

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

BLACK EXTREMIST

100-448006

SECTION 4



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

OCT 2 1968

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE:

FROM : *gub/B* SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)-P-

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

(STAND)

F. J. King

The following concerns the possible prevention of a coalition of three Black Nationalist or black racist groups possibly formed through an illicit financial arrangement involving Federal funds:

1. PROJECT ANTI-RECIDIVISM (PAR)
2. STAND
3. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

All of the above are based in Jersey City. AI denotes inclusion in Newark Agitator Index.

1. PAR

This organization is funded by the OEO and sponsored by the Jersey City Council of Churches in the sum of \$191,548, principally from the Federal government. PAR is a program to rehabilitate ex-convicts; however, no reports have been made as of the end of May, 1968, as to the effectiveness of the program. It operates a residence in Jersey City for men just released from prison. The program furnishes food, clothing and counseling but very few men have been placed in jobs. ("Hudson Dispatch," morning daily newspaper, 5/27/68).

2. STAND

[REDACTED] is also very active in STAND, and may be running it. It is an organization that favors black control of black communities and it is the *[REDACTED]*

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Newark
DDO/bak
(4)

REC-4

EX-112



3. BPP

[REDACTED] is also, according to local news media, a [REDACTED] N.J. He might also be channeling OEO funds from PAR to the BPP.

It is Newark's suggestion that the Bureau, through a liaison source with the office of the OEO, suggest that perhaps an accounting is in order for PAR by OEO to determine if the money paid by the government to PAR is being used to finance Black Nationalist groups that seek to foment discord in the black community and stir up racial discontent that may ultimately lead to riots or other forms of civil disorder.

It is conceivable that the Federal government may be contributing, in a round about way, to the possible destruction of private property in urban areas, and the injuring of their police and other law enforcement officers.

A letterhead memorandum on STAND was submitted to Bureau dated 9/11/68.

On their face, PAR and STAND are legitimate, neighborhood groups publicly identified as being for the good and welfare of the black resident; and therefore, cannot be the object of an investigation to determine if funds are being misappropriated. There is no actual evidence of it, but the OEO, through what would appear to be a normal request, may be able to gain some knowledge of the ultimate distribution of its, PAR's, funds.

Letterhead memos have been furnished the Bureau [REDACTED] and as previously mentioned, STAND.

SAC, Newark (100-49654)

10-17-68

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 7/1

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

^{REC-122}
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STAND)

Reurlet 10-2-68.

The information concerning possible misuse of Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), funds by STAND, a local black nationalist group, has been furnished to OEO.

This data was furnished head of OEO, the Attorney General, and the White House by special letter.

TJD:jkb,
(6)
NOTE:

Referenced letter recommended the Bureau suggest to OEO, through liaison, that an accounting of OEO funds furnished Project Anti-Recidivism might be in order. An allegation has been made that these funds are going to STAND and possibly to the local unit of the Black Panther Party. As noted above, this information has been specially disseminated, and it is felt this action is sufficient.

MAILED 21
OCT 17 1968
COMM-FBI

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

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

wcy's
Ho.
9/11
5-11-68
[Signature]
3

FBI

Date: 9/23/68

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

J.C.
P.D. [unclear]

ReTPairtel to the Director, 8/20/68, and Bulet to TP, 8/27/68.

On 9/19/68, [redacted]

[redacted] Tampa, Fla., advised that he has reviewed a copy of a film prepared recently by television station WCKT-TV, Miami, Fla., captioned "The New Left". [redacted] was very much impressed with the techniques utilized in the preparation of this film which was presented as a television special in the Miami, Fla. area.

[redacted] has for some recent weeks been preparing a television program directed at Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO) of St. Petersburg, Fla. and its leader [redacted]

Based on a study of public source material and news items, [redacted] is firmly of the opinion that [redacted], if offered the publicity afforded by television coverage of his group, would present a self-incriminating interview

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - Miami (Info) (RM)
 - 1 - Tampa
- JRMW:cj
(5)

1-706-948

REC-48

EX 110

SEP 25 1968
FBI

C. C. Bishop

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

which would effectively reveal JOMO as the vicious, violence-prone extremist organization that it is.

