

Eldridge Cleaver

FBI File #100-HQ-447251

Section 1

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

3-6, 1967

Name Searching Unit - Room 6527 b6
 Service Unit - Room 6524 b7C
 Forward to File Review
 Attention _____
 Return to [] 306 9 & D
Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested

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

Type of Search Requested

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

Subject LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 3-6 Searcher Initials Em

Prod. _____

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
	<u>NK</u>	
	<u>Leroy</u>	
<u>PT</u>	<u>25-330971-5141052</u>	
	<u>Eldridge</u>	
<u>PT</u>	<u>25-330971-47-15 p2</u>	
	<u>8</u>	
<u>ST</u>	<u>100-442715-1085</u>	
<u>Y</u>	<u>105-138315-5136 sample</u>	
	<u>R. E.</u>	
	<u>NK</u>	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
 TAM/MLT/EHL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

SAC, San Francisco

March 22, 1967

Director, FBI

1 -
1 -



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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
SM - NOI

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100-447251-151

Reference is made to San Francisco airtel dated
February 28, 1967, entitled "Stokely Carmichael, IS -
Miscellaneous."

Airtel of reference advised that the captioned
subject recently became a member of the editorial staff of
"Ramparts." It was further advised that Cleaver, who is
currently on parole after conviction of assault with intent
to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon, was being
considered for assignment to accompany Carmichael abroad. It
was subsequently decided not to assign him for travel abroad
in view of the possibility it might violate his parole.

A review of Bureau files regarding Cleaver reveals
that he was identified during 1963 as one of the leaders
of the Black Muslims in San Quentin Penitentiary.

It is desired that you review your indices and
contact your informants to determine if this subject has
reactivated himself in the affairs of the Nation of Islam
or any other subversive movement to determine whether a security
investigation should be initiated under current Bureau
instructions. Advise Bureau of the results of your inquiries
in this regard.

In the event there is not sufficient information to
warrant a security investigation of this subject, you should
submit his activities to date along with a description in a

MAILED 27
MAR 21 1967
COMM - FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

JAJ/esh
(5)

REC-51
MCT 38

100-447251-1

3-103 SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

87 MAR 21 1967

MAR 22 1967

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

See index

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination to Secret Service. This request is being made of your office in view of the known dangerousness of this individual. Secret Service should be apprised of his current whereabouts.

NOTE:

Subject not in the Security Index. He has not been the subject of a security investigation by the Bureau. Subject, a Negro, is now becoming active in civil rights affairs and is reportedly [redacted] [redacted] and former Communist Party member whose name is currently included in Section A of the Reserve Index.

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Subject currently on parole and will remain on parole until March 20, 1971.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
TAM/MLT/EHL

Reporting Office SAN FRANCISCO	Office of Origin SAN FRANCISCO	Date 5/9/67	Investigative Period 4/26 - 5/5/67
Title of Case LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER aka Eldridge Cleaver		Report made by [Redacted]	Typed By: vhk
		Character of Case SM - MISC	b6 b7C

SUMMARY

REFERENCE: Bulet, 3/22/67.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

CC TO: *Tsa*
 REQ. REC'D *8-29*
SEP 15 1967
 ANS. *Per: [Redacted]*
 BY: *[Redacted]*

2 - 15819

EXP. PROC.

Parole and Community Services Division, State of California Department of Corrections, [Redacted] He stated that Subject is being advised by the attorneys for "Ramparts", that they carefully abide by the rules of his parole, and they have indicated that they are grooming Subject to be the number one Negro leader in the civil rights field.

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*Ph-not Rec'd
Rn-Sec-D.B.*

*07-SF
Sub. Ph. for SS, DR
5-19-67-gag*

- A -
COVER PAGE

Approved <i>[Signature]</i> Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below		
Copies made: <i>Report Rec'd [Signature]</i> <i>1/4/77 GFT</i> 5 - Bureau (RM)	100-447251-2	MCT-24	
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (Class 5c)(RM)	16	REC 57	
3 - San Francisco (100-55520)	18 MAY 15 1967		

Notations:

Copy to *RAC, SS (cat. 5c)*
by routing slip for
 info action
date *5-19-67*

H D

SUB CONTROL

[Handwritten signatures and notes]

by *[Signature]*
57 MAY 23 1967

SF 100-55520
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This case is being classified "confidential" in order to further protect the identities of [redacted] to [redacted] who furnish information of continuing value to this office.

INFORMANTS

Identify of Source

File Where Located

[redacted]

100-55520-3
-6

[redacted]

Used to document [redacted]

[redacted]

100-31356-1811

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[redacted]

Used to document [redacted]

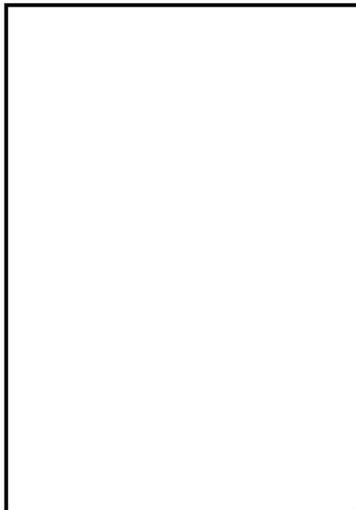
[redacted]

SF 100-55520
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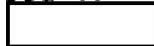


Request

100-57714-238



Used to document



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100-55520-42

Request



100-58841-5

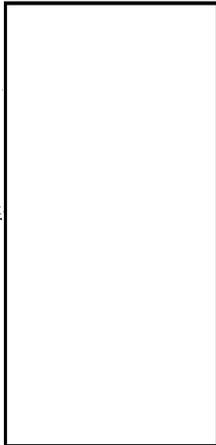


Instant Report

Confidential informants having no knowledge of
Subject's connection with the NOI in the San Francisco
area are as follows:

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contacted 5/2/67, file
contacted 5/3/67, file
contacted 5/4/67, file
contacted 5/2/67, file
contacted 5/2/67, file
, contacted 5/2/67, fi
, contacted 5/3/67, fi



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LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will await Bureau's decision with respect to placing Subject on the SI.

- D* -
COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

May 9, 1967

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

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

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

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

Ph. 1004 Rec'd -
Rm. 806-DB
5-19-67 - 4

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco
(Class 5c)(RM)

Report of:

[Redacted]

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Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

5/8/67

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Field Office File #: 100-55520

Bureau File #:

Title: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL
ON 11-18-2005

Character: SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis:

Subject resides 407 Belvedere St. and is employed as a Staff Writer for "Ramparts" magazine, 301 Broadway, both addresses in San Francisco, California. Subject released from prison 12/12/66, and is on parole until 3/20/71. While in prison, Subject was a member of the Nation of Islam. Since his release on parole, he has spoken before groups sponsored by the "National Guardian", anti-Vietnam war organizations, militant Negro organizations, and has travelled with STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. He has written two articles for "Ramparts" magazine on Negro matters.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification

SF 100-55520
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DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

Except as otherwise noted, all background information appearing in this section was obtained on May 1, 1967, from Region 2, San Francisco Work Unit 2, State of California Department of Corrections, 69 - 11th Street, San Francisco, California, hereinafter referred to as Department of Corrections. Other information appearing elsewhere in this report received from the Department of Corrections on May 1, 1967, will show the date the report was written rather than the date received by this office.

A. Birth

Subject was born August 31, 1935, to LEROY and THELMA ROBINSON CLEAVER in Little Rock, Arkansas.

B. Education

Subject left school at the age of 17, at which the highest grade reached was the eleventh.

Subject, while at San Quentin Prison, was enrolled in high school between 1958 and 1962. Average grade, "B-". Comment: "A good student with interest and cooperation".

Subject re-enrolled in high school courses from March, 1966, to October, 1966, and received an average grade of "D". Comment: "At first student did not work and was uninterested. During past semester, he has improved much and has been a good student. Subject's leisure time is spent studying, reading, writing, painting and listening to the radio. He uses the library regularly".

The record indicated that he was a high school graduate since 1962 from San Quentin.

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C. Residences

Subject resided at the following addresses:

1277 West 25th Street, Los Angeles, California,
c/o his mother, 1957.

[redacted] San Francisco, California,
c/o [redacted] December, 1966 -
March, 1967.

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1711 Broderick Street, San Francisco, California,
March, 1967 - April 20, 1967.

[redacted] San Francisco, California,
c/o [redacted] April 20, 1967 to present.

D. Employment

Subject has worked for the following employers:

Jones Rug Cleaning Service, 846 Chapman Avenue,
Pasadena, California, December, 1956.

Coast Distribution Company, 515 West Washington
Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, December,
1956 - January, 1957.

Los Angeles County Heart Association, 660 South
Western Avenue, January, 1957 - March, 1957.

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[redacted]
Los Angeles, California, March, 1957.

Jones Rug Cleaning Service, address as above,
October, 1957.

Giant Rug Cleaning Company, November, 1957.

(It is noted that Subject was arrested on
November 3, 1957, the details of which will
appear in a subsequent portion of this
report.)

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"Ramparts" magazine, 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California, December, 1966, to present, earning \$400 a month plus expenses.

E. Marital Status

On February 27, 1967, Subject and [redacted] filled out a form entitled, "Request for Restoration of Civil Right to Marry", with the Department of Corrections. In this request, Subject stated that he was single, had never married, and had no dependents. [redacted]

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[redacted] Both parties certified that the above information was correct.

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[redacted] stated that this request has not been approved as yet, and there is some indication that Subject is backing away from this plan to get married.

F. Criminal Record

The following is Subject's criminal record as maintained by the Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation in Sacramento, California:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION

GEORGE H. BRERETON, Chief

P. O. Box 1859, Sacramento

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The following record,

CL 7-15-185

FBI/214 830 B

24 L 13 U OOM 19
I 2 U OOI 15

NEGRO 6-1-182 ARK. 1935

Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER

A-29498A

ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	DEPARTMENT AND NUMBER	NAME	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
1-13-51	Fred C. Nelles School for Boys, Whittier YA 11511	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER	Burg. & P.V.	From L.A. Co. Ct. Paroled 11- 1951
11-5-52	SO Los Angeles B 245360	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	700 M WIC Narcs.	
10-31-53	PD, Los Angeles, 5348 W 10	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	Susp. Narc. Act Felony Delinquent	
1-16-53	Diagnostic Clinic Waterman, YA 11511	Leroy E. CLEAVER	Parole Viol.	Dec. 1953 Parole JULY 1954, DISCH PAROLE
2-13-54	PD Los Angeles 227400	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	Susp. Narc. Act (Felony)	6-9-54, ST. PRISON
2-16-54	SO Los Angeles B-245360 (B-305651)	Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER, Jr.	Poss. of Narc. (ii)	

4-8-58

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION

GEORGE H. BRERETON, Chief
P. O. Box 1859, Sacramento

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The following record,

CII 715185

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I 2 U OOI 15

Leroy Eldridge CLEAVER

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ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	DEPARTMENT AND NUMBER	NAME	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
6-18-54	California State Prison A-29498	Leroy E. CLEAVER	Poss. Narc. (11500 H&S Code)	From L. A. Co Term 6 mos-10 12-3-56, Paro
11-3-57	PD LOS ANGELES 227400-C	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	SUSP. ASLT W/I TO MURDER	3-11-58, ST. PRIS CC CC W/LINEXP. TIME
11-4-57	PD LOS ANGELES 227400-C	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	VIO. SEC. 3056 PC	
11-6-57	SO LOS ANGELES B-245360(B-515769)	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	ASLT. W/I COMM MURDER, ASLT. W/I COMM. RAPE 2 CTS. & AWDW, 2 CTS.	
3-20-58	CALIF. DEPT. OF CORRECTIONS A-29498 A	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	RET. PV W/AC ASLT/W/I COM MURDER 4 CTS. & ADW W/PR. FEL. CONV. P&P EA. CT. (217 PC) & (245 PC)	FROM LA CO. TERM 6MOS-14YRS CTS. & 6MOS-10YR CC&CC WPT

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Subject was released on parole on December 12, 1966, to the supervision of the Department of Corrections.

II. ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION-
WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

Subject was very active in Muslim activities while at Folsom Prison. In fact, he was considered a leader in this. His Muslim activities have tapered off, and he has completely resolved himself (according to him) as a result of the demise of MALCOLM X.

Department of Corrections
Report dated 10/20/66

MALCOLM X is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report under the caption Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU).

Since his incarceration, the Subject has been identified strongly with the Muslim movement. He admitted that he does not accept all of the Muslim tenets in its full scope but feels it is a useful tool for the Negro race in general.

Department of Corrections
Report dated 9/18/63

The February, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" magazine contained an article entitled, "Prisons: The Muslims' Decline." As a prelude to this article, it was written, "The author, now a "Ramparts" Staff Writer, served eight years in various California prisons, where he was for a while a member of the Muslims".

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The article appeared under the name of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. He pointed out that at one time the Muslims had a very high concentration of adherence in such prisons as Soledad, San Quentin, and Folsom; but they are no longer taken seriously by prison officials. He cited the reasons for this decline as follows:

1. ALLAH has failed to come as promised to destroy the white devils and those blacks who were not Muslims.
2. The callous ouster and subsequent murder of MALCOLM X, who was the universal hero of black prisoners, by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the princes of the Nation of Islam in the upper echelons of the hierarchy.
3. Failure of the Nation of Islam to render any legal assistance to the Muslims behind the walls.

CLEAVER concluded his article by saying that what black inmates in prison now look to with rising hopes is the cry for Black Power and the elaboration of its details in the name of MALCOLM X.

Confidential informants, generally familiar with NOI activities in the San Francisco area, advised during May, 1967, that they know of no NOI activities on the part of CLEAVER.

B. "People's World" (PW)

The PW is a West Coast Communist weekly newspaper published in San Francisco, California.

Subject, residing at P.O. Box A-29498, Represa, California, was a new six-months subscriber to the PW as of August, 1965.

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Subject had a six-months subscription to the PW, which expired and was not renewed on January 31, 1966. His mailing address at that time was P.O. Box A-29498, Represa, California.

[redacted] 3/10/66

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It is noted that P.O. Box A-29498, Represa, California, is the mailing address of the California State Prison.

C. "National Guardian"

The "National Guardian" is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

The "National Guardian" held a forum on "Liberation Movements Throughout the World" at the YWCA, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California, on December 19, 1966. Subject was among those present at this affair. He was accompanied by [redacted] his attorney.

[redacted] 12/20/66

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[redacted] was a member of the National Lawyers' Guild from 1964 through 1966.

[redacted] 1964 - 1966

The National Lawyers' Guild is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

On January 20, 1967, the "National Guardian" sponsored a forum at the YMCA, 1530 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, California. The forum was entitled "New Directions for the Afro-American Struggle". ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was the moderator of the program.

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In his speech, CLEAVER stated that he had just returned from a tour with STOKELY CARMICHAEL for "Ramparts" magazine. He stated that it was his belief that CARMICHAEL was the most qualified person for a position of leadership and that he would follow him.

CLEAVER went on to state that certain white radicals felt that they were the most capable of exercising theoretical leadership in the civil rights movement. He stated that this is no longer true, that historical circumstance dictates that the Negro must be led in their struggle for black power by a Negro.

He stated that he felt that the time had come to stop working with the "system". The Democrats no longer have the Negro in their pockets. He felt that the machinery had to be set up to express the drive for black power outside the system, that black people now are the most radical element in society and should actually be leading the radical movement.

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1/30/67

~~STOKELY CARMICHAEL~~ is the National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. *Callie*

The April 3, 1967, issue of the "National Observer", a weekly national newspaper published in New York City, contained a feature article on "Ramparts" magazine, which announced that the magazine's ~~publisher, EDWARD KEATING~~, had just recently accepted the George Polk Memorial Award for magazine reporting. It stated that the Polk Award came at the end of a year of journalistic coups and exposes that have made the outspoken left-wing magazine one of the most controversial and highly publicized in the country. This

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article reported that "Ramparts" has only been published as a monthly for two and one-half years and is expected to reach a 250,000 circulation figure some time in 1967, at which figure it should publish without a loss. The "National Observer" article reported that the magazine had lost about \$2,000,000.00 to date, of which \$600,000.00 is EDWARD KEATING's.

The "National Observer" stated that "Ramparts" views include the following: Opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam, a belief that the U.S. needs to change its attitude toward the cold war and Communism, dissatisfaction with domestic progress on civil rights, and the elimination of poverty.

At the forum sponsored by the "National Guardian" held at the YMCA on January 20, 1967, Subject stated that he favors an organization like that once headed by MALCOLM X called the OAAU.

[REDACTED] 1/24/67

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D. Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

member of

The PLP is characterized in the Appendix Section of this report.

