him to run, they want him to deal, now, they don't want him to Tom. They too have been transformed, because Sweetback has increased their positive qualities by showing them it is not necessary to submit all the time. At some point you have got to get off your knees.

Their transformation continues because when the police looses the hound dogs (slave dogs) after Sweetback and he draws his knife, the Black angels begin to sing "This little light of mine, I'm going to let it shine." This is the first time we have heard this song since Sweetback's baptism into his manhood. The growth he experienced the first time this song was sung, the way he learned from those women in the house of prostitution, is going to serve him again. They gave him love and strength because he was their future, their liberator, and now their training is going to serve him, now that he is older. The angels are transformed, and Sweetback survives.

This brings us to the end of the movie, and the negation of the negation. At the beginning the community of oppressed was in contradiction with the oppressors. The oppressed were trying to survive, but the oppressors would not permit that, they wanted more. They wanted to bleed them to death and completely dominate them. They wanted to dominate by dividing the community, Sweetback against Moo Moo, Beattie against Sweetback. But this continued oppression led the people to realize that their salvation would only come through unity, and unity would only come through heightened levels of consciousness. So they unify and Sweetback revolts against the oppressors and makes good his escape. Many do not believe he will make it, their consciousness is not as high as his. He is reaching for the stars--

making it to the border--but they will only take him to the edge of town.

Sweetback has his high level of consciousness, that is to say, he is a Sweet Sweetback because he has come to understand that freedom, liberation, and the ability to love requires that first of all you have to recapture the holy grail, you have to restore your dignity and manhood by destroying the one who took it from you. When you do that, even if you do not completely escape, you are a dangerous man, because after that the oppressor knows that you will no longer be submissive. Therefore ripping off your oppressor is the first step toward freedom and love.

This understanding did not come easily to Sweetback. He attempted to look away from Moo Moo, and then after rescuing him, he attempted to make it on his own, only to be misled by Beatle. This put him in the situation of a revolutionary, in the sense that he knew then that he could not find a place of refuge within the system without a whole transformation of the conditions of oppression.

I say this because many people think that revolutionaries are made out of some kinds of abstract predicaments. This is not so, they are transformed by a particular set of situations that are sometimes unique to each individual. What brings one person into his revolutionary consciousness is different from what will bring another,

but when we reach that point, we realize that we are all unified as victims. That is what happened to Sweetback,

Moo Moo, Beatle, the angels and the community in the film. That is why the film stars the Black community--all of us. We must understand our unity and also how we must heighten our consciousness.

So like I said, we have the negation of the negation. The oppressor who wanted to exploit Sweetback and Beatle, ends up beaten by them because they will take his stuff no longer--the negation of the negation. The contradiction between the community, as represented by Sweetback, and the oppressor, as represented by the dogs, has been resolved.

However each synthesis leads to new contradictions. Right until the end Melvin Van Peebles is signifying and conveying a message to us. What is the new contradiction? Sweetback has killed two dogs, but one is still there, refreshing himself in the water mingled with the blood of the other dogs. If Sweetback got two dogs, who is going to get the other? That is the dog we must down. So the movie ends with the words "Watch Out". This has a dual meaning. It is telling all the many Sweetbacks across the land to watch out for that third dog and be prepared to deal when he shows up. It also says to the oppressor to watch out for the Sweetbacks across the land, because they are coming to collect some dues. Righteously signifying.

When Bobby and I started the Black Panther Party, we wanted to build the Black community, the love, the sacredness, and the unity we need so desperately. This is still our goal and we try to help the community survive by administering our many survival programs. Sweet Sweetback helps to put forth the ideas of what we must do to build that community. We need to see it often and learn from it.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

July 6, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character

Reference San Francisco airtel 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.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 14 1971

TELETYPE

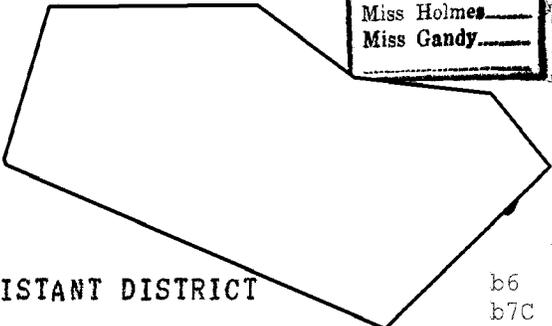
Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Ponder	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5G

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT
9:22PM NITEL 7/13/71 JAK
TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 2P

re

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).



b6
b7c

DONALD P. WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT
ATTORNEY, OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED THAT ON AFTERNOON OF JULY
TWELVE LAST, OFFICER HERBERT HEANES, OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT,
TESTIFIED AT LENGTH REGARDING THE ALTERCATION BETWEEN OFFICER
JOHN FREY AND NEWTON AND HIMSELF ON EARLY MORNING OCTOBER
TWENTYEIGHT, NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN. HEANES TESTIFIED THAT AT NO
TIME DID HE SEE A GUN IN EITHER THE HAND OF NEWTON OR OFFICER
FREY.

up

ON JULY THIRTEEN INSTANT, HEANES WAS CROSS-EXAMINED BY
NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY, DURNG WHICH GARRY ASKED
HEANES IF HE HAD KILLED OFFICER FREY. HEANES REPLIED HE

DID NOT AND EXPLAINED HE HAD AIMED HIS SERVICE REVOLVER AT
END PAGE ONE

374
1cc 806 9-15
REC-24

105-165429-463
EX-109

JUL 15 1971

20 1971
105 1971 *clw*

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

NEWTON'S STOMACH AND REMEMBERS FIRING ONLY ONCE WITH HIS LEFT HAND. HEANES POINTED OUT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A BULLET WOUND IN HIS RIGHT ARM. HE FURTHER TESTIFIED THAT AFTER NEWTON WAS ARRESTED AND WAS WALKING WITH FREY TOWARDS HEANES PATROL CAR, NEWTON WHIRLED AROUND TO HIS LEFT, FACING HIM (HEANES) AND STARTED SHOOOTING. HEANES SAID HE DREW HIS ^FPOSTOL AND WAS IMMEDIATELY SHOT IN THE ARM.