[redacted] also expressed an interest in [redacted] a student at the [redacted] who was instrumental in establishing a chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) on the USF campus. "The Tampa Tribune" issue of 9/16/68 contained a story in which [redacted] indicated that students at USF planned a draft card demonstration and march on Selective Service Headquarters, Tampa on 11/14/68, as part of a national draft-card demonstration. [redacted] indicated in the Tribune article that he had planned to invite [redacted] JOMO to speak at the 11/14/68 demonstration in Tampa.

[redacted] perceives the implications of the association of SDS, [redacted] and is enthusiastic in expanding the scope of his proposed television special to include coverage of the SDS group in the same manner as for JOMO and [redacted] and to present to the Tampa viewing audience a more full view of the radical and left wing elements in the Tampa Bay area.

[redacted] is daily becoming more enthused over his project and readily recognizes leads suggested by the public source material supplied by the Tampa Office. He is hopeful of an immediate beginning of filming of interviews.

[redacted] is most circumspect in this project and is fully aware of the position of the FBI in this matter. Tampa feels that furnishing this information will not cause embarrassment to the Bureau and again assures that no information will be furnished to [redacted] which could be traced to the FBI or which will compromise any live informants being operated by the Tampa Division.

UACB, the Tampa Division will furnish [redacted] public source material and other information [redacted] and SDS in line with the above.

9/27/68

Airtel

1 - T.E. Bishop
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Tampa (157-3213)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 291

EX 110

REC-48
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(JUNTA OF MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS)

Reurairtel 9/23/68.

Authority is granted to furnish public source material and other lead material regarding the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and its local leaders that will not compromise your sources to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Enclosures for your assistance are six items of public source data concerning the SDS. Insure your source understands that this information is being furnished on a confidential basis and the Bureau cannot be revealed as the source.

Enclosures - 6

TJD:cds
(6)

NOTE:

By letter 8/27/68 we authorized Tampa to furnish public source data and other lead material regarding the Junta of Militant Organizations, a local black nationalist extremist group to [REDACTED] an established source.

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

MAILED 7
SEP 27 1968
COMM-FBI

NOTE CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

W.C. [unclear]

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

TXD
6

Airtel to SAC, Tampa
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

This was for the purpose of preparing a television program exposing this group. The local leader of the SDS has invited the local leader of the black nationalist group to speak at an SDS demonstration scheduled for 11/14/68. When this appeared in the local newspaper [REDACTED] saw the implications of this association and expressed an interest in expanding the proposed television program in order to expose the association between these two radical groups. We assisted in preparing a similar program in Miami, Florida, which also exposed both the New Left and black extremists. The outstanding results from that program indicate the proposed television show in Tampa would be of great value. This matter has been coordinated with the Internal Security Section.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *Jof* SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/30/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re Bureau airtel dated 3/4/68.

1. Operations Under Consideration

A. [REDACTED] has joined the African - American Party of National Liberation (AAPNL). This is a combination of RAM and Republic of New Africa (RNA).

[REDACTED] is currently on bail on local charges. Discussions have been had with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] to bring [REDACTED] case to trial immediately.

B. AAPNL has made the statement that the Black Panthers are being used by SDS and whites of the new left. It is felt this can be publicized and cause a breach between AAPNL which is composed of RAM and RNA and the Black Panthers and [REDACTED]

2. Operations Being Effectuated

In connection with Black Coalition, [REDACTED] Rumors are being effectuated through informants and the Philadelphia Police Department that [REDACTED] have "sold out" to the white man, because the money from Black Coalition is "white money".

3. Tangible Results

[REDACTED] are not considered as prominent among Negroes at this time because of the above mentioned rumors. *Duplicate file in 7306 TJS/col 3/26/77*

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest.

- 2 - Bureau (100-448006)
- 2 - Philadelphia (157-2371)

[REDACTED]



5 OCT 1968

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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] One night [REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] and
to [REDACTED] planned to have [REDACTED] committed".
[REDACTED] for psychiatric reasons. [REDACTED] has been committed to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], a mental hospital.