At a meeting of a few members of the PLP on December 26, 1966, in Los Angeles, California, one of the members, [REDACTED] stated that he had talked to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. He said that CLEAVER had just gotten out of jail after serving nine years. He said that CLEAVER is about 35 years of age and in all has spent about 14 years in jail. He described CLEAVER as a very dynamic, intelligent

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fellow and a good organizer. He is a follower of MALCOLM X and organized a MALCOLM X group in jail. He said he met CLEAVER some time ago through [redacted]

[redacted]
him. He went on to say that since their acquaintance started, CLEAVER has smuggled PLP literature into jail and was conducting classes in Marxism - Leninism. [redacted] stated that their PLP publication "Spark" was well received by the inmates.

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[redacted] went on to say that the PLP has been trying to get CLEAVER to come down to Los Angeles and help organize the Watts area and that CLEAVER is down here now to have a look.

[redacted] 1/6/67

[redacted] who introduced

[redacted] to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

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The PLP has scheduled an "Encore" dinner for January 22, 1967, at 1530 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, California. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is scheduled to speak on black power.

[redacted] 1/10/67

On January 22, 1967, the PLP sponsored their "Encore" dinner at the YMCA, 1530 Buchanan Street, San Francisco, California. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, who was scheduled to speak at this affair, did not show up.

[redacted] 1/27/67

III. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

A. Spring Mobilization Committee To End The War In Vietnam

The Spring Mobilization Committee
to End the War In Vietnam (Spring

SF 100-55520
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Mobilization Committee) was intended as a broad based demonstration against the war in Vietnam, which would be centered in New York and San Francisco on April 15, 1967. The appeal was directed to all persons opposed to the war, from all walks of life and political persuasions. In San Francisco, a parade began at lower Market Street and culminated with a rally at Kezar Stadium. About 55,000 persons assembled in the Stadium on that date.

A Spring Mobilization Committee, West Coast Steering Committee, list reflects the name ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, San Francisco, as of February 7, 1967.

[redacted] 2/15/67

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Calif
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In February, 1967, [redacted] was an active member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

[redacted] 2/27/67

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

The Spring Mobilization Committee put out a call to all professionals, dated March 16, 1967, enlisting their

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JTQ/vhk

support for the April 15 march and rally in San Francisco. Attached to the letter was a list of Bay Area professional sponsors which listed ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, representing "Mass Media."

[redacted] 3/19/67

[redacted]

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In this respect, it was reported that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER would lead an Afro-American Sub-Committee of the West Coast Mobilization Committee, whose purpose would be to build a separate feeder march from the ghetto into the regular line of march in San Francisco.

[redacted] 3/22/67

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On March 16, 1967, the Los Angeles Local of the SWP held a discussion, at which the main topic was the Spring Mobilization march in San Francisco. One of those present stated that he had tried every possible way to contact ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in San Francisco, but he would not respond.

[redacted] 3/22/67

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[redacted] 4/5/67

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[redacted]
[redacted] The decision
was made to include both of the speakers favored, [redacted]
[redacted] ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

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[redacted] 4/14/67
member of

ELIJAH TURNER attended a Student
for a Democratic Society (SDS)
meeting in Berkeley, California,
on October 29, 1966. The meeting
was advertised as a "Black Power"
meeting. TURNER, one of the
speakers, discussed candidates
for the coming elections. Among
other things, he stated that
Negroes are preparing for some
violent action in April. He also
said that the solution for all
Negro problems was "for Negroes
to get busy and raise all the
hell they possibly could".

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[redacted] 11/2/66

The SDS is characterized in the
Appendix Section of this report.

B. Other Miscellaneous

From February 21 to February 23, 1967, a MALCOLM X
Grassroots Memorial was held at the Bayview Community Center,
4701 Third Street, San Francisco, California. A schedule
of activities for this event revealed that on Wednesday,
February 22, 1967, E. CLEAVER would conduct a workshop on
"Black People and the Prison System."

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[redacted] 2/23/67

On February 23, 1967, a leaflet was received which
advertised a forum being sponsored by the Militant Labor
Forum, which was to be a memorial tribute to MALCOLM X on

SF 100-55520
JTQ/vhk

the second anniversary of his assassination. The forum was scheduled for February 24, 1967, at the Hall of Flowers, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Two speakers were advertised in the leaflet, one being ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, "Steering Committee Chairman, Bay Area Organization for Afro-American Unity", and ROBERT HIMMEL, "National Committee, Socialist Workers Party."

member of

Calif

[redacted], 2/23/67

The Militant Labor Forum is a name used by the SWP in calling attention to its public meetings.

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Subject was scheduled to speak on "Anti-Draft" matters under the sponsorship of the SDS in Room 101, California Hall, University of California, Berkeley, at 7:00 p.m. on April 20, 1967.

[redacted], 4/11/67

The April, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" contained an article by Subject entitled, "My Father and Stokely Carmichael." This article contained very little about his father and concerned itself mostly with a day he spent with STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Chicago. Concluding his article, CLEAVER wrote that CARMICHAEL believes that the most important area outside the United States, as far as working alliances are concerned, is Latin America. He believes that within the next ten years the struggle for liberation from American domination throughout Latin America will provide black America with some very important and strong allies. CLEAVER went on to state that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has already found an official, public alliance with the independence movement of Puerto Rico and that SNCC has agreed to throw its influence behind Puerto Rican Nationalists in their struggle for United Nations membership and recognition as a sovereign nation. In turn, the Puerto Rican Nationalists have committed themselves to an all out effort to raise the problem of black America

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before the United Nations and to lobby unceasingly for support in this effort from the Afro-Asian bloc.

At the end of the article, the following appeared: "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, formerly a member of the Black Muslims, is currently Chairman of the MALCOLM X Afro-American Society in the Bay Area."

The February 25, 1967, issue of the "Berkeley Barb", a weekly newspaper published in Berkeley, California, on page 1, carried an article captioned, "Armed Panthers Here--Black Power Joins Left," which stated in part that approximately 300 Berkeley High School students attended a rally on Tuesday noon (February 21, 1967) and that the rally had been held in spite of police threats to ban the meeting. This article stated further that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, "Ramparts" Staff Writer and Chairman of the Bay Area Afro-American Unity Steering Committee, called for the building of MALCOLM X organizations "all over Black American Ghettos and territory." CLEAVER also reportedly stated, "If MALCOLM X can die, we can die. We are proud to be black and we don't hide behind our women. One day it will be Molotov cocktails; next, handgrenades and bullets. If we can't have our freedom then white America will die."

On the night of April 14, 1967, about 150 Negroes, mostly members of the Black Panther Party of San Francisco, met at 1711 Broderick Street, San Francisco, California. The meeting was spent mostly in conversation and drinking wine. Several references were made to the hatred for the white race. There was a stock pile of about 70 rifles at this location. No one was permitted in the basement as it was termed a restricted area.

[REDACTED], 4/17/67

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It will be noted that Subject's former residence has been listed in the Background Section of this report as 1711 Broderick Street, San Francisco, from March, 1967, to April 20, 1967.

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On April 15, 1967, Subject spoke at the Spring Mobilization Committee rally at Kezar Stadium. In his speech, he devoted his time to drawing comparison between the White House and the black house. His remarks were generally derogatory of the present Administration in the White House in its treatment of Negroes who were represented by the black house.

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4/20/67

The April 21, 1967, issue of the "Contra Costa Times," published in Walnut Creek, California, on page 1, contained an article captioned, "Armed Group Demands To See Sheriff Over Shooting," which stated in part as follows:

"The quiet routine today in and around the County Administration Building in Martinez was shattered Thursday morning when four carloads of Negroes, some of them armed, pulled up and demanded to see Sheriff WALTER YOUNG.

"Group spokesman, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Chairman of the Black House of San Francisco, told the 'Times' that the group wanted to discuss the hardnosed attitude of police in the Negro areas of the County, especially in the North Richmond area.

"The group consisted of members of the Black House, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense of Oakland, and relatives of a 22-year-old man who was shot and killed by a Sheriff's Deputy following a liquor store burglary in North Richmond, April 1, 1967."

According to the article, the group wanted to discuss this incident with Sheriff YOUNG. "Several of them were armed with shotguns, rifles, and sidearms."

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The May 3, 1967, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", page 1, continued on page 16, carried an article entitled, "Black Panthers Disrupt Assembly." The article stated that some 40 Negroes, "all armed with loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols, and all members of the militantly anti-white Black Panther Party, stalked through the Capitol at noon yesterday." The article went on to say that a handfull walked into the Assembly Chamber while the house was in session, scuffled briefly with the Sergeant-at-Arms, and were hustled outside into the arms of the Capitol Police. They were reportedly demonstrating against "racist Oakland police" and protesting pending legislation limiting their right to bear arms.

The article stated that five juveniles and nineteen young adults were taken to the Sacramento Police Station and charged with conspiracy to invade the Assembly Chambers, a felony. According to the article, Sacramento Police stated two other men were booked, one of whom was ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, 31, of 301 Broadway, San Francisco, "enroute to Parole Officer."

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b7C

On May 3, 1967, [REDACTED] Department of Corrections, San Francisco, stated that Subject was arrested with the above-described group and charged with conspiracy to intimidate the Legislature, a felony. He stated that today, CLEAVER appeared in the Sacramento Municipal Court, where the charge against him was dropped.

On May 1, 1967, the Department of Corrections was contacted by "Ramparts" requesting permission for Subject to attend the meeting of the Legislature on May 2, 1967, as a reporter to cover the discussion on police and community relations. Early on May 2, Subject was granted this permission.

Upon the arrest of Subject, the attorneys for "Ramparts" charged that Subject was not a participant of this affair, was an observer with white reporters when he was arrested, the only one who had his camera broken, was

SF 100-55520
JTQ/vhk

insulted by the police when he showed his press card, and discriminated against because he was a Negro. It is believed that "Ramparts" officials knew in advance that the Black Panthers planned to disrupt the Legislature on May 2, 1967.

[REDACTED] 5/3/67

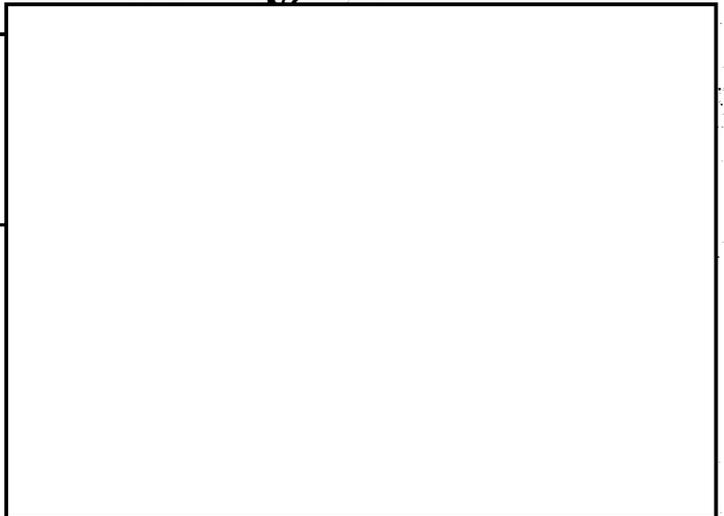
b2
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IV. DESCRIPTION

The following description of Subject was taken entirely from the records of the Department of Corrections:

Birth: August 31, 1935,
Little Rock, Arkansas
Race: Negro
Height: 6' 2"
Weight: 185 pounds
Eyes: Brown
Hair: Black
Residence: 407 Belvedere Street,
San Francisco, California
Employment: Staff Writer for "Ramparts"
magazine, 301 Broadway,
San Francisco, California

Relatives:



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1

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

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

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

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

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

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

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

APPENDIX

1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 193 concerning "National Guardian:"

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly ***. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

APPENDIX

1st

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY,
INCORPORATED (OAAU)

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

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

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

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

On February 28, 1966, a confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Boston, Massachusetts.

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

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

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

May 9, 1967

Title LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
at San Francisco, dated 5/9/67.

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile-)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/9/67 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM : *WJG* SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SM - Misc. b6
b7C

Card filed
Cards sent 00
5/26/67
ax

OK - SI
WJG
5/26/67
WCS
12

Re: Report of SA this date

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER		
Aliases ELDRIDGE CLEAVER		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) <u>Black Nationalist</u>		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race N	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth 8/31/35	Place of Birth Little Rock, Arkansas	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Staff Writer. "Ramparts" Magazine 301 Broadway San Francisco, California		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number		
Interested Agencies		
Residence Address BELVEDERE 407 Beverly Street San Francisco, California		

See subject

*Staff
Tab "MIS"*

100 - 4472513
MCT-39

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CONTROL
SUB

62 MAY 29 1967

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1 - San Francisco
REGISTERED MAIL
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SF 100-55520
JTQ/vhk

Subject is being recommended for the Security Index because:

1. Self-admitted former Muslim
2. Advocates MALCOLM X organizations in black ghettos all over America
3. Has close contact with black nationalist organizations
4. Extensive criminal record, conviction for possession of narcotics and conviction for assault with intent to murder and assault with intent to commit rape.
5. Revolutionary statements; for example, on February 21, 1967, before approximately 300 Berkeley High School students subject reportedly stated "If Malcolm X can die, we can die. We are proud to be black and we don't hide behind our women. One day it will be Molotov cocktails; next, hand grenades and bullets. If we can't have our freedom then white America will die."

Additionally, subject, while in San Quentin Penitentiary, smuggled Progressive Labor Party literature into the Penitentiary. He reportedly conducted classes in Marxism and Leninism.

United States Government
MEMORANDUM

~~SECRET~~

To: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Date: August 8, 1967.

Jay
From: Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Card U.T.D.
8/11/67
Jay

Subject: INDEX REVIEW

Re: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

*File in
cc in*

FBI No. 100-447251
100-398030

Reports of investigation have been reviewed as requested
by you on _____.

It has been determined that indexing of this case for future
review should be

continued discontinued

Commentary:

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL
ON 11-18-2005

Per Chief FOI/PA, Bureau of Personnel

Investigations, CSC, 11/30/78

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN
100-398030

cc: FBI
ISD-SO
Dept. 146-012-18-2

62 AUG 18 1967

REC-60

100-447251-14

DECLASSIFIED BY CRIMINAL DIV. DOS. ON 2/1/76

AUG 9 1967

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Jay
SUBV CONTROL
[Signature]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 27, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BU 100-447251
SF 100-55520

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

RA
57

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SM - MISC -

REFERENCE: San Francisco memorandum dated May 9, 1967.

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

Residence: 42 Castro Street, Apt. 5
San Francisco, California

Employment:

AGC: Secret Service
REQ. REC.
DATE: 11/30/67
HOW FOR: HS
BY: T.M. jac

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b7C

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED

13 NOV 29 1967

FD-122 DETACHED

INT. SEC.



55 NOV 30 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Director, FBI (Bufile- ^{TAM/MLT/EHL} 100-447251)

11/27/67

RA
afg SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) - C

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
SM - MISC.

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00
12/1/67
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Re San Francisco FD-122, 5/9/67.

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name	
Aliases	
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____	
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race _____ Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth _____	Place of Birth _____
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)	
100-447251- NOT RECORDED 13 NOV 29 1967	
Key Facility Data	
Geographical Reference Number _____	Responsibility INT. SEC. J.
Interested Agencies _____	
Residence Address	
42 Castro Street, Apt. 5 San Francisco, California	b6 b7C

JTQ/jr 746
57 DE 5 1967 REGISTERED MAIL ENCLOSURE DETACHED AND RETURNED TO SENDER

MA 100



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California
December 26, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Bufile 100-447251
SF 100-55520

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Misc

REFERENCE: San Francisco letter, 11/27/67

ST
1/3

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

Residence: 850 Oak Street, Apartment 11, San Francisco, California

Employment:

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FD-122 DETACHED

AGENCY Meade
REQ. REC'D _____
DATE FORW. 1-3-68
HOW FORW. RS
BY Bawdon

100-447251-

REC NOT RECORDED
2 DEC 28 1967

53 JAN 4 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
12/26/67
TAM/MLT/EHL

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

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)(C)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
SM - MISC.