ON JULY TWELVE LAST, STATE DISTRICT COURT OF APPEALS TURNED DOWN THE ACTION FOR DISMISSAL FILED BY GARRY EARLIER ON THAT DATE, ON THE BASIS IT HAD NO MERIT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWELVE LAST.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END...

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 12 1971

me

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

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

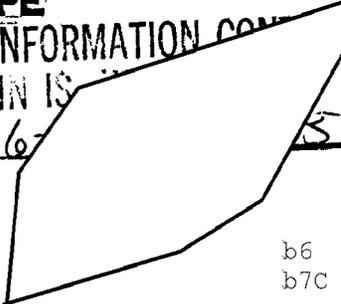
7:28PM NITEL 7/12/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 2P

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/2/87 BY SP-5/...



b6
b7c

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY DONALD P. WHYTE, OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED NEWTON'S TRIAL RESUMED JULY TWELVE INSTANT, AND OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT RADIO DISPATCHER CLARENCE LORD, WHO WAS ON DUTY EARLY MORNING OF OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYSEVEN, WHEN OFFICER JOHN FREY WAS KILLED, TESTIFIED. RECORDING OF RADIO COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN LORD AND FREY WAS PLAYED. LORD WAS CROSS-EXAMINED BY NEWTON'S ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY.

up

WHYTE STATED THAT ON JULY TWELVE INSTANT, GARRY FILED ACTION IN THE STATE DISTRICT COURT OF APPEALS SEEKING DISMISSAL OF ALL CHARGES AGAINST NEWTON ON GROUNDS NEWTON HAS BEEN PLACED IN DOUBLE JEOPARDY. GARRY CONTENDS THAT WHEN JUDGE HAROLD B.

END PAGE ONE

1cc POG 9/10

REC-24

105-165429-464

*Admin deleted
Copies to W.D. IDIU
7/21/71
JLA/jm*

JUL 13 1971

19 1971

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

HAVE SELECTED ALTERNATE JURORS AFTER ORIGINAL JURY AND
ALTERNATES SELECTED NEWTON PLACED IN DOUBLE JEOPARDY. SELECTION
OF ADDITIONAL ALTERNATE JURORS MADE AFTER REGULAR JUROR BECAME
SICK AND HAD TO BE REPLACED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TEN LAST.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END...

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 9 1971

TELETYPE

NR 009 SF CODE

10:41PM NITEL 7/8/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5C

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD <i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Mr. Beaver	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, OAKLAND, CALIF., ON JULY EIGHT INSTANT, ADVISED THAT DURING NIGHT OF JULY SEVEN LAST, ONE OF THE FEMALE MEMBERS OF JURY FOR NEWTON'S CASE WAS INVOLVED IN AN AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENT AND IS UNABLE TO CONTINUE ON JURY. ON JULY EIGHT INSTANT, ONE OF THE ALTERNATE JURORS WAS SEATED TO TAKE HER PLACE AND JUDGE RULED THAT THREE ADDITIONAL ALTERNATE JURORS BE SELECTED. SELECTION OF ALTERNATE JURORS BEGAN THIS DATE AND WILL CONTINUE ON JULY NINE NEXT. WHYTE STATED TRIAL WILL NOT GET UNDERWAY UNTIL POSSIBLY JULY TWELVE NEXT.

b6
b7c

R

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REC-6 105-165429-465
EX-105

RESFTEL JULY EIGHT INSTANT.
IT ADVISED.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED

JUL 15 1971

HOLD *1cc 906*

54 JUL 21 1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 7/12/71

b6
b7C

FROM :

[Redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 026-87 BY SP56

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise regarding status of the trial of Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party, which began in State Court, Alameda County, Oakland, California, 6/28/71. Newton is on trial for manslaughter growing out of the fatal shooting of a police officer in Oakland on 10/28/67.

During previous trial on this matter in 1968, Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter. Newton served 22 months of a 2- to 15-year sentence. He was freed on \$50,000 bail when the California State District Court of Appeals reversed the conviction on grounds there was a prejudicial error by the trial judge in omitting instructions to the jury on the defense of unconsciousness. Newton had been shot in the stomach, and the defense claimed Newton had been shot first and could have been unconscious when he shot the officer. A California law states that a person who is unconscious is not responsible for his actions.

Since the current trial began on 6/28/71, the entire time has been taken up with arguments by the defense and selection of the jury. Jury completed 7/9/71. Defense and prosecution gave opening statements 7/10/71. Trial scheduled to resume 7/12/71.

ACTION: For information.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - Mr. Helgeson
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted]

b6
b7C

MAZ/wlm (7)

REC-53

10 JUL 15 1971

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R

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[Redacted]

LX-109

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 8

Page 90 ~ Duplicate of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page

Page 91 ~ Duplicate of appendix page continued

Page 146 ~ Duplicate of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page

Page 153 ~ Duplicate of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page

Page 154 ~ Duplicate of appendix page continued

Page 211 ~ Duplicate of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page

Page 232 ~ Duplicate of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page

Page 233 ~ Duplicate of appendix page continued