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/4/68

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau airtel 3/4/68.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

The San Diego Office has requested authority to send a series of letters to persons involved in the racial situation in San Diego under the heading "Committee for Sense not Shots." This letter to be used to spread messages to influence Negroes to avoid helping the Black Nationalist groups and also to create dissension among the black militants.

[REDACTED] who was [REDACTED] in San Diego is stepping down as the [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] has now been appointed a [REDACTED] of the group. [REDACTED] has had trouble with his wife over the time he has spent with the US group and it is intended that this situation will be aggravated by letters mailed to his wife in the future. Bureau authority will be requested to mail this letter which will be mailed after [REDACTED] has been interviewed. Bureau authority has been obtained for this interview which can be considered a counterintelligence measure.

A Black Panther Party is being formed in San Diego. [REDACTED] is a prominent member of this group, at the present time being a [REDACTED] of the party in San Diego. [REDACTED] It is intended that a letter from the "Citizens for Sense not Shots" will be mailed to [REDACTED], allegedly the [REDACTED] in order to start a feud between these two leaders. If possible a photograph will be taken of [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] which will be enclosed with the letter. A letter will also be directed to [REDACTED] employer. Bureau authority will be separately requested for this project.

(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED)

REC-65

51 OCT 15 1968

EX-111

15 OCT 7 1968

EMP:bef

(4) 1

RACIAL INT. SECT.

10

[REDACTED] is presently trying to set himself up as a consultant in the racial field. He has been [REDACTED] from his [REDACTED] for his statements and action in the Racial field. Research will be conducted as to actions in which he has been involved which do not reflect favorably on him. Letters will then be prepared and after approval by the Bureau, will be mailed to persons where [REDACTED] is trying to sell his Racial Counseling service.

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

[REDACTED] has been interviewed by Agents of the FBI as has [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. The San Diego Office has authority to interview five more members of the US group, including the [REDACTED] of the group [REDACTED].

San Diego has requested approval for mailing the first of a series of letters entitled "Citizens for Sense not Shots."

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

It is not known whether the interview of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] has had any effect on their racial activity, although it does appear they are not as militant as they have been in the past. [REDACTED] also appears to be [REDACTED] in San Diego.

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Informants report that there is considerable dissension among members of the militant groups with everyone wanting to talk and be a leader. There is considerable hard feeling among members within the groups and between groups.

[REDACTED] was fired from his position as [REDACTED]

Because of this he has been put in a position of trying to establish a new company that counsels companies in how to deal with the unemployable black man. He is subject to considerable criticism concerning his handling of these programs with the various companies.

SD 100-14192

The Nation of Islam Mosque in San Diego continues on an anti violent course encouraging its members to stay out of trouble and not become involved in any racial riots or demonstrations.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI. (100-448006)

DATE: 10/4/68

FROM : SAC, BIRMINGHAM (100-5492)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(NATION OF ISLAM)

ReBulet, 9/25/68.

Relet authorized an anonymous letter be sent to leaders and certain members of Muhammad's Mosque, Nation of Islam (NOI), in Birmingham, Alabama. This letter has been written on stationery purchased at Woolworth's and mailed in the Main Post Office, Birmingham.

For the completion of Bureau files, attached herewith is a copy of the letter sent.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - Birmingham
RSM:epg
(3)

REC-15



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

Dear Brother Joe,

I have been studying the great message in Muhammad Speaks for Sept. 13th which appeals for all to clasp hands on Black brotherhood with Muhammad. This reminded me that we at the mosque for lack of leadership have not shown true Black brotherhood to one of our own.

I am speaking now of our [redacted] as we all have heard but not talked about, is in the [redacted]. He has been there since being placed arrested in June. I have been told by one who should know that since being placed in jail, [redacted] has for all purposes been treated as if he never existed or came to the mosque.

No one from the mosque has been to see [redacted]. No one ever left him a note of encouragement or even a dime for a candy bar. When [redacted]

[redacted] also from [redacted] we often heard of how [redacted] had stood by [redacted] when [redacted] had been put in jail, by the white man.