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00
1/4/68
AUC

Re: San Francisco FD 122, 11/27/67

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name				
Aliases				
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born		<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized		<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____				
Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)				
Key Facility Data				
Geographical Reference Number		Responsibility		
Interested Agencies				
Residence Address 850 Oak Street, San Francisco, Calif. Apt. 11				

ENCLOSURE DETACHED AND
HANDLED SEPARATELY

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco
JTQ/erg
(3)

3/11

100-447251

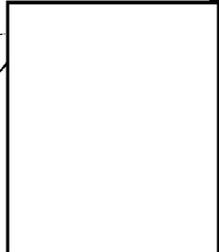
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INT. [Signature]

57 JAN 8 1968



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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail 2/23/48

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

Subject JUNE MAIL

Removed By 99 MAR 1968

File Number 100-447251-5

JAD

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail 2/8/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

*Leroy Eldridge
Claver*

Subject JUNE MAIL

Removed By 99 MAR 71968

File Number 100-447251-6

798

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail 2/24/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

Subject JUNE MAIL

Removed By 99 MAR 81968

File Number 100-447251

JM

Permanent Serial Charge Out

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail 3/12/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

Subject JUNE MAIL

Removed By MAR 1 3 1968

File Number 100-447251-7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date of Mail

3/1/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

*Leroy Eldridge
Cleaver*

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Removed By

99 MAY 15 1968

File Number

100-447251-8

Permanent Serial Charge Out

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: March 7, 1968.

FROM: *Joy* J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Yen

*regional
BANKER*

SUBJECT: Black Nationalist Movement in the United States;
Racial Matters ((BPPSD))

*file
etc*

Reference is made to your teletype of February 18, 1968, containing information concerning the BPPSD rally at Oakland, California, on February 17th. Your teletype noted that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver announced a merger of the BPPSD and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Your teletype also stated that various individuals made a number of statements as follows:

JAMES FORMAN, International Director of SNCC, said reprisals must be taken for the assassination of any black leader.

ROBERT AVAKIAN, a representative of the Peace and Freedom Party, expressed support for the Negro revolution in the United States.

H. RAP BROWN, newly appointed Minister of Justice of BPPSD, and Chairman of SNCC, stated that black warfare inside this country would answer the problem of Negro unemployment.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman of BPPSD, urged all Negro families to have shotguns in their homes to remove and nullify the occupying army of police officers in the black communities.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, presented as the Prime Minister of the Afro-America to all Africans throughout the world asserted that all blacks must unite socially, economically and militarily in order to avoid extermination by Whites.

Reference is also made to your teletype of February 19, 1968, containing information concerning the Black Congress program at Los Angeles on February 18th. This teletype also

EXP. PROC.

UNRECORDED COPY
OCT 18 1968
ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-105706-39

*See to see, Wanda
3/11/68
P. R. 105706*

100-447201
NOT RECORDED
OCT 18 1968

MAR 8 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

advised that various statements were made by a number of individuals as follows:

JAMES FORMAN said every Negro should be armed due to the eventual revolution of black people.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE urged all Negro families to have shotguns in their homes and stated that black power is gun and force which will be used in the next Civil War.

RONALD EVERETT MCKINLEY, aka RON KARENGA, Chairman, Black Nationalist Organization "US" said "the Whites are our enemy and we must organize to overcome them."

H. RAP BROWN stated that there would be a Negro revolution in the United States and that is not a "political revolution." He allegedly predicted a battle similar to the Civil War within the next few years.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL reiterated his remark that all blacks must unite socially, economically and militarily.

Sections 2383, 2384 and 2385, respectively, of Title 18, United States Code, proscribe the crimes of rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy and advocating the violent overthrow of the United States Government or the government of any political subdivision thereof. While the statements attributed to the foregoing speakers ostensibly are aimed at uniting Negroes for the purpose of obtaining their rights, the violation of one or more of the mentioned statutes is implicit in these statements. We would therefore appreciate receiving, on a continuing basis, all information indicating a conspiracy on the part of the named individuals and organizations to violate one or more of these statutes.

b6
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In regard to the above, reference is made to my memorandum dated January 29, 1968, captioned [redacted] Security Matter - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," in which I refer to a statement made by [redacted] at Debs Hall in Chicago, that SNCC is no longer a protest group but is now a revolutionary movement. We would appreciate receiving any information which would indicate that the merger of SNCC with the BPPSD is for the purpose of implementing the alleged revolutionary policy of SNCC.

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 3/21/68

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Transmit the following in
TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

b6
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-58841)

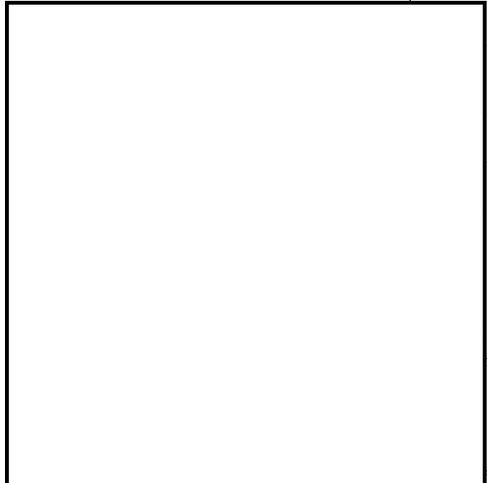
CHANGED
BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for Self Defense
RM - BPPSD
(OO: SF)

PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY
IC(IS)

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka Eldridge Cleaver
BOBBY GEORGE SEALE
RM-BPP
(OO: SF)

The title is being marked changed to reflect the change of name of the BPPSD to BPP. In press conference held at the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, on 3/7/68, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, stated that the words, "Self-Defense" had been deleted from the official name

- 5 - Bureau (Enc.13) (RM)
 - (2 - 105-105706)(BPP)
 - (1 - 105-107683)
 - (1 - 100-) (PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY)
 - (1 - 100-) (STOP THE DRAFT WEEK)
- 12 - San Francisco
 - (2 - 100-58841)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (2 - 100-55520) (LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
 - (2 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 100-) (STOP THE DRAFT WEEK)
 - (2 - 100-59230)(PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY)
 - (1 - 157-266)(RACIAL VIOLENCE, OAKLAND)
 - (1 - 157-400)(RACIAL VIOLENCE MATTERS, SF DIVISION)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - [redacted])



105-165706
ORIGINAL FILE

b6
b7C

~~20 MAR 23 1968~~

WJW/hed
17

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OBI, SEC. SERV. DEPT: ISD, CHD, CMO
100-447251

APR 2 1968

Approved: WJW Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SF 100-53841
WJW/med

of the organization because "people seem to misinterpret the definition of what self-defense is all about."

Submitted herewith are 13 copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above. Copies of this LHM are being furnished to Army, Navy, OSI, Secret Service, and the USA, San Francisco because of the threat of a racial disturbance during the "Stop the Draft Week" demonstrations scheduled for 4/26-30/68.

The enclosed LHM is not classified confidential because it does not contain information from security, racial, or established sources which need to be concealed.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California
March 21, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AU
EJM/MLT/EHL

Black Panther Party (BPP),
also known as Black Panther
Party for Self-Defense

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver

Bobby George Seale

Reference is made to San Francisco, California
memorandum dated March 15, 1968.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to
the Army, Navy, OSI, Secret Service, and the United States
Attorney's Office.

The March 20, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco
Chronicle," San Francisco, California, daily newspaper, page
3, columns 5-7, contains an article captioned, "Panther's New
Gun Build-Up," which states in part as follows:

"The militant Black Panther Party for Self Defense is
forming an extensive arsenal and recently acquired 65
pistols from a Reno store, police officers charged
yesterday....

"In addition, police said, there has been a sharp
increase in the number of rifles and shotguns - which
do not need to be registered - throughout the East
Bay."

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On March 20, 1968,
Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, advised that



ENCLOSURE

100-447251

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

at 5:00 p.m. on that date, Bobby George Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, also known as Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, held a press conference at the St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, 27th and West Streets, Oakland, California. At this press conference, Seale denied that the BPP is building arsenals of weapons but readily admitted that the BPP was distributing weapons to black people so that they could have these in their homes for the defense against attacks by racists. Seale further stated that he could not understand why there was such an uproar about Negroes possessing guns while members of the white community were allowed to possess guns without any protests being made.

Unless otherwise indicated, the information set forth below was furnished by [redacted] [redacted] Oakland Police Department, on March 21, 1968:

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At the March 16, 1968, session of the Peace and Freedom Party State Convention, held at the Richmond Auditorium, Richmond, California, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, BPP, gave a speech in which he read from a document entitled, "Black Paper - Revolution in the White Mother Country and National Liberation in the Black Colony." Excerpts from his speech are set forth as follows:

"The Black Panther Party believes that the era in which we now struggle can be characterized as the Age of Showdown - between Oppressed People Everywhere and the Racist Imperial Power Structure. The era can be further defined as that in which significant sectors of the exploiters have turned away from the system, have declared war upon the system that has warped their lives and tainted their existence at the same time that it was doing the same thing and worse to those whom it oppresses. We recognize these alienated people as allies or potential allies in a struggle against a common enemy.

"We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition, our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother contry and national liberation for the black colony....

"Ideally, we need a revolutionary organization that is able to, guided by revolutionary ideology and comprehending the necessity involved, move in two directions at the same time....

"The Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in the Bay Area (San Francisco, Alameda, and Contra Costa Counties, California) have been experimenting over the past few months with a very narrow coalition around a very broad subject. The focal point of the coalition is now, and always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications....

"We have offered our leader, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, as a candidate for the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County, and we have offered our Chairman, Bobby Seale, as a candidate for the 17th Assembly District. In San Francisco, we have offered our communications secretary, Kathleen Cleaver, for a candidate in the 18th Assembly District. The advantages in doing this are manifold. First and foremost, we are interested in setting Huey P. Newton free."

Also at this session of the Peace and Freedom Party Convention, Richmond, California, Eldridge Cleaver presented specific proposals which were adopted. These included the following:

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

"That the Peace and Freedom Party join with the Black Panther Party and the 'Stop the Draft Week' Organizers and participate in the 'Stop the Draft Week' demonstrations, April 26-30, 1968, to focus attention and to supply pressure on the demands that the troops of the power structure be withdrawn from Vietnam and from the Black Colony.

"That the Peace and Freedom Party support the Black Community's demand that those who police the Black Communities must live in the Black Communities."

The Peace and Freedom Party also adopted the motions on the free Huey P. Newton issue from the Minority Liberation Workshop, but amended the motion, "Huey Newton must be set free by any means necessary," to read to the effect that Huey Newton must be set free by any means best suited for the cause of Negro liberation.

Also at the March 16, 1968, session of the Peace and Freedom Convention, Bobby George Seale, in the capacity of Chairman of the BPP, gave a short talk in which he stated that the BPP was acting independently but was interested in supporting the Peace and Freedom Party on a coalition basis for the purpose of providing Negro liberation. He stressed the fact that the BPP will always concentrate their efforts on their own problems.

At the Peace and Freedom Convention, Richmond, California, Robert Avakian presented a proposal entitled, "Support the April Days" which was prepared by Avakian and Steve Hamilton of the Peace and Freedom Movement Radical Caucus, Contra Costa County, California. This proposal, which was passed by the convention, reads in part as follows:

"The next proposed 'Stop the Draft Week,' April 26-30, provides the Peace and Freedom Movement with a very important opportunity to involve itself in serious, radical action against the draft and Vietnam war and the military (police) occupation of the Black Community. Members of PFM are already working with STDW and have urged that the April demonstrations adopt a dual political focus: end the draft, withdraw the troops from Vietnam; free Huey, and the occupation of the ghettos. This means

Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)

that not just the induction center (and perhaps the Oakland Army Terminal) but the City Hall, the Oakland Police Station, and the Alameda County Courthouse would be targets for the demonstrations. The object will be to raise 1,000 or more people at the entrance to these buildings with the intention of closing them down for the day since the operations inside are criminal. (The courthouse, for example, is where Huey Newton and the leaders of the last STDW were indicted by a stacked grand jury; Huey is still held prisoner in the courthouse jail.) Selection of several targets - all in downtown Oakland, but far enough apart to prevent the police from concentrating their force in one central area - will automatically spread out the police, thin their lines of attack and greatly increase the problems of coordination and communication for them....

"Already, there are very strong indications from Panthers themselves that if support for black liberation and free Huey is raised as an equal demand with self determination for the Vietnamese and resistance to the draft, they will organize the black people from all over the Bay Area to actively participate in the April demonstrations."

At this convention, Eldridge Cleaver indicated that BPP would conduct demonstrations at the Alameda County Courthouse, Oakland, and at the Oakland Police Department during the April 26-30, 1968, "Stop the Draft Week" demonstrations, but would not actively participate at the Oakland induction center.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense is included in the appendix pages attached hereto.

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

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

4/16/68

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b7C

Director, FBI (100-447251) - /

1 - [redacted]

REC-125

LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BPP

ReSFlet 3/27/68 captioned "LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver,
RM - BPPSO."

[redacted]

Referenced letter includes a list of telephone numbers of individuals called from subject's telephone during December, 1967, as furnished by the Oakland Police Department. It is noted that this list includes the name [redacted]

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[redacted]

San Francisco should immediately prepare and submit a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination indicating that subject has possibly been in contact with [redacted]

Your letterhead memorandum should also include a characterization of subject and his wife.

1 - Boston

ABF:df *df*
(5)

NOTE:

Subject is on the Security Index.

A

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

MAILED 12
APR 17 1968
COMM-FBI

65 APR 10 1968 *cmv*

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/27/68

FROM: *CWB*
ly SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BPPSD
(BU 100-447251)
(SF 100-55520)



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Handwritten marks

On February 26, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Oakland Police Department, Oakland,
California, furnished a list of telephone numbers and
subscribers thereto which were called from telephone number
863-6459, the telephone of LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER [redacted]
[redacted] at 850 Oak Street, Apartment
11, San Francisco, California, during the period December 12 - 25,
1967.

On February 17, 1968, LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was
publicly identified at the HUEY NEWTON Defense Fund rally of
the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) held at the
Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California, as the
Minister of Information of the BPPSD.

The November 23, 1967 issue of the "Black Panther
Party--Black Community News Service," official publication of
the BPPSD, listed KATHLEEN NEAL as the Assistant Editor of that
publication and listed the Editor of that publication as Minister
of Information (Underground).

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 6 - Boston (RM)
- 4 - Chicago (RM)
- 3 - Cincinnati (RM)
- 4 - Los Angeles (RM) ?
- 3 - Memphis (RM)
- 7 - New York (RM)
- 3 - Washington Field (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-55520) (1 - 157-1057)
(1 - 100-58841)

WJW/sms #10 (37)

Handwritten notes:
Jot to SF
1-BS
APF
4-16-68

REC 49

100-447251-9
5 MAR 28 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

REC COPY FILED IN 157-8943-1

SF 100-55520
WJW/sms

The January 25, 1968 issue of the "Daily Californian," University of California at Berkeley student newspaper, on Page 3, Column 1, identified KATHLEEN CLEAVER as the Communications Secretary of the BPPSD.

A characterization of the EPPSD is attached hereto.

The telephone numbers and the subscribers thereto as referred to above are set forth as follows:

BOSTON OFFICE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Dorchester, Massachusetts
Est. 6/67 - Good Acct.

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Roxbury, Massachusetts
Est. 9/63 -

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Dorchester, Massachusetts
Est. 12/64 -

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Brookline, Massachusetts
Est. at least since 8/67 -

[Redacted] work

CHICAGO OFFICE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Evanston, Illinois

Est. 8/67 -

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

SF 100-55520
WJW/sms

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Chicago, Illinois
Est. 3/67 - Employed - [Redacted]
[Redacted]

CINCINNATI OFFICE

513-766-0240
NP

Coin Telephone
Old Mill Restaurant and Motel -
Bill Name - Columbus Pike,
[Redacted] Cedarville,
Ohio

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b7C

LOS ANGELES OFFICE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Los Angeles, California
Est. 4/62 - Unemployed

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Altadena, California
Est. 5/63 - [Redacted]
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

MEMPHIS OFFICE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Nashville, Tennessee
Est. 5/66 - Non-Paid Disc.
12/20/67 - [Redacted]
College

b6
b7C

NEW YORK OFFICE

212-865-5328

[Redacted]

New York, New York
Est. 2/2/67 - [Redacted]
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

SF 100-55520
WJW/sms

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

New York City, New York
Est. 12/2/66

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

New York City, New York
Est. 1/66 - Unemployed

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

New York City, New York
Est. 2/25/57 - [Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

Zingg and Company
Add. List Zinco (Cheese)
Swiss Cheese Importers
144 Reade Street
Manhattan
Est. 6/26/58

b6
b7C

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Washington, D. C.
Est. 9/23/64 - Unemployed

The above data is being furnished to the indicated offices for information purposes only.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

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

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

601 JB 4-15-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B
 TAM/MLT/EHL

, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #5348 W 10	10-31-52	susp Narc Act felony delinq	rel to custody of Preston School of Industry Calif
SO Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #B-245360	11-5-52	700 M WIC-Narc	St Prison D45 6-9-54 (Cs162601) on chg of susp 11500 H & S
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr #227400	2-13-54	susp Narc Act (felony)	rel to custody of Calif Inst for Men Chino Calif
SO Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #B-245360/ B-305651	2-16-54	poss of narc (M)	6 mos to 10 yrs 12-3-56 paroled
Calif St Bu	Leroy E Cleaver #A-29498	6-18-54	poss Narc (11500 H & S Code)	St Pr cc cc w/ unexpired parole time, Ct 6, 7-N
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #LA 227 400 C	11-3-57 11-4-57	susp aslt with int to murder viol St Parole Gltly D44	3-11-58 Cs19666 Fnd Gltly ADW/ic Murd (Ct 3) Fnd Gltly ADW (Ct 4, 5)
SO Los Angeles Calif	LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver #B-245360/ B-515769	11-6-57	aslt w/ commit mur aslt w/ commit rape (2 cts) & aslt w/ deadly weapon (2 cts)	rel to custody of Calif Inst for Men Chino Calif

2-62

dm
MCT-15
 NOT RECORDED
 APR 23 1968

file 100-447251
R M



Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The furnished information concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

66 APR 30 1968

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

601 JB 4-15-68

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
St Bu Sacramento Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #A-29498-A	3-20-58	PV (aslt with intent to commit murder 4 cts & aslt w/a deadly weapon with prior felony conviction pled & proven each ct, all current & concurrent with present term)	6 mos to 14 yrs 4 cts & 6 mos to 10 yrs all concurrent & concurrent with present term. 12-12-66 par
PD Sacramento Calif	Eldridge Cleaver #S-14017	5-2-67	182.1 PC Black Panther	rel per Dist Atty no complaint Enrt Calif St Par Rel from custod both on 5-3-67
PD Oakland Calif	Eldridge Cleaver #200160	4-7-68	3 cts 187 PC (att murder)	

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 601 JB 4-15-68
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

3

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
				<i>no bend T</i>
	FLASH: If arrested prior to 3-20-71 Notify Div of Adult Par Dept of Corr Sacramento Calif inf rec 12-20-66.			