It does not seem right to me to teach unity and brotherhood and then neglect a brother when he is in trouble. Is this a case of the father's wrongdoing being visited upon the son? If so, then maybe we had better stick with [redacted] as he at least says a man is innocent until proven guilty.

Shall we ignore our brother when he is in trouble & still teach unity and brotherhood or shall we stand beside him & show true unity and brotherhood? Why don't you say something out loud at the mosque on this question so we all know what is unity in your mind.

100-1-10-11

SAC, San Francisco

10/8/68

Director, FBI

1 [REDACTED]
1 [REDACTED]
1 [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

In line with the Bureau's continuing program of taking counterintelligence action against extremists, you must insure that employment of Black Panther Party (BPP) members is ascertained at an early date.

In connection with the above, if a BPP member is employed in a sensitive position such as a key facility; law enforcement agency; utility company, including telephone and power companies; news media, or in any other position which may lead to counterintelligence activity, promptly submit your recommendation to the Bureau.

- 2 - Seattle
- 2 - Sacramento
- 2 - San Diego
- 2 - Newark
- 2 - New York

MAILED 4
OCT 11 1968
FBI

NOTE: We are engaged in a continuing program of counterintelligence activities against the BPP and the above is for the purpose of reminding the field to ascertain employment of members of the above party so that appropriate counterintelligence action may be taken.

REC 82 100 - 101 - 21

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

JGD: rmm: fhd (16)

EX-101

OCT 8

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

61 OCT 16 1968

16

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/1/68

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2544)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

gm
5.11
clh

Enclosed for the Bureau is one newspaper clipping from the "Arizona Republic", 9/28/68 edition regarding the following matter.

Recently the Phoenix Division has received local publicity regarding the appearance of CASSIUS CLAY, aka Muhammad Ali, at Sacaton, Arizona, to fight ZORA FOLLEY, another heavyweight from Chandler, Arizona, sometime in October, 1968.

[REDACTED] which encompasses Sacaton, and [REDACTED] Bureau of Indian Affairs, Gila River Indian Reservation (GRIR), appeared at the office of the SAC, Phoenix. They voiced concern with the fact that CLAY, a known Black Muslim, was to fight on the Indian Reservation. [REDACTED] indicated that the contingent holding up this proposed boxing match was the necessary approval of the GRIR Tribal Council.

On a confidential basis the SAC, Phoenix, advised [REDACTED] that such a fight would only be giving money to the Nation of Islam and specifically to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, since it is a known fact that CLAY donates his purse to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The SAC, Phoenix, also pointed out to [REDACTED] that CLAY was a [REDACTED] draft dodger and the Indians' sanctioning his fight would appear contradictory to the valor, heroism and sacrifice the Gila River Indians

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 1)
- 1 - Phoenix

CMD/gle
(3)

ENCLOSURE
REC 84

100-448006-2969

OCT 3 1968

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

EXP. PROC.
34 OCT 3 1968

[Handwritten signatures and initials]



OCT 16 1968

PX 105-2544
CMD/gle

have made in protecting this country during the Second World War, the Korean War and the Vietnam conflict.

On 9/30/68 [REDACTED] contacted the SAC, Phoenix, and advised that the Tribal Council had rejected the application to permit the CLAY fight and such refusal was based on [REDACTED] presentation of the observation of the SAC, Phoenix, to the Tribal Council.

This is being set forth for the information of the Bureau as a possible counterintelligence measure should CLAY attempt to set up a fight on any other Indian reservation.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

No Clay Fight at Sacaton

By STEVE BASSETT

SACATON (AP)—The Gila River Indians, citing their military and historical heritage, yesterday denied use of their reservation for a proposed Cassius Clay-Zora Folley heavyweight fight Oct. 26.

"The reason I oppose having this fight here is it would desecrate the land some of our brave boys have walked on," said Mrs. Mary Anna Johnson, member of the tribal council.

Mrs. Johnson and other council members referred repeatedly to Gila River youth who have served in the armed forces, including the legendary Ira Hayes, a Medal of Honor winner as a Marine on Iwo Jima in World War II.

THE VOTE was unanimous against allowing a fight involving Clay, who was stripped of his title after conviction on charges of refusing to be inducted into the U.S. armed forces. He has an appeal pending.