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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601 JB 4-15-68

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC: Div of Adult Par Dept of Corr Sacramento Calif				

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

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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

601 JB 4-15-68

1-BU

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	SECURITY FLASH: Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Any information or inquiry received refer one copy of record to Subversive Control Section Domestic Intelligence Division and two copies to BFD San Francisco File #100-55520 Bu File #100-447251 inf rec 6-2-67. Aliases: Eldridge Cleaver			<i>Cf 4/17</i>
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI				

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

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

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 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

601 JB 4-15-68

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC: FBI San Francisco				
CC: Internal Sec Section Dom Intell Div ✓				
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI				

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

John Edgar Hoover
 Director

DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)
ATTENTION: RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
SAC, NEW YORK (100-87235)

4/25/68

mm
PURCHASE OF BOOKS
BOOK REVIEWS

ReBulet, 3/28/68.

Submitted herewith is a copy of "Soul On Ice" by
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and a copy of "My Silent War" by KIM PHILBY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

2-Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
1-New York

EKD:jrk
(3)

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED
203 APR 30 1968

pd
MAY 5 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-46855-544

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- **100-447251**) TAM/MLT/DBHL 4/18/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

Card filed.
Card sent OO

w/ attached
by 5/13/68

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM-BPP

AGITATOR RABBLE/ROUSER INDEX

New Subject Change Delete

Name LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER		FBI Number
Aliases ELDRIDGE CLEAVER		
Citizenship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien		
Subject also on <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SI <input type="checkbox"/> RI	Race Negro	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Organizational Affiliation		
<input type="checkbox"/> 01 ANP	<input type="checkbox"/> 07 KLAN	<input type="checkbox"/> 12 PLP
<input type="checkbox"/> 02 AVN	<input type="checkbox"/> 08 LA	<input type="checkbox"/> 13 PRN
<input type="checkbox"/> 03 BNAT	<input type="checkbox"/> 09 MIN	<input type="checkbox"/> 14 RAM
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC
<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS
<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE		<input type="checkbox"/> 17 SNCC
		<input type="checkbox"/> 18 SWP
		<input type="checkbox"/> 19 WWP
		<input type="checkbox"/> 99 MISC (Specify)
Date of Birth 8/31/35	Place of Birth Little Rock, Arkansas	
Position in Organization Minister of Information	Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern) Staff Writer Ramparts Magazine 301 Broadway San Francisco, California EX 101	
Residence Address Apt. 11, 850 Oak Street San Francisco, California		

REGISTERED MAIL

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

APC/jr
(3) **66 MAY 16 1968**

APR 22 1968

REC-52
100-447251-10
APR 22 1968
RACIAL INT. SECT.
SAC [Signature]

129500

SF 100-55520
APC/jr

Subject is Minister of Information, BPP, is a spokesman for black revolution, and the author of "Soul on Ice," a current book which will appeal to black militants.

The Black Panther Party is a black nationalist extremist group with a record of violence.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: *[Signature]* DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/3/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1584) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BPPSD
(BU 100-447251)
(SF 100-55520)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL



Re SF letter to Bureau 3/27/68.

b6
b7C

WFO indices contain no information identifiable
with

Inquiry was made with the Metropolitan Police
Department, the U. S. Park Police, and the Washington, D. C.
Credit Bureau concerning with negative results.

No further investigation is being conducted by
the WFO.

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (1 - 100-55520) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-58841) (RM)
 - (1 - 157-1057) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

ERW:lat
(8)

REC 29

100-447251-11

EX 109

MAY 7 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



59 MAY 13 1968

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

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-8943-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

SAC, San Francisco (100-5520)

5/16/68

REC-134
Director, FBI (100-447251)

1 - Mr. R.M. Horner

LEROY ELBRIDGE CLEAVER
RE - [redacted]

Reurlet 5/6/68.

Provided full security is assured, authority is granted to review the record of toll calls from the subject's telephone.

RMH:lst
(4)

NOTE:

The subject is an officer of the Black Panther Party, a black nationalist extremist organization with a record for violence. He has been in jail since 4/7/68 on attempted murder charges arising from a gun battle between BPP members and Oakland, California Police. Review of toll call records desired in order to identify other black nationalists with whom subject may be incontact. San Francisco advises that records can be obtained from an established source and that full security is assured.

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

MAILED 8
MAY 15 1968
COMM. FBI

MAY 21 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

OCM
HT
30-100

MAY 16 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ^{fd 217 to SF 5-10} ~~(100-442751)~~ ^{bl} DATE: 5/6/68

Chap
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

ReBulet to San Francisco dated 4/22/68 captioned,
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY - RM".

Referenced letter directed that San Francisco submit a request to review income tax returns of each Black Panther Party (BPP) leader with the objective of determining if any leader is in violation of the Internal Revenue laws. Referenced letter also directs that a request should also be made to review telephone company toll records on each BPP leader in an attempt to identify other black nationalist extremists.

The Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP. He is currently in jail as a result of an arrest by the Oakland PD on 4/7/68 on 3 counts of attempted murder.

In accordance with relet, the Bureau is requested to have the Subject's income tax return reviewed. The Bureau is also requested to grant authorization to review telephone company toll calls made from the Subject's phone in 1/68 up to the date of his arrest.

[Redacted box]

b7D

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco
- FL:cg
(3)

REC-104

100-447251-12

EX-116

MAY 8 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

180
180

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

SAC, Boston

5/24/68

REC-134

Director, FBI (100-447251)-112
EX-116

1 - [redacted]
1 - Mr. R.M. Horner

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BPP

ReSFlet 3/27/68, copy to Boston, which identifies [redacted] Massachusetts, as one of the individuals who received telephone calls from the subject's home during the period 12/12-25/67.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

The report of SA [redacted] dated 11/14/62, at Birmingham concerning [redacted] IS-G, contains a reference to [redacted] described

[redacted]

No derogatory information concerning [redacted] was set out. It could not be determined if this individual is identical with the [redacted] referred to above.

b6
b7C

In addition to verifying the [redacted] you should contact racial informants to determine if they have any pertinent information concerning him.

MAILED 4
MAY 24 1968
COMM-FBI

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

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)
RMH:srs (6)

DRS

F 2
out RM int

Handwritten signatures and initials: "New", "WVC", and others.

REC-134

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL DATE: 5/6/68

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM-BPP

ReBulet of 4/16/68, which directs San Francisco
to prepare an LHM indicating that the Subject was possibly
in contact with [redacted]

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies
of an LHM captioned [redacted] suitable for dissemination.

The source mentioned in the LHM is [redacted]
[redacted] Oakland Police Department, Oakland,
California.

Let to SAC BS
RMH. On 5-23-68
24

1 destroyed
→ destroyed

2 - Bureau (Encl. 8) (RM)
1 - San Francisco
FL:cg
(3)

ENCLOSURE

REC-12

EX-105 100-447251-13

4 MAY 9 1968

b6
b7C

[redacted]
SEARCHED



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

May 6, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

b6
b7c

A source advised that a telephone number subscribed
to by [redacted]

[redacted]

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver has been
publicly identified as the Minister
of Information of the Black Panther
Party (BPP).

A characterization of the BPP is
contained in the appendix hereto.

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

ENCLOSURE

100 447251-13



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

San Francisco, California

May 6, 1968

Title

b6
b7C

Character

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned as
above at San Francisco,
California.

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

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
DATE: 5/16/68

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC*

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b6
b7C

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

Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, a black nationalist extremist organization, in Oakland, California. He has gained recent notoriety as the author of a book, "Soul on Ice," which expresses his antiwhite, black nationalist views.

Cleaver was released from prison in 12/66 after serving eight years of a fourteen-year sentence for assault with intent to murder. He became a staff writer for "Ramparts" magazine and became active in the Black Panther Party. He is presently in jail and is charged with violation of parole and attempted murder, a result of a gun battle between Black Panther Party members and the Oakland, California, police on 4/27/68.

In connection with our intensive investigations of black nationalist leaders, we are attempting to determine their sources of income. If the returns show payments from the Black Panther Party to these leaders, it may assist in determining the funds which have been available to the Black Panther Party. We anticipate that because of the irresponsibility of these leaders, some will not have filed income tax returns, or may have falsified them, in which event we will, of course, see that prosecution for any such violation is pushed, which will serve to have an adverse affect on their activities.

b6
b7C

ACTION:

If approved, this memorandum should be referred to the Liaison Section to make the necessary contact with the Internal Revenue Service.
100-447251

Enclosure
RMH:lst/lmr (6)

To AAG
REC-115
100-447251-14
MAY 28 1968
5-RM
5-RM
5-RM

FBI WASH DC

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

JUN 13 1968

FBI SAN FRAN

1258AM URGENT 6-13-68 RLO

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BPP

REMYTEL SIX TWELVE SIXTY-EIGHT.

CLEAVER APPEARED FOR NEWS CONFERENCE IN OFFICE OF HIS ATTORNEY
IN SAN FRANCISCO AT APPROXIMATELY FIVE P.M., SIX TWELVE SIXTY-
EIGHT WEARING BLACK LEATHER JACKET, TYPICAL BLACK PANTHER ATTIRE.
SIX THIRTEEN SIXTY-EIGHT ISSUE OF SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE CONTAINS
HEADLINE READING "TOP PANTHER FREED." ARTICLE INDICATES CLEAVER
BITTER ABOUT OAKLAND POLICE, STATING "I EXPECT TO SEE THE OAKLAND
POLICE DEPARTMENT CAVE IN ANY DAY NOW." WITH REGARD TO OAKLAND
POLICE CHIEF CHARLES GAIN, "I EXPECT TO SEE THEM KICK HIM OUT;
THAT HAS TO HAPPEN." IN ANSWER TO QUESTION REGARDING APRIL SIX,
ONE NINE SIX EIGHT SHOOTOUT WITH OAKLAND POLICE RESULTING IN
PENDING CHARGES OF ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, CLEAVER
STATED "MY PART IN THAT WAS DUCKING BULLETS." ACCORDING TO
ARTICLE CLEAVER STATED THAT HE DOES NOT INTEND TO HIDE BUT EXPECTS
TO STAND UP TO POLICE.

LHM FOLLOWS.

REC 8 100-447251-15

EX-115



END

BJP

25 JUN 17 1968

b6
b7c

WASH. DC 351
JUN 25 1968
ROOM 839

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FBI

Date: 6/13/68

Transmit the following in
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BPP

Handwritten signature

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM dated 4/12/68,
captioned BPP which concerns the 4/6/68 shoot out the
Subject and other members of the BPP had with the Oakland
Police.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM
captioned as above suitable for dissemination.

b6
b7C

EX-115

REC 8 100-447-21-11

15 JUN 17 1968

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Encls. 8)
- 2 - San Francisco
- FL: cmg
- (5)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~SEC~~, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
 DEPT: ISD, ~~OSI~~ IDIU
 HOW FORW: R-S
 DATE FORW: 6-17-68
 BY: RMA-JM
ICC Audit + UNAN 804

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

70 JUN 21 1968 Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 13, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
TAM/MLT/EHL

Copies of this memorandum are being provided to intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy and Air Force, San Francisco, California.

b6
b7C

[redacted] Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Oakland, California, advised on June 11, 1968, that Superior Court Judge Raymond J. Sherwin, as a result of a hearing on the legality of the revocation of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver's parole, had that day ordered Cleaver released. Cleaver will be released to the custody of the Alameda County Sheriff's Office on June 12, 1968. He will be held in lieu of \$50,000. bond by the Sheriff's Office on the charge of assault with intent to commit murder, which stems from the April 6, 1968, shoot-out he and other members of the Black Panther Party had with the Oakland Police Department.

The following is an article appearing in the June 12, 1968, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle captioned "Judge Tells State to Free Cleaver."

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

ENCLOSURE 100-447251-16

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Judge Tells State to Free Cleaver

Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the Black Panther party, was ordered released from prison yesterday by a judge who said he was being held because of his "political activities."

Cleaver, a 33-year-old writer and militant black leader, has been in custody since April 6 at the California Medical Facility in Vacaville.

He was charged with violation of parole and taken to the facility after an hour-long gun battle between Panthers, including Cleaver, and a squad of Oakland police officers.

WOUNDED

Cleaver was wounded in the battle.

Before he can actually be freed, however, Cleaver must post \$50,000 in bail or an assault charge stemming from the April 6 Oakland shootout.

His attorney, Charles Garry, said efforts were being made by the Black Panthers to raise the bail, and that it was possible Cleaver might be released today.

ORDER

The order for Cleaver's release came from Superior Court Judge Raymond J. Sherwin of Solano county, and it followed a four-hour hearing Monday on a petition for release through writ of habeas corpus.

The petition was filed by Garry, who contended that Cleaver was being held because of his association with the militant Panthers. Garry further contended that imprisonment of Cleaver was hindering attorneys' preparation for the assault trial.

The California Adult Authority maintained that Cleaver, on parole from an earlier assault conviction, had violated his parole by possessing a gun, by associating with individuals of bad reputation, and by failing to cooperate with his parole officer.

In ruling for Cleaver, Judge Sherwin said:

"The peril of his parole

See Back Page

Cleaver-- Release Is Ordered

From Page 1

status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing his political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries.

"Not only was there absence of cause for cancellation of the parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement of this state."

During the Monday inquiry, Deputy Attorney General Edward O'Brien argued that the State had a right to hold Cleaver simply on the report of violation until a final hearing on revocation could take place.

O'Brien said that an appeal of Judge Sherwin's decision would be made with the state District Court of Appeals.

Cleaver is the author of "Soul on Ice", an account of his life and prison experiences. During his stay at Vacaville, Cleaver announced that he would seek the Peace and Freedom party's nomination to run for the presidency.

His wife, Kathleen, was a write-in candidate for the Assembly in the June 4 primary election.

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

SAN FRANCISCO
CHRONICLE
Pg. 1.

Date: 6/12/68
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:
Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:
 Being Investigated

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The June 13, 1968, four star final issue of "The San Francisco Chronicle," a newspaper published daily in San Francisco, California, bears headline which reads, "Top Panther Freed." The article which follows the headline is captioned "See-Saw Battle to Free Cleaver" and relates essentially the same information concerning the background of Cleaver's case as the article included above. In addition, it reports the results of a press conference given by CLEAVER in his San Francisco attorney's office at 5:00 p.m. on June 12, 1968.

The article reads in part as follows:

"Asked about the fued between the Black Panthers and the Oakland Police, Cleaver said:

"'I expect to see the Oakland police department cave in any day now.'

"He said he failed to understand how a community that large and diverse could continue to tolerate such a 'brutal' police chief as Chief Charles Gain.

"Nor, said Cleaver, could he understand how the community could tolerate such a 'racist' police department as Oakland's.

"'I expect to see them kick him (Chief Gain) out. That has to happen,' Cleaver said.

"Cleaver told representatives of the mass media gathered in Garry's book-lined library that he doesn't intend to hide and that he will stand up for his rights if he is botnered by police.

"He was asked about the April 6 shoot-out and his part in it.

"'My part in that,' he replied without hesitation, 'was ducking police bullets.'"

The article continues stating: "Yesterday, Judge Sherwin told The Chronicle he set the bail on the parole

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

status question at only \$25. plus a \$2.50 penalty assessment for a state police training fund because \$50,000. bail had already been set on Cleaver's other charges."

Cleaver appeared for the press conference wearing a black leather jacket.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached.

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

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

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

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

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

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

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

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

APPENDIX

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60300 AWC
Domestic Intelligence Division
TAM/MLT/EHL

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 6-13-68

The Black Panther Party (BPP), referred to in the attached, is a militant San Francisco based black nationalist organization. The shooting incident referred to is one of several wherein armed BPP members have become involved with the police. Subject is leader of the organization.

Subsequent information indicated that at the press conference, he said he expected to see the Chief of Police of Oakland, California, "kicked out." Cleaver stated his part in the shooting incident was "ducking bullets."

We will continue to follow subject's activities and pertinent information developed will be furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit and interested Divisions of the Department.

WLS:lrb

WCS
mlt

CC
mlt

FBI WASH DC

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

JUN 13 1968

FBI SAN FRAN

8:58PM DEFERRED 6/12/68 JXR TELETYPE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P)

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

LERROY ELDRIGE CLEAVER; ~~RM~~ ~~BPP~~ **RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

ARTICLE APPEARING IN SIX-TWELVE-SIXTYEIGHT ISSUE OF SAN FRANCISCO
 CRONICLE CAPTIONED "JUDGE TELLS STATE TO FREE CLEAVER" STATES SUPERIOR
 COURT JUDGE RAYMOND J. SHERWIN, FAIRFIELD, CALIFORNIA, ON SIX-ELEVEN-
 SIXTYEIGHT ORDERED RELEASE OF CLEAVER AS RESULT OF A HEARING ON LEGAL
 OF REVOCATION OF HIS PROLE. JUDGE SHERWIN REPORTEDLY STATED CLEAVER WAS
 BEING HELD BECAUSE OF HIS "POLITICAL ACTIVITIES." CLEAVER WILL BE RE-
 LEASED BY STATE OF CALIFORNIA TO ALAMEDA COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE
 WHERE HE WILL BE HELD IN LIEU OF FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS BOND ON
 CHARGE OF ASSAULT TO COMMIT MURDER WHICH STEMS FROM THE APRIL SIX,
 SIXTY EIGHT SHOOT-OUT HE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER
 PARTY HAD WITH OAKLAND POLICE.

LEARNED THROUGH A PRETEXT CALL TO CLEAVER'S ATTORNEY'S OFFICE
 THIS DATE AT FIVE PM THAT CLEAVER WAS RELEASED ON FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS
 BOND AND WAS AT THAT MOMENT HOLDING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN HIS ATTORNEY'S
 OFFICE.

memo
LHM FOLLOWS.

REC-15

100-447251-17

10 JUN 17 1968

END.

BJP

FBI WASH DC

P ce- 70 JUN 4 1968
ROOM 835 9&D

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

JUN 14 1968

TELETYPE

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

FBI WASH DC

J ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
FBI SACTO DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

1:30 PM URGENT 6/14/68 RIM
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM SACRAMENTO(157-291) P

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BLACK PANTHERS. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

ON THIS DATE, LES SMITH, CHIEF OF CAMPUS POLICE, UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC, STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN HUNDRED PERSONS ARE ON THE CAMPUS ATTENDING A NORTHERN CALIFORNIA - NEVADA ANNUAL CONFERENCE MEETING OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH. THEY ARE HAVING A CONFERENCE TONIGHT DEALING WITH URBAN UNREST, AND THE SCHEDULED SPEAKER, U. S. SENATOR FRED HARRIS, OKLAHOMA, CANCELLED AT THE LAST MINUTE. THE SPEAKER THEY OBTAINED, REPORTEDLY FOR A FIVE HUNDRED DOLLAR FEE, IS CAPTIONED SUBJECT.

LHM CONCERNING SUBJECT'S APPEARANCE WILL BE SUBMITTED.

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC

P

MGT-12

157-9599
100-447251-17X
15 JUN 17 1968

REC-32

EX 106

MR. TRAINOR
ROOM 836 9&D
26/1968
505

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 6/18/68

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Handwritten notes:
8/11/51
JH
AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV.
DEPT: ISD
HOW FORW: BLS
DATE FORW: 6/18/68
BY: [Signature]

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)
FROM: SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-291) (P)
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(OO: SF)

Remytel 6/14/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM and for San Francisco three copies of LHM pertaining to subject's appearance at Stockton, California, on 6/14/68.

For the information of San Francisco, at the request of the Oakland, California, Police Department, the Stockton, California, Police Department arranged to tape record CLEAVER's speech and were to make a copy of the tape available to the Oakland Police Department.

It is noted that CLEAVER stated during his speech that the Black Panthers would establish a chapter of their organization in Stockton, California. Sacramento has previously alerted racial informants and stays in contact with these informants in order to ascertain if there is any indication of the Black Panthers successfully organizing within the Sacramento Division.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 8)
- 3 - San Francisco (RM) (Enc. 3)
 - (2 - 100-5520) (CLEAVER)
 - (1 - 157-) (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
- 3 - Sacramento
 - (2 - 157-291)
 - (1 - 157-52)

Stamp: ENCLOSURE

Stamp: ST-103
REC 36

Handwritten: 100-447251-18

16 JUN 20 1968

Stamp: RACIAL INT. SECT.

RCR:nme
(9)

Approved: 57 JUL 2 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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b7c



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Sacramento, California
June 18, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

This memorandum has been furnished to the 115th Military Intelligence Group, Sacramento, California; Office of Special Investigations, 19th District, Travis Air Force Base, California, and Naval Investigative Service Office, San Francisco, California.

The June 14, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record," a daily newspaper of general circulation, Stockton, California, contained an article setting forth that on the evening of June 14, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver would address a symposium on urban unrest at the University of the Pacific (UOP), sponsored by the Northern California - Nevada Conference of the United Methodist Church. The article described him as the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party and further stated he would share the platform with Grover Bagby ^{D.C.} of Washington, D. C., Associate General Secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns. Cleaver was to be the replacement for another speaker who had canceled his speech due to illness. The article further stated that Reverend Cecil Williams, a Negro Minister of Glide Methodist Church, San Francisco, California, helped arrange Cleaver's appearance.]

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

On June 14, 1968, Les Smith, Chief of Police, UOP, Stockton, California, advised that the UOP administration was not aware that Cleaver was to speak on campus until the morning of June 14, 1968. He stated it was a last minute

COPIES DESTROYED

343 MAY 3 1971.

100-447251-18
ENCLOSURE

RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

arrangement made by the Methodist Conference and he understands Cleaver will be paid \$500 for the appearance.

On June 17, 1968, [REDACTED] Stockton, California, Police Department, advised that Cleaver used some profanity in one portion of his speech and spoke about the necessity of violence. He stated the ministers attending the speech gave Cleaver a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

b6
b7C

The June 15, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record" contained an article pertaining to Cleaver's speech. This newspaper set forth Cleaver told the assembly that the black men would use any means to get their share of America's affluence and further stated his organization would be going to Stockton. The newspaper stated further that

"The theme of 'police brutality' dominated his talk. Other speakers on the discussion of urban unrest also voiced concern over law enforcement as it exists today.

"At the close of the program Cleaver said the Black Panthers, a militant Oakland Negro power group, will establish a chapter in Stockton.

"Cleaver described police in the United States as 'an occupying army, controlled from the white suburbs.'"

"The first step in getting equality for black people is to expel this army, he said.

"We are not going to accept any fast shuffles or undue delays,' Cleaver said.

"If we can't have it, you can't either,' he told the predominantly white audience.

RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

"Cleaver repeatedly raised the specter of violence by black people in getting their objectives, but drew applause when he said at one point:

"'We must stop killing black people; we must stop killing brown people; we must stop killing yellow people; we must stop killing people.'

"Dr. Grover Bagby, associate general secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns in Washington, D. C., said that 'America is in for revolution of its entire social fabric-or destruction.'

"There is all too heavy an infiltration of racist and authoritarian elements into police forces, Dr. Bagby said.

"POLICING POLICE

"He noted that police brutality is difficult to prove, and hit at the lack of outside authority to look into police operations.

"'Who polices the police? The police police the police,' Bagby said.

"In a discussion following the two talks, Bagby said he feels significant improvements in American society will come in the next five or six years.

"But, he added, the changes may come at a high cost in bloodshed." J

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

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

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

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

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

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

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

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

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

APPENDIX

REC 6

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/DHL DATE: 6/24/68

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Walters _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GCM*

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

WBC
2-1

It is being recommended that information concerning the subject and a speech he gave on 6/14/68 before a clergymen's conference in Stockton, California, be furnished to the Crime Records Division for possible referral to a news contact.

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BACKGROUND:

The subject is a convicted rapist who was released on parole in 1966 after serving eight years of a 14 year sentence in California penitentiaries. He became a leader of the Black Panther Party of Oakland, California, the most violent black nationalist extremist group in the United States. His parole was revoked after his arrest on 4/6/68 when he participated in a 90 minute gun battle between Black Panther members and the Oakland, California police, during which he was wounded. He was freed on 6/12/68 by a California judge who claimed Cleaver's parole had been revoked because of "political activities." He is free under \$50,000 bond on a charge of assault to commit murder arising from the 4/6/68 gun battle.

DETAILS:

On 6/14/68 Cleaver was paid \$500 to speak at a conference on urban unrest held during the annual Northern California-Nevada conference of the United Methodist Church at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California. He replaced U. S. Senator Fred R. Harris (D-Oklahoma), the scheduled speaker, who cancelled at the last minute.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr.

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157-4599-2
44-13548X
CONTINUED-OVER
REC 6
16 JUN 28 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

RMJ:lkmm (6)
AUG 7 1968 *DL*

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Cleaver is reported to have used profanity during his speech to the ministers and spoke about the necessity for violence. He described the police as "an occupying army." A police department source said the ministers gave Cleaver a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

cont.
Cleaver shared the platform with Dr. Grover Bagby, Associate General Secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns in Washington, D. C., who was quoted as stating, "America is in for revolution of its entire social fabric or destruction," and "There is all too heavy an infiltration of racist and authoritarian elements into police forces." He hit at the lack of outside authority to look into police operations.



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OBSERVATIONS:

The complete inappropriateness of using a person as disreputable as Cleaver to speak at a religious gathering, the shocking example of ministers applauding his statements, and the verbal attack on the police by Bagby are matters which should be referred to a friendly news source for appropriate editorial comment.

A memorandum on unwatermarked paper containing information concerning the speech, details of which have appeared in the press, is enclosed. Public source background material concerning the Black Panther Party is being forwarded to the Crime Records Division separately.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum and its enclosure be forwarded to the Crime Records Division for action in line with the above.



WCS *AS* *AK* *✓* *TSB* *AS*
- 2 -

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL June 25, 1968

~~REC-11~~
157

WPC
2-1

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The June 14, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record," a daily newspaper of general circulation, Stockton, California, contained an article setting forth that on the evening of June 14, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver would address a symposium on urban unrest at the University of the Pacific (UOP), sponsored by the Northern California - Nevada Conference of the United Methodist Church. The article described him as the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party and further stated he would share the platform with Grover Bagby of Washington, D. C., Associate General Secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns. Cleaver was to be the replacement for another speaker who had canceled his speech due to illness. The article further stated that Reverend Cecil Williams, a Negro Minister of Glide Methodist Church, San Francisco, California, helped arrange Cleaver's appearance.

The UOP administration reportedly was not aware that Cleaver was to speak on campus until the morning of June 14, 1968. His speech was a last minute arrangement made by the Methodist Conference. It is understood that Cleaver was to be paid \$500 for the appearance.

A member of the audience advised that Cleaver used some profanity in one portion of his speech and spoke about the necessity of violence. He stated the ministers attending the speech gave Cleaver a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

The June 15, 1968, issue of the "Stockton Record" contained an article pertaining to Cleaver's speech. This article says Cleaver told the assembly that the black men would use any means to get their share of America's affluence and further stated his organization would be going to Stockton. The newspaper stated further that:

RMH:1km (7)

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

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr.

100-447251-18X
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157 9597-2

TJB
Boyd
3/2/68

ENCLOSURE

F10b

59 JUL 10 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

RE: **ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

"The theme of 'police brutality' dominated his talk. Other speakers on the discussion of urban unrest also voiced concern over law enforcement as it exists today.

"At the close of the program Cleaver said the Black Panthers, a militant Oakland Negro power group, will establish a chapter in Stockton.

"Cleaver described police in the United States as 'an occupying army, controlled from the white suburbs.'

"The first step in getting equality for black people is to expel this army, he said.

"'We are not going to accept any fast shuffles or undue delays,' Cleaver said.

"'If we can't have it, you can't either,' he told the predominantly white audience.

"Cleaver repeatedly raised the specter of violence by black people in getting their objectives, but drew applause when he said at one point:

"'We must stop killing black people; we must stop killing brown people; we must stop killing yellow people; we must stop killing people.'

"Dr. Grover Bagby, associate general secretary of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns in Washington, D. C., said that "America is in for revolution of its entire social fabric-or destruction.'

"There is all too heavy an infiltration of racist and authoritarian elements into police forces, Dr. Bagby said.

RE: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

"POLICING POLICE

"He noted that police brutality is difficult to prove, and hit at the lack of outside authority to look into police operations.

"' Who polices the police? The police police the police,' Bagby said.

"In a discussion following the two talks, Bagby said he feels significant improvements in American society will come in the next five or six years.

"But, he added, the changes may come at a high cost in bloodshed."

DATE: 01-24-2006

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC/AM/MLT/EHL
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3/25/00

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 6/28/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/17 - 6/20/68
TITLE OF CASE LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka Eldridge Cleaver		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY j1
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM - BPP	b6 b7C

REFERENCE: Report of SA , 5/9/67, at San Francisco.

- P -

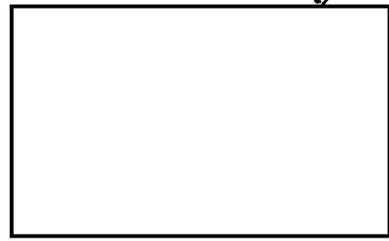
ADMINISTRATIVE

Agents who overheard the Subject announce the merger of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are SA , SA , and SA .

Handwritten: 2 cards

Handwritten: Report declassified
1/4/77 GTT

Handwritten: appropriate agents
to be notified of lead
6/28/68
6/27/68



APPROVED *ab* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

- 5 - Bureau (RM)(100-447251)
- 1 - Secret Service, (RM)
San Francisco (Class 3 & 5C)
- 3 - San Francisco (100-55520)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-447251-19 REC 54

12 JUL 1 1968

ST 102
REC-50
Handwritten: copy only

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	ISD, NIM, ARSI, SS, SSC
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	7-8-68
How Fwd.	R-S
By	RTH jar

Notations

~~SECRET~~ RACIAL INT. SECT.
Handwritten: Cass

75 JUL 18 1968

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-55520
FL:jl

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

This report.

(BY REQUEST)

100-55520-187

(BY REQUEST)

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~~SECRET~~ B -
COVER PAGE

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SF 100-55520
FL:jl

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[Redacted]

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100-55520-272

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[Redacted]

100-55520-218

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[Redacted] (S)

[Redacted] (S)

b1

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

Will follow and report results of action to revoke Subject's parole which was revoked as a result of the shootout with the Oakland, California Police Department and subsequently adjudged illegal.

~~SECRET~~

- C -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~SF 100-55520
FL:jl

1. Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. A suitable photograph is is not available.
Date photograph was taken _____.
5. Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
6. This report is classified CONFIDENTIAL because
(state reason)
information furnished by
if disclosed, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.
7. Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
 Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
of his inflammatory remarks concerning local law enforcement agencies whom he calls "pigs".
It is not believed that he would be cooperative.
8. This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because
(state reason)
the Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP.
(SF 2341-R)
10. Subject's SI card is is not tabbed Detcom.
 Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

b2
b7D- D* -
COVER PAGE~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 28, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

~~SECRET~~

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s) (1)

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

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL
ON 11-18-2005

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco
(Class 3 & 5C)(RM)

Report of:

[REDACTED]

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

07/26/68

b6

b7C

Field Office File #:

100-55520

Bureau File #:

100-447251

Title:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Synopsis:

CLEAVER resides at 2500 Filbert Street, San Francisco, California, and is employed as a senior editor for "Ramparts" at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California. He was

[REDACTED]

He has held positions of "Editor" and San Francisco Branch Captain of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and is presently Minister of Information of that organization. He has attended at least seven meetings and numerous public rallies of the BPP in period from 6/8/67 to 2/25/68, several at which he spoke. He spoke as a representative of the BPP at several YSA-SWP sponsored forums. Since his parole on 12/12/66, from an assault to commit murder conviction, he has been arrested on two occasions; once on 5/2/67 when several members of the BPP were arrested as a result of an armed appearance in the California State Legislature at Sacramento, California (charge later dismissed) and once on 4/6/68, for assault with intent to commit murder when he and several members of the BPP had a shoot-out with the Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California. His parole was revoked on 4/7/68, but the revocation was adjudged without merit and he was ordered released on 6/11/68. CLEAVER then posted \$50,000 bail on the 4/6/68 shoot-out charge and trial on this charge is pending. Statements attributable to him by the press and other sources are set out. In view of Subject's arrest in Oakland, California on 4/6/68 as a result of a shoot-out with the Oakland Police Department, SUBJECT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

SF 100-55520
FL:jl

- P -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

The Subject resides at 2500 Filbert Street, San Francisco, California and is employed as a Senior Editor for "Ramparts" at 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California.

[REDACTED]

6/20/68

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"RAMPARTS"

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

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

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

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

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

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

SF 100-55520
FL:jl

B. Marital Status

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

1/17/68

[Redacted]

b2
b7D

[Redacted]

5/31/68

A characterization of the BPP
is contained in the Appendix
of this report.

MRS. LEROY ELDRIDGE ~~RELEAVER~~
II. CONNECTIONS WITH THE BPP

A. Positions Held

b6
b7C

Subject is Editor of the "Black Panther", the
newsletter of the BPP.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

5/17/67

Subject is Editor of the "Black Panther" and
San Francisco Branch Captain of the BPP.

b2
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO CALIF.

[Redacted]

7/9/67

SF 100-55520

FL:jl

Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP.

[REDACTED]

1/4/68

Subject is Minister of Information of the BPP.

[REDACTED]

6/18/68

B. Meetings Attended

b2
b7D

The Subject attended a BPP meeting held at BPP Headquarters on Grove Street in Oakland, California on June 8, 1967.

[REDACTED]

6/10/67

The Subject attended a BPP meeting at the BPP Headquarters on Grove Street in Oakland, California on June 10, 1967.

[REDACTED]

6/12/67

b2
b7D

The Subject attended a BPP public meeting held at De Fremery Park, Oakland, California, on December 24, 1967. He spoke at this meeting with regard to HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP who is presently incarcerated awaiting trial for the murder of an Oakland Police officer in Oakland, California. He stated if HUEY goes down we will all go down with him.

[REDACTED]

1/2/68

The Subject attended BPP meetings held at St. Philip's Church, 22nd and Grove Streets, Oakland, California, on January 14, 1968; January 21, 1968; January 28, 1968, and February 11, 1968. He spoke at each of these meetings.

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[REDACTED]

1/15/68
1/22/68

1/29/68
2/12/68

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[Redacted]
2/16/68

The Subject acted as Master of Ceremony at a BPP sponsored rally for "HUEY NEWTON's Defense Fund" held at the Oakland Auditorium Arena on February 17, 1968. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the main speaker.

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[Redacted]
3/1/68

[Redacted]
3/4/68

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is former National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC).

A characterization of the SNCC is included in the Appendix of this report.

Subject attended a HUEY NEWTON birthday party sponsored by the BPP to raise funds for NEWTON's legal defense on February 19, 1968. Subject introduced H. RAP BROWN who was a surprise guest at the party.

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2/19/68

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H. RAP BROWN was the National
Chairman of SNCC at the time
of this party.

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2/19/68

Subject attended a BPP gathering on February 25,
1968, in the vicinity of 47 Potomac Avenue, San Francisco,
California. The purpose of the gathering was to discuss
retaliatory measures to be taken against the Berkeley Police
Department in connection with the recent arrest of BOBBY
GEORGE SEALE, [REDACTED] and four others. The Subject
was present at this gathering but did not speak.

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[REDACTED]
2/26/68

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE is Chairman
of the BPP.

[REDACTED]
2/26/68

The Subject attended a BPP public rally held at
the Berkeley City Courthouse on February 26, 1968 to protest
the arrest of BOBBY GEORGE SEALE and others on February 25,
1968.

[REDACTED]
3/1/68

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C. Appearances as a Representative of the BPP

A flyer captioned "Socialist Calendar", distributed
by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) during May of 1967,
announced the Subject would speak on May 4, 1967, on "The
Last Year of Malcolm X" at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco,
California, under auspices of the YSA.

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A characterization of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) appear in the Appendix.

MALCOLM X is characterized in the Appendix section under the caption of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated, and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. Characterizations of those organizations and the Nation of Islam are included in the Appendix.

An article appearing in the May 22, 1967, issue of "The Militant", the weekly newspaper of the SWP captioned "S.F. Symposium on Malcolm Book" reads in part as follows:

"The development of the ideas of Malcolm X was the subject of a Militant Labor Forum held here on Thursday, May 4.

"The speakers were George Novack, Marxist scholar, and Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver is a staff writer for 'Ramparts' magazine, and chairman of the Black House, a center for militant Afro-Americans in San Francisco.

"The discussion centered around 'The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary,' the recently published book by George Breitman.

"Cleaver praised the book for taking a vast amount of material--speeches, statements, interviews--and organizing it so as to clarify the development of Malcolm's ideas... While in prison, Cleaver had gone along with the Malcolm faction at the time of the split (with Nation of Islam).

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"'Waiting on salvation paralyzes,' Cleaver said.
'The Black Muslims captured a lot of energy--
the energy of black militants--but they
focused it in the hereafter. Malcolm's
break focused that energy in the here and now.
He no longer carried the message
down the pipeline from Allah to Elijah
Muhammad to himself.'"

Militant Labor Forum is the
name used by the YSA and SWP
to sponsor its public meetings.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the leader
of the Nation of Islam (NOI)
a characterization of which
appears in the Appendix.

The Subject spoke at a YSA sponsored public
forum at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California on
May 4, 1967. He discussed the arrest of BPP members who had
made an armed appearance at the California State Capitol in
Sacramento, California on May 2, 1967, and appealed for funds
to be used for the legal defense of those arrested. He
stated that he was unable to speak well on his scheduled
topic "The Last Year of Malcolm X" due to his recent arrest
in Sacramento and his inability to prepare.

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[REDACTED]

5/11/67

Subject is scheduled to speak at noon on the lower
plaza at the University of California, Berkeley, California
on May 10, 1967, as a representative of the BPP. This
appearance is sponsored by the YSA.

[REDACTED]

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Subject and BOBBY SEALE appeared as BPP representatives⁷ and spoke at a YSA forum held at 2338 Market Street, San Francisco, California on January 5, 1968. At this forum the Subject said that a person cannot support TROTSKY or LENIN and support HUEY NEWTON. He said the black people are in colonies within a mother country. When asked what form he would like to see this country in, he could not answer and appeared to have no program for actual change. ✓

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The Subject appeared and spoke as a representative of the BPP at a Militant Labor Forum at 2338 Market Street, San Francisco, California, on January 5, 1968. The Subject told of how when he got out of jail he searched for an organization to identify himself with. He checked into many, but when he found the BPP he knew he had found the ultimate and that there was no place to go from there. He stated that he regarded both NEWTON and SEALE as completely unselfish people and mentioned that he had been a great admirer of MALCOLM X who he said rightly abandoned praying to Allah to pick up the gun. He referred to STOKELY CARMICHAEL as their international ambassador. He also spoke of the oppression of the black people and of how they built this country so that the white man could live well. ✓

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1/16/68

[REDACTED] on January 11, 1968, also reported the Subject's appearance at the Militant Labor Forum on January 5, 1968.

An article captioned "Panthers to Defend Newton in Noon Rally" appeared in the January 23, 1968, issue of "The Pioneer", The California State College at Hayward school newspaper. This article reads in part as follows:

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"Who is Huey P. Newton?

"Two officials of the Black Panther Society for Self-Defense will answer that question Thursday noon in MA 1055.

"Bobby Seale, Chairman of the party, and Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, will speak on the topic of Huey Newton, Panther Defense Minister, who is presently being tried for the murder of an Oakland policeman...

"The Thursday event is being sponsored jointly by Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Student Union."

A characterization of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) appears in the Appendix.

The Black Student Union (BSU) is a militant black nationalist organization formed on numerous college campuses throughout the country.

An article appearing in the March 1, 1968, issue⁷ of the "San Francisco Sunday Examiner" and "Chronicle" captioned "Berkeley Professors Seek to Block Pro-Viet Cong Rally" reads in part as follows:

"A number of irate University of California professors are preparing to seek a court injunction tomorrow morning to head off a pro-Viet Cong rally scheduled for Pauley Ballroom on the Berkeley campus tomorrow night..."

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"The announced program included 'songs and music from revolutionary Vietnam' and features a number of speakers, some with Communist or militant backgrounds.

"They include. . . Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, leaders in the militant Black Panther movement."

D. Other BPP Activities

Subject and [redacted] are endeavoring to agree on a joint plan for defense of the arrested members of the BPP who were arrested as a result of an armed appearance at the California State Capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The plan calls for the SWP to assist in raising money and for the SWP to promise not to endeavor to control or dominate the BPP organization. The SWP intends to support the BPP members on the Constitutional issue of their right to seek redress of grievances before the State Legislature whether their appearance was with or without guns. [redacted] is a member of the SWP.

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5/15/67

[redacted] Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Oakland, California, advised that HUEY NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP is presently incarcerated as a result of an indictment returned on November 13, 1967, by a Grand Jury for murder of an Oakland Police Officer on October 28, 1967.

The Subject visited NEWTON at the jail on the following dates:

December 8, 1967	January 19, 1968
December 20, 1967	January 24, 1968
January 3, 1968	February 5, 1968
January 5, 1968	February 16, 1968
	February 23, 1968
	February 28, 1968
	March 1, 1968

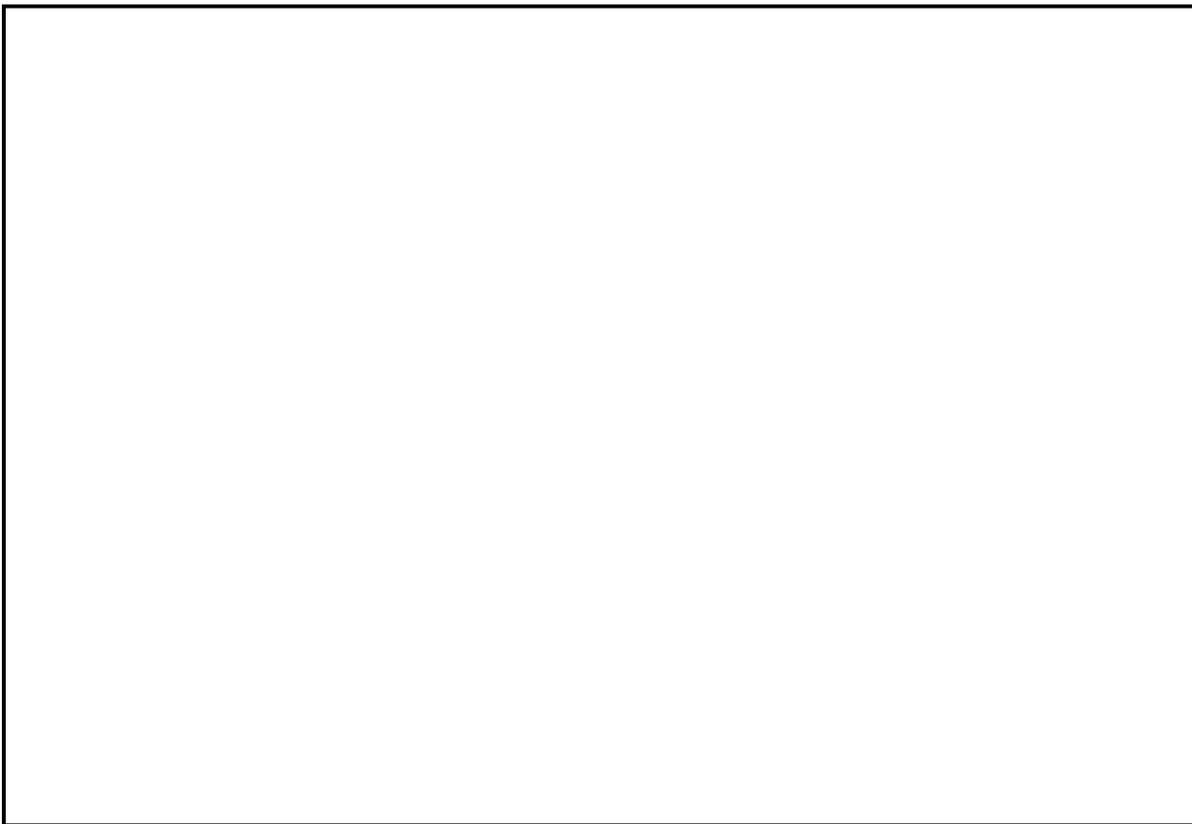
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On February 17, 1968, Agents of the FBI were present at a HUEY P. NEWTON Defense Fund Rally held at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California, where they overheard the Subject announce that a merger of the BPP and SNCC had taken place.

III. PAROLE STATUS

A. Background of Conviction on March 11, 1958, Incarceration and Release on Parole

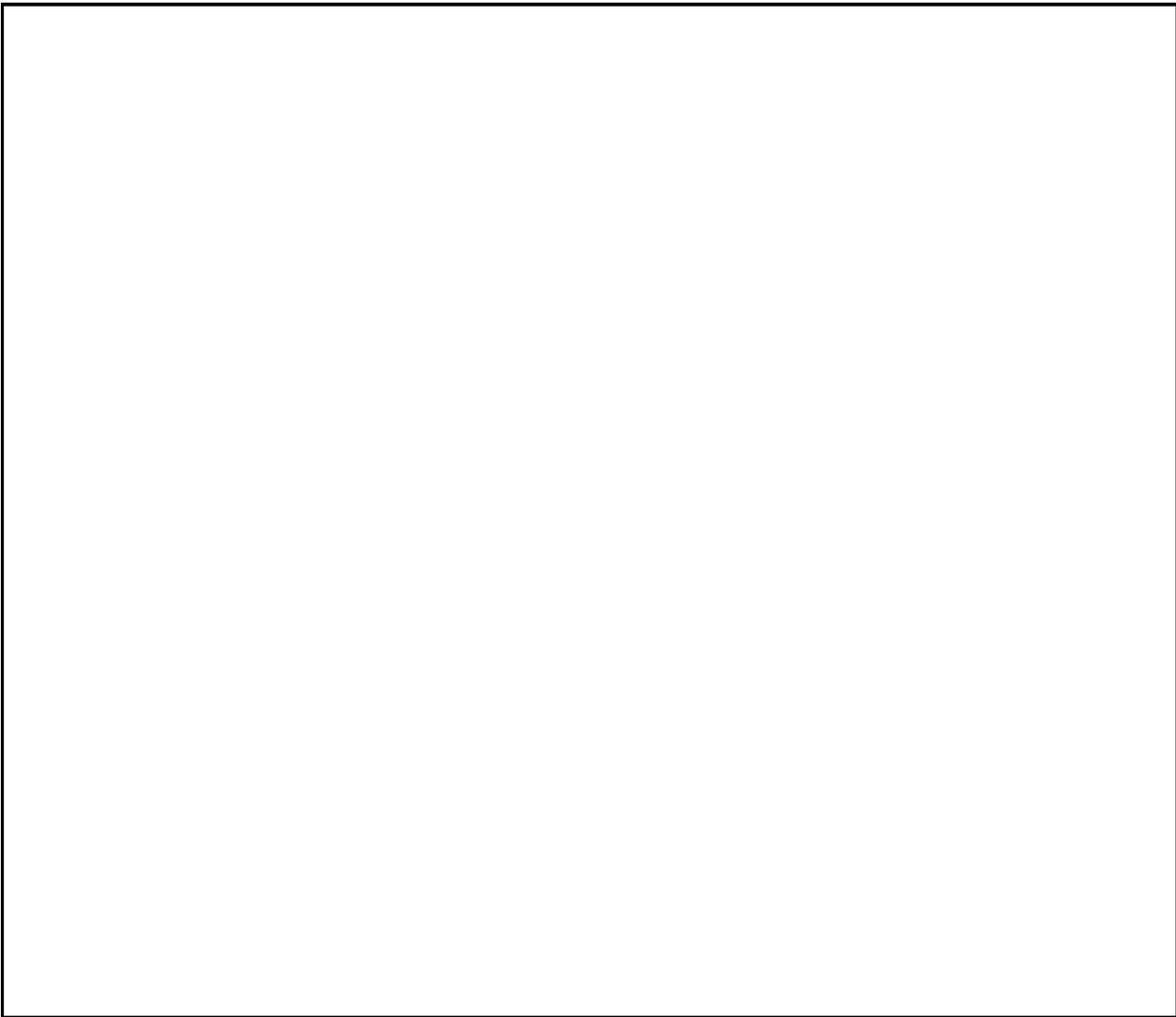
The Subject's FBI Identification Record indicates⁷ he was arrested on November 3, 1957, for assault with intent to commit murder. The facts surrounding this arrest are as follows:



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Subject was convicted and served eight years of a fourteen year sentence. He was paroled on December 12, 1966.]



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B. Arrest in Sacramento, California
on May 2, 1967

At approximately twelve noon on May 2, 1967, a group of twenty-four Negro males who identified themselves as

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members of the BPP made a protest march and appearance at the California State Capitol, Sacramento, California. The purpose of their appearance was to protest an assembly bill being introduced on that date by Assemblyman DON MULFORD. The bill being introduced by Assemblyman MULFORD prohibited the instruction in the use of firearms for the commission of the crime of riot. It further prohibited the carrying of a loaded firearm on one's person in a public street or in a public place within any city.

On arriving at the Capitol, one group remained on the main floor of the Capitol Building, while a second group composed of approximately twelve men went to the Assembly Chambers on the second floor of the building. This group was armed with rifles, shotguns and handguns. The group forced its way past two sergeants-at-arms and entered the floor of the Assembly Chamber. They were subsequently removed by members of the State Police and the Sergeant-at-Arms. At that point the entire group left the Capitol grounds and entered five vehicles which had been used for their trip to Sacramento.

Shortly after leaving the Capitol Building the group congregated at a service station located on the corner of 15th and "L" Streets which is on the northeast corner of the State Capitol grounds. Officers of the Sacramento Police Department arrived at the scene and observed the group with the guns in their possession standing at the intersection. The entire group consisting of 24 Negro men were arrested by the officers and twelve firearms consisting of four handguns, five rifles and three shotguns were confiscated. The group was taken to the Sacramento City Jail and each individual was charged with violation of Section 182.1 of the California Penal Code, which is conspiracy, the specific charge being to disturb the State Assembly while in session. The Subject was charged with violation of Section 3056 of the California Penal Code (Parole Violation).

On May 1, 1967, "Ramparts" contacted a parole officer in the Department of Corrections in San Francisco, requesting permission for the Subject, then a staff writer for the magazine, to attend the session of the California State Legislature on May 2, 1967, which would be concerned that day

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with police and community relations. Early on May 2, 1967, the Subject received the permission requested. Subsequent to the Subject's arrest at Sacramento a "Ramparts" attorney protested that CLEAVER was with a group of white reporters on the scene and that no white reporter was arrested, that he presented his press card to the arresting officers who disregarded it with an insult, that he was mistreated by the police and discriminated against because he was a Negro. The attorney claimed to have several white witnesses to back up his statement and succeeded in getting the charge against the Subject reduced from a felony to a misdemeanor.

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5/3/67

On May 4, 1967, the Subject appeared in Superior Court, Sacramento County, Sacramento, California, at which time charges were dismissed and Subject remained on parole.

C. Arrest in Oakland, California
April 6, 1968

On April 6, 1968, at approximately 10:30 p.m., the Subject, along with seven other men tentatively identified as Black Panthers were arrested in Oakland, California by officers of the Oakland Police Department. The arrest came after 90 minutes of gun battle in which two police officers were wounded, one suspect BOBBY JAMES HUTTON was killed, and two suspects were wounded. The Subject was one of the wounded.

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According to the police the altercations started when two police officers were fired upon when they stopped to investigate a suspicious person. The Subject was positively identified by [REDACTED] of the Oakland Police Department as having in his possession a carbine rifle and an automatic pistol at the time of surrender. The Alameda County District Attorney issued a complaint alleging violation of Section 271 of the Penal Code (Assault with Intent to Commit Murder) against CLEAVER and the others. Additional charges are

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pending. The Subject was removed to a Department of Corrections facility for detainment. Special action was taken by the Adult Authority on April 7, 1968, to cancel his parole.

[REDACTED]

5/6/68

BOBBY HUTTON was treasurer of
the BPP at the time of his death.

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On April 10, 1968, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Oakland Police Department, Oakland,
California, advised that investigation by the Oakland Police
Department subsequent to the April 6, 1968, arrest of
the Subject as a result of the shoot-out with the Oakland
Police Department has disclosed the following facts:

Early on Saturday evening, April 6, 1968, LEROY
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, better known as ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister
of Information, BPP, gathered members and leaders of the BPP
together at BPP Headquarters, 4421 Grove Street, Oakland,
California, and told them that he received alarming information
from a source considered by him to be reliable and in a
position to know. He said he had been told that the Oakland
Police Department was planning genocide against the BPP.
Then he stated, "We'll take care of that. We'll get them
first."

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About fifteen BPP members, including CLEAVER and
DAVID HILLIARD, National Captain of the BPP, proceeded in three
cars to a house located at [REDACTED] Oakland, California,
where they gathered up numerous weapons, including rifles and
shotguns. At this location CLEAVER stated that they would
cruise around North Oakland to look for a policeman to kill.

They then proceeded to North Oakland and spotted two
police officers as they were getting out of their patrol car.
The BPP members got out of their cars unnoticed by the officers.
By jumping fences and going through backyards they endeavored

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to maneuver themselves into a position to shoot at the officers. Before they could get set up, the officers were back in their car and departed. No shots were fired and the officers never became aware of the presence of the BPP members. The officers had responded to a missing persons complaint and had only remained at the location of the complaint for a short time because they were informed upon arrival that the missing person had returned home.

After previously cruising around North Oakland, the BPP members decided to rendezvous in the vicinity of 30th and Union Streets, Oakland. Shortly after they arrived in that location, the aforementioned shooting incident took place.

The April 11, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco daily newspaper, on Page 3, Paragraph 5, contains an article captioned "Panthers Plead Not Guilty", which states in part as follows:

"Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver was brought in a heavily guarded ambulance from the Vacaville Medical Facility to make an Oakland court appearance with six co-defendants yesterday. . .

"More than one-half of the spectators in court were Black Panthers, and they gave Cleaver and the other defendants the clenched fist salute of the militant Negro organization. Some chanted 'Black Power' at the end of the hearing.

"Cleaver and the others entered pleas of not guilty to charges of assault with intent to commit murder arising from a gun battle in West Oakland last weekend . . ."

An article appearing in the April 26, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco, California, captioned "Exclusive Talk with Cleaver" reads in part as follows:

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"A Black Panther official shot during the 90-minute gun battle with Oakland Police on April 6 called the 'official' version of that incident a 'tissue of lies' yesterday.

"In an exclusive interview in the Alameda County Jail, Eldridge Cleaver, 32, party Minister of Information, said:

"Bobby Hutton, 17, killed by police bullets, was 'told to run for a squad car' and, while his hands were raised, and he was unarmed, officers shot him down.

"The Panthers, in three cars, were out collecting food for a picnic for the following day when a squad car abruptly pulled up 'and suddenly a gun exploded right in my face.'

"With one or two possible exceptions, the arsenal that police claim was confiscated at the scene of the shoot-out --near 1228 - 28th street-- was actually taken from a parked Panther car's locked trunk, miles away and hours later.

"Following the 'police ambush' of some eight Panthers, officers made no attempt to immediately allow Cleaver and Hutton out of the house they were 'holed up in' but, instead, poured a fusillade of bullets in through its walls.

"Cleaver spoke shortly before the Grand Jury transcript was released and was thus unable to speculate on the testimony of fellow Panthers who told police that the group had been looking for trouble before the shooting started.

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"He is being held in lieu of \$75,000 bail on charges stemming from the incident.

"In an interview room, Cleaver, the articulate author of 'Soul on Ice' who served nine years in prison for assault with a deadly weapon, maintained trouble was the furthest thing from the Panthers' minds the night the shooting started.

"'I was never armed,' he said, 'because Huey P. Newton (party founder) had laid down orders that, as a parolee, I should not be armed.'

"Cleaver admitted that young Hutton had a rifle in the house. After police began firing, he said Hutton exchanged shots with police.

"'But before we came out of the house I took Bobby's gun and threw it out and the police saw me throw it out,' Cleaver said.

"The trouble began about 9:30 p.m., when, Cleaver said, a squad car pulled up alongside three Panther cars parked on 28th street.

"'We had been gathering provisions for the sisters (women members) and were on our way for a load of potatoes.'

"Cleaver said he saw a policeman get out of a squad car, which had suddenly pulled up, 'heard some loud talk' from a policeman, and then the shooting began."]

E. Action Taken To Gain Cleaver's Release

A flyer captioned "Release Eldridge Cleaver! An Appeal For Letters Demanding Justice From the California

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Adult Authority" written and distributed by Mrs. KATHLEEN
CLEAVER reads in part as follows:

"Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, author of the best-seller 'Sout on Ice,' staff writer for Ramparts Magazine, and member of the State Steering Committee of the Peace and Freedom Movement, is now being held a political prisoner at the State prison hospital at Vacaville, California. In a massive attack by 50 police on a group of Black Panthers in West Oakland on the night of April 6, Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton were trapped in the basement of a house that was bombarded with machine guns, tear gas, and finally set afire. Seventeen-year-old Bobby Hutton was murdered by the police while surrendering. Eldridge Cleaver was shot in the leg . . .

"After serving ten years of a 1-14 year sentence in California prisons, Eldridge was released on parole for four years. He had been consistently denied parole by the Adult Authority during his imprisonment as punishment for his political activities while in prison. . .

"The clearly calculated attempt to liquidate the leadership of the Black Panther Party, starting in October with the attempt to murder Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, in the streets, followed by the frame-up of Bobby Seale, Chairman, in February . . . culminating in the attempt to murder Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information . . . as intensified as the political power and organizational strength of the Party has grown. This, coupled with the flagrant irregularities in the arrest and charging of Eldridge Cleaver, the generalized harassment of the Black Panther Party, and the recent move to bring a Grand Jury indictment against the Panthers involved in the shoot-out. . . reveals a planned and consistent attempt to destroy our organization."

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The flyer goes on to request that everyone write a letter or send a telegram to the Chairman of the California Adult Authority in Sacramento, California, demanding the re-instatement of Eldridge Cleaver's parole and condemns their collusion with the Oakland Police Department and its attempt to liquidate the leadership of the BPP. The flyer also asked for contributions to the BPP Defense Fund.

An article appearing in the May 21, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" captioned "New Legal Bid to Free Cleaver" reads in part as follows:

"Attorneys for Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver filed a petition in Fairfield yesterday for a writ of habeas corpus to release their client.

"Charles Garry charged that his client, arrested in the April 6 Oakland shoot-out, is being unlawfully held because his parole -- Cleaver is an ex-felon--was 'unlawfully canceled.'

"Cleaver has denied he carried guns the night of the shooting. The California Adult Authority summarily revoked his parole on April 7, though Cleaver has not yet been tried on the gun charges.

"Garry also attacked the Authority's parole revocation on other grounds dealing with his association with Panthers, whom the State termed 'individuals of bad reputation,' plus a third charge that Cleaver failed 'to co-operate with his parole agent.'"

As of May 19, 1968, the California Adult Authority, who is responsible for passing on the Subject's parole or revocation thereof, had received over 384 letters seeking the release of the Subject. The correspondence included many educators, professionals and prominent citizens from all over the country.

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An article appearing in the June 1, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco, California, captioned "Panthers' Fiery Rally For Cleaver" reads in part as follows:

"The Black Panthers staged a fiery, hour-long rally here yesterday afternoon to whip up support for the release of their jailed minister of information, Eldridge Cleaver.

"More than 200 persons showed up for the event, in front of the office of the California Department of Corrections . . . at 71 Eleventh Street.

"The speakers were Kathleen Cleaver, wife of the jailed Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale, and Stokely Carmichael black power leader and former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"Mrs. Cleaver and Seale made bitter attacks against 'pigs (police) and racists' and vowed that they and other Panthers would arm themselves to keep from being exterminated. . .

"Carmichael spoke briefly and sardonically:

"'Well, we're just here to support Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton to free them. Demonstrations won't do it. We know what'll do it, and we're gonna take care of business. That's all.'"

An article appearing in the June 13, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" captioned "Judge Blocks Protest, Cleaver Free on Bail" reads in part as follows:

"Solano County Superior Judge Raymond J. Sherwin, declared Tuesday that Cleaver, 33, was being unjustly held as a 'political prisoner' in the State Medical Facility at Vacaville. . .

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"California Adult Authority had canceled Cleavers parole on an earlier conviction because of his alleged participation in the April gun battle. . .

"Judge Sherwin ordered his release saying the evidence failed to support the Adult Authority's action.

"The peril of his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing his political goals--goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries.

"Not only was there absence of cause for cancellation of the parole, it was a product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement of this state," said the judge."]

IV. STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTABLE TO CLEAVER

A. Articles Written by Cleaver

An editorial captioned "Huey Must Be Set Free!" appearing in the November 23, 1967, issue of "The Black Panther--Black Community News Service," which bears the words "Minister of Information, Black Panther Party" as the writer, reads in part as follows:

"Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, lies in the hospital at San Quentin State Prison, with a gunshot wound in his stomach, inflicted by an Oakland cop. An Oakland cop is dead and buried and a second cop lies somewhere in some hospital with three bullet wounds in his body. Huey has been charged with the murder of the first cop and the shooting of the second.

"The shooting occurred in the heart of Oakland's black ghetto. Huey is a black man, a resident of Oakland's black ghetto, and the two cops were white and lived in the white suburbs. On the night that the shooting occurred, there were 400 years of oppression of black people by white people focused and manifested in the incident. We are at that crossroads in history where black people are determined to bring down the final curtain on the drama of their struggle to free themselves from the boot of the white man that is on their collective neck. Huey Newton knew that the chief instrument of oppression of black people in America is the police departments of the cities. Through murder, brutality, and the terror of their image, the police of America have kept black people intimidated, locked in a mortal fear, and paralyzed in their bid for freedom. He knew that the power of the police over black people has to be broken if we are to be liberated from our bondage. These gestapo dogs are not holy, they are not angels, and there is no more mystery surrounding them. They are brutal beasts who have been gunning down black people and getting away with it. They call this 'justifiable homicide' carried out by an officer of the law in the line of duty. Black people understand that this is very true--but not in the way that the lying mass media would have people believe.

"The 'duty' that these wretched jackels are carrying out is to keep the niggers in check; the peace that they are charged with keeping is the peace of the power structure, the peace of the Bank of America and General Motors. To perform their duty, they must necessarily disturb the peace of black people. In fact, black people have had no peace since the first day they sat foot on this bloody Babylonian soil called America. Peace is what black people seek, what they are determined to have. Peace is what is being withheld from black people. L

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"Every week, from every corner of America, we hear the reports of how some cop has shot and killed some black man, woman or child. We are sick and tired of hearing such news and we don't want to hear any more. The only way that is can be from now on is that there will be no more reports of black people being massacred or we want to hear more reports about more dead cops shot down by black men. There can be no two ways about it, there can no longer be a double standard, one for black people and one for white people, one for cops with guns and one for black men with guns. Either human life is sacred or it is not. If human life is sacred then we must demand that black life also be considered sacred.

"The racist dog Oakland cops say that this dead cop is the first one who has been killed 'in the line of duty' in twenty eyars. Yet that same Oakland police force has shot and killed scores of black men and women in that same period. What about them? Don't they count? Who is keeping the statistics about them? And what are we supposed to do about that? Are we supposed to just sit back calmly and add another digit to the statistics everytime another black person is killed by an Oakland cop? We know that that is what they want us to do -- but we are here to say that those days are gone! Does everybody understand that? **THOSE DAY ARE GONE! THE DAY WHEN A COP CAN SHOOT A BLACK MAN, WOMAN, OR CHILD DOWN IN COLD BLOOD AND HAVE IT RULED JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE IS GONE FOREVER. FROM NOW ON WE SAY: ONE MAN, ONE LIFE!"**

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On May 16, 1968, Campus Police, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California, provided a copy of a flyer which was released on the campus by the Black Student Union. This flyer is captioned "Credo for Riotors and Looters" and indicates it was written by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party.

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"Upwards to 20,000,000 Black people, knowing you for the rotten, racist, murdering nation of white thievish hypocrites that you are, are no longer interested in explaining anything to you, America. Indeed. We understand that you already know all about it. We know that your investigations into the disorders are just a bunch of bullshit maneuvers designed to but give you time while you multiply and perfect your machinery of repression which you have already unleashed upon us. In fact, your investigators themselves are amongst your chief and shrewdist criminals.

"Black people have already judged you, America, and have condemned you to death. And we also know that history has selected us, your slaves and chief victims, to be your executioner, the instrument of your destruction.

"What a laugh! America the beautiful. Home of the Brave. Friend of the underdog. You once had a beautiful dream-- but even then, while you dreamed that dream, you were foul and corrupt and rotten in your heart, but you were a minor league brigand then and when you compared yourself to the other tyrannies of the world, you looked innocent by contrast to their greater evil. The innocent blood they had shed was a vast and ancient ocean, and yours was a fresh new stream. But now your little stream has become vaster than the sky and your evil dwarfs everything that has gone before. Now you stand naked before the world, before yourself, a predatory, genocidal Dorian Grey, stripped of all egalitarian democratic makeup.

"Is it any wonder that we burn you, that we loot you--you who have burned and looted the world? Who are you to judge? You have no say in the matter. In the councils of the oppressed, the oppressor has no vote. The oppressor has no right which the oppressed are bound to respect."

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B. Statements Attributed to Cleaver
In Newspaper Articles

An article appearing in the May 22, 1967, issue of "The Militant" weekly newspaper of the SWP captioned "San Francisco Symposium on Malcolm X" reads in part as follows:

"Eldridge Cleaver blamed the police for the near hysterical reactions against the Black Panthers. 'If they had known the law', said Cleaver, 'it never would have happened. We have no choice but to fight this out to the bitter end and the only end is the complete exoneration of all of those who protested and participated in the exercise of their rights.'"

An article captioned "Black Panthers To Use Violence" which appeared in the November 28, 1967, issue of "The Daily Californian", the University of California at Berkeley newspaper reads in part as follows:

"'There will be no more rocks and bottles. Now it's hand grenades, dynamite, and machine guns.'

"That was the essence of a recent interview with the Minister of Information of Oakland's Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, a radical Black organization.

"Speaking anonymously, 'for reasons of compelling security,' the Minister said, 'It's going to be a blood bath.'

"He was referring to the building confrontation between whites and militant blacks in the nation's ghettos--particularly in Oakland.

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"Explaining the Panther view of the racial situation, he said, 'The police are viewed as the occupying army in a colonial situation.'

"The basic demand is 'withdraw or be driven out. . .'

"The incident occurred in the Black community. The cops are mercenaries who must be driven out,' the Information Minister said. . .'

"Concerning the possibility of a violent upheaval in Oakland, he said, 'It's inevitable.'

"Black people have traveled the whole spectrum of protest from marches to sit-ins to stones and bricks and nothing has worked.

"We have made a great effort to tell the people in Oakland that rocks and bottles won't do anything. It's going to be guns,' he warned.

"The Minister offered many reasons for the violent nature of the predicted upheaval.

"He said the 'Oakland cops are savage and brutal --worse than anyone else maybe excepting Mississippi cops. Where the occupying army is the most brutal is where the response will be most implacable.'

"It will be a blood bath,' he reaffirmed."

An article captioned "Panther Warns Negroes" which appeared in the "Berkeley Daily Gazette" of Berkeley, California, on March 2, 1968, indicates that CLEAVER delivered an anti-police--pro-student talk to the University of California on Sproul Hall steps in which he advised students to bring pressure on local city councils and school

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boards to bring about a peaceful resolution to civil rights tensions. The article indicates he had harsh words for Negroes who corroborated with police and advised Panthers to greet police officers with a shotgun if any should seek entry to their residence.

An article captioned "Panther Leader Asks Ballot on Separation" appeared in the March 25, 1968, issue of "The Militant". This article indicates that CLEAVER called for a plebiscite to be held in black communities throughout the nation to decide whether "they want to be separated into a sovereign nation of their own."

CLEAVER stated that in this black colony only black colonial subjects would be allowed to participate in determining their national destiny.

An article captioned "Panther Philosophy Outlined" which appeared in the March 15, 1968, issue of "The Advocate" the Contra Costa College Newspaper, San Pablo, California, quoted CLEAVER as having said that if HUEY NEWTON, Defense Minister of the BPP, who is accused of killing an Oakland policeman is killed, there will be a civil war in the United States.

C. Speeches Made

At the BPP meeting held at St. Philip's Church in Oakland, on January 21, 1968, CLEAVER spoke for about 20 minutes stressing the importance of raising funds for the defense of HUEY NEWTON and concerning this he stated the Black Panther Party members "should feel justified to rob, steal, and if necessary, to kill in order to get what they need for the support of their organization."

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At the Black Panther Party meeting held at St. Philip's Church in Oakland, on February 11, 1968, CLEAVER gave a 20 minute talk. The theme of his talk was that the BPP

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is a revolutionary political organization and the members of the Party should feel justified in stealing, robbing or carrying anything they need from "the man" because white people have for 400 years cheated and stolen from the black race.

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At the March 16, 1968, session of the Peace and Freedom Party State Convention, held at the Richmond Auditorium, Richmond, California, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, BPP, gave a speech in which he read from a document entitled, "Black Paper - Revolution in the White Mother Country and National Liberation in the Black Colony." Excerpts from his speech are set forth as follows:

"The Black Panther Party believes that the era in which we now struggle can be characterized as the Age of Showdown - between Oppressed People Everywhere and the Racist Imperial Power Structure. The era can be further defined as that in which significant sectors of the exploiters have turned away from the system, have declared war upon the system that has warped their lives and tainted their existence at the same time that it was doing the same thing and worse to those whom it oppresses. We recognize these alienated people as allies or potential allies in a struggle against a common enemy.

"We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition, our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the black colony . . .

"Ideally, we need a revolutionary organization that is able to, guided by revolutionary ideology and comprehending the necessity involved, move in two directions at the same time . . .

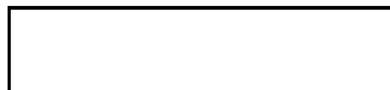
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"The Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in the Bay Area (San Francisco, Alameda, and Contra Costa Counties, California) have been experimenting over the past few months with a very narrow coalition around a very broad subject. The focal point of the coalition is now, and always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications . . .

"We have offered our leader, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, as a candidate for the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County, and we have offered our Chairman, Bobby Seale, as a candidate for the 17th Assembly District. In San Francisco, we have offered our communications secretary, Kathleen Cleaver, for a candidate in the 18th Assembly District. The advantages in doing this are manifold. First and foremost, we are interested in setting Huey P. Newton free."

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Oakland Police Department
Oakland, California
3/26/68

V. MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

On March 22, 1968, the California Adult Authority authorized the Subject to travel to New York City.



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Four Black Panther Party members, including the Subject, were in New York City during March, 1968, primarily to arrange matters relating to a book recently written by one of the BPP members. While these individuals were in

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New York they also attended a rally for MAX STANFORD.

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MAX STANFORD is the leader of
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).
A characterization of RAM
appears in the Appendix.

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The Subject had an introductory subscription to
"The Militant".

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An article captioned "Cleaver Running for President"
appearing in the May 14, 1968, edition of the "San
Francisco Chronicle" reads in part as follows:

"Eldridge Cleaver, the imprisoned
Black Panther leader, announced his
candidacy yesterday for the presidency
of the United States.

"Cleaver will run against Comedian
Dick Gregory for the nomination next
July of the Peace and Freedom Party,
which is on the ballot in California,
New York and three other states."

An article captioned "Panthers Run Cleaver
For President" appearing in the May 18, 1968, issue of
the "People's World" reads in part as follows:

"The Black Panther Party also announced
May 13, the candidacy of Cleaver, the party's
minister of information and author of 'Soul on Ice,'
for the U.S. presidency.

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"Cleaver's candidacy, said Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver at a San Francisco press conference May 13, was in response to the 'bullets, bombs and bullshit' with which America's rulers have met the mounting fight for national liberation here and around the world."

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

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

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

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

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

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

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

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

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

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

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

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

APPENDIX

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

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

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

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

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

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

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

1.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX

2.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On February 28, 1966, a second confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Harlem, New York.

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

Characterizations of MMI and NOI are set out separately.

APPENDIX

1.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

APPENDIX

2.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it will most likely be where STANFORD resides.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

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

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

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

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

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

APPENDIX

1.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O.Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

June 28, 1968

Title	LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Report of SA dated and captioned as above, at San Francisco.

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

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.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

NOT

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251) / MLT/ERL DATE: 6/28/68

[Handwritten signature]

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
Eldridge Cleaver

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00
11/18/68
aa

(12)

2 mas

Re: _____

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (*specify change only*):

Name			
Aliases		<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Tab Detcom
		<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Delete Detcom
		<input type="checkbox"/> Alien	
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> SWP	<input type="checkbox"/> JFG	<input type="checkbox"/> SPL
<input type="checkbox"/> WWP	<input type="checkbox"/> SDS	<input type="checkbox"/> PLP	<input type="checkbox"/> ANA
<input type="checkbox"/> NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> RAM	<input type="checkbox"/> SNC	<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (<i>specify</i>) _____
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.		Residence Address	
		2500 Filbert Street San Francisco, California <i>100-447251-</i> NOT RECORDED	
Key Facility Data		8 JUL 1 1968	
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility _____	

b6
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REGISTERED MAIL

② - Bureau (RM) (Encs. 2)
1 - San Francisco
FL:jl
(3)

ENCLOSURE DETACHED
AND HANDLED SEPARATELY

54 JUL 9 1968

INT SEC.
Russell Intell. Sect.
[Handwritten signature]



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

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

June 28, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

REFERENCE: San Francisco letter, 12/26/67.

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

Residence: 2500 Filbert Street
San Francisco, California

Employment:

100-447251

NOT RECORDED

8 JUL 1 1968

Copy to SS
by routing slip for
 info action
date 7/8/68
by Epg/mh

~~INT 896~~

54 JUL 9 1968
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Director, FBI (105-165706)/EHL

7/2/69

Legat, Bern (157-7) (RUC)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - UNDERGROUND
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBulet 6/18/69.

Since [redacted] sources do not appear to be in a position to furnish information concerning a Black Panther underground apparatus or data regarding the manner in which LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER managed to make his way to a sympathetic foreign country, they are not being contacted in this matter.

b7D

The Embassy has been requested separately to alert the [redacted] [redacted] to Bureau interest in CLEAVER.

③ - Bureau
(1 - Liaison)
1 - Bern
HDG:rn
(4)

FISO
60 JUL 17 1969

100-447251-
NOT RECORDED
183 JUL 14 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-1343

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DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC

FBI

Date: 7/3/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-437)(C)
SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
RM - SNCC

Re Boston teletype to Director dated 6/29/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning visit of STOKELY CARMICHAEL to Boston, Mass., on 6/28/68. Copies are designated for WFO(00) and Atlanta (Info). Local dissemination is being made to NISO, OSI, 108th MI Group, and USA, Boston.

The letterhead memorandum is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since the information it contains, furnished by the sources mentioned, could logically result in their identification and jeopardize their future activities.

- 4-Bureau (100-446080) (enc. 11) (RM)
- (1 - 100-447251)
- 2-WFO (100-43503) (enc. 2) (RM)
- 1-Atlanta (100-6812) (enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 10-Boston (157-437)

CARBON COPY

(1 - [redacted])
 (1 - [redacted])

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(1 - 157-637) (LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER)

RWK:nr
(17)

100-446080-1763

NOT RECORDED

152 JUL 11 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ENCLOSURE

51 JUL 18 1968

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

BS 157-437

These sources are in the order mentioned:

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Surveillance was taken up at the YMCA, Roxbury, Mass., on 6/28/68. CARMICHAEL was not observed to leave the YMCA.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

July 3, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL
ON 11-18-2005

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On June 26, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the United Front, an organization made up of representatives of some of the Negro civil rights groups in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and organized at the suggestion of Stokely Carmichael to build Black Power, planned to meet on the evening of June 28, 1968, at 7:30 PM at the YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury. The co-chairmen of the United Front, [redacted] [redacted] announced that Stokely Carmichael would be present to address the group.

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Source advised that [redacted] is a militant Negro and a member of the Boston Chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

A characterization of SNCC appears in the appendix.

Source advised that [redacted] is a militant Negro [redacted] of the Boston Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

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On June 28, 1968, Stokely Carmichael was observed at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, by [redacted] of the Massachusetts State Police. Carmichael was observed entering a car driven by an unidentified male Negro appearing to be between the age of twenty-five - thirty years. The car bore Massachusetts registration [redacted]

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100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Records of the Registry of Motor Vehicles, 100 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts, checked on June 28, 1968, show this plate was issued to [redacted] Roxbury, for a 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

On July 2, 1968, [redacted] identified a photograph of [redacted] as the driver of the above-described 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

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On July 2, 1968, the first source advised that [redacted] is the head of the Boston branch of SNCC.

On February 26, 1968, [redacted] [redacted] Oakland, California Police Department, advised that during the period December 12-25, 1967, a telephone call was made from the telephone of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver [redacted]

[redacted] San Francisco, California, to [redacted] The subscriber to this number is [redacted]

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On July 2, 1968, [redacted] was interviewed at his place of employment, the Cambridge Research Laboratory, Hanscom Air Force Base, Bedford, Massachusetts. He stated that [redacted] owns a 1965 Plymouth sedan, white, and is a friend of [redacted]

Another friend [redacted] who attended Michigan State University, Lansing, Michigan, with [redacted] believes that [redacted] is active in SNCC affairs and, on occasion, [redacted] stays at the [redacted] residence when he is in Boston, Massachusetts. [redacted] believes that [redacted] may have been staying at his residence during the period December 12-25, 1967.

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- 2 -

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

[redacted] stated he is not acquainted with Stokely Carmichael and that he is not involved in any way with SNCC. [redacted]
[redacted]

On February 17, 1968, LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver was publicly identified at the Huey Newton Defense Fund rally at the Black Panther Party For Self Defense (BPPSD) held at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California, as the Minister of Information of the BPPSD.

The November 23, 1967 issue of "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," official publication of BPPSD, listed Kathleen Neal as the assistant editor of that publication and listed the editor of that publication as Minister of Information (Underground).

The January 25, 1968 issue of the "Daily Californian," University of California at Berkeley student newspaper, on page 3, column 1, identified Kathleen Cleaver as the Communications Secretary of the BPPSD.

A characterization of the BPPSD is found in the appendix.

On June 28, 1968, an unidentified male employee of the Roxbury YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, advised that Stokely Carmichael had entered the YMCA about 8:15 PM on that date and was attending a meeting in one of the conference rooms in the YMCA. This meeting concluded at 10:50 PM.

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

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

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

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of gun and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967 issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

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

1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

979602

7-11-68

Director, FBI (100-447251)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC
TAM/MLT/EHL

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RM - BPP

Rerep SA [redacted] dated 6-28-68.

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Page 10 of the report shows that the subject was scheduled to speak on 3-25-68 at California State College at Hayward and at a pro-Viet Cong rally on 3-2-68. No information was set out as to whether or not he appeared. Clarify in the next report.

On page 23 reference is made to a rally for the subject held in San Francisco on 5-31-68. This information is attributed to the "San Francisco Chronicle." It seems unlikely that a public demonstration of this kind would not have been covered by any source of your office and, if it was, the information should have been attributed to that source. When reporting such an occurrence which was not covered by any source of your office or any police source, it would be useful to include a statement to that effect in the cover page of the report to show that the use of a newspaper account, rather than a report from an informant or a source, was justified.

The same observations are pertinent with regard to the report of a speech made by the subject at the University of California on or about 3-2-68.

You should continue to obtain details concerning the subject's arrests, it being noted that he had narcotic and burglary arrests in Los Angeles between 1950 and 1954,

JUL 1 1968
COMM. FBI

RMH:mk1
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ST-113

100-447251-20
REC-35

JUL 12 1968

JUL 18 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten initials]

Letter to San Francisco
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
100-447251

in view of the prominence of the subject in the black nationalist movement and his leadership position in the Black Panther Party. Such data should be obtained for information and for possible future use.

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 10

Page 36 ~ Misc

Page 37 ~ Misc NLG v AG, 77Civ999(USDC, SDNY)

Page 79 ~ Duplicate duped to serial 9 pages 69-74

Page 80 ~ Duplicate duped to serial 9 pages 69-74

Page 81 ~ Duplicate duped to serial 9 pages 69-74

Page 82 ~ Duplicate duped to serial 9 pages 69-74

Page 83 ~ Duplicate duped to serial 9 pages 69-74

Page 84 ~ Duplicate duped to serial 9 pages 69-74

Page 87 ~ b6, b7C

Page 91 ~ Duplicate DUPED TO PAGE 68 OF SERIAL 9