The council's resolution read, in part:

"If this event was staged on the Gila River Indian Reservation, the image that the Pima and Maricopa Indians were in sympathy with militant groups such as the Black Muslims, of which Mr. Cassius Clay is a member, would be projected to other Indians throughout the United States.

—Wilfred Catha, a council member, said, "This reservation has a very clean record and I would like to see it kept clear."

Tribal leaders said the first time they had heard of the fight was when they read of it in the newspaper Thursday.

FOLLEY HAD signed a contract with the promoters, and Clay announced in Chicago yesterday that "everything is on" for the fight on this arid, windswept reservation. It covers 1,300 square miles south of Phoenix.

The reservation, which exists primarily from cotton farming and leasing of gravel pits to contractors, could have used the money from the fight. The funds were to go toward a new swimming pool at the Indian agency here.

Bill Rhoades, an Indian official, and Dana Nelson, a tribal councilman, indicated that contacts had been made with the fight promoters without the council's knowledge.

"The fact that they knew about the need for a swimming pool makes us believe that one or two people contacted them without letting us know," said Nelson.

HE AND RHOADES said it was their opinion the contact had been made by some members of the Gila River Youth Recreation, Inc., which had voted 8-1 in favor of the fight.

The only two to speak up for the fight were Mrs. Alice Johnson, a member of the youth organization, and Jay Maraga Jr., a Purple Heart winner who said the fight would show "everyone that we can meet this challenge."

The council's resolution noted the action was not directed at Folley, who lives in nearby Chandler.

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

61 ARIZONA REPUBLIC
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Date: 9-28-68
Edition: Morning
Author: STEVE BASSETT
Editor: J. EDWARD MURRAY
Title: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE; BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
Character:
or
Classification: 105-2544
Submitting Office: PHOENIX

Being Investigated

105-2544-276

19

ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Cleveland (157-1189)

10-3-68

EX-105 REC-76
Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2.97

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

[REDACTED]

Reurlet 9-25-68.

Authority is granted to furnish data regarding [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] in the [REDACTED] order that this data can be brought to the attention of executives sponsoring the company in which [REDACTED] is involved. Insure [REDACTED] understands that this information cannot be attributed to the Bureau and is furnished on a confidential basis.

Advise the Bureau of the results of this operation.

TJD:sfw
(5) *sfw*

NOTE:

[REDACTED] has obtained jobs at a small company for other members of the black nationalist extremist Nation of Islam. This company has now been taken over by another firm as a Negro self-help project. Cleveland recommends executives of the new firm be alerted to the Nation of Islam influence to prevent this company from becoming a Muslim enterprise. [REDACTED] has been an established source of the Cleveland Office for several years. He is aware of Nation of Islam activities generally because [REDACTED] is in the [REDACTED]. He also has contact with the executives of Warner and Swasey Company, who are running this Negro enterprise. Furnishing this information through [REDACTED] on a confidential basis would preclude any possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

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

MAILED 20
OCT 3 - 1968
COMM-FBI

145 ✓ *Wicks* *He* *M* *1/4* *TJD*

61 OCT 18 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

20

CV 157-1189

The Cleveland office has for years enjoyed an excellent liaison with [REDACTED]. He is well known and respected by civic and business leaders in Cleveland, particularly by the executives of the large industrial firms. It is believed that he has a reliable contact with the executives of [REDACTED] and his SIU is acquainted with the activities of the Cleveland NOI Temple and undoubtedly knows that [REDACTED].

It is believed that the above mentioned information could be furnished to [REDACTED] and thereby made available to the executives of [REDACTED], without any possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Accordingly Bureau authority is requested to contact [REDACTED] and make the above information available to the [REDACTED].

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Negro-Run Company Goes Into Production

By HARRY STAINER

Hough Mfg. Co. went into production yesterday at 6900 Wade Park Avenue N.E.

The company has only eight employes, seven turret lathes and a product line that consists of small machined parts on a contract basis for bigger manufacturers.

NORMALLY its birth would have gone unnoticed, but:

- It is Negro-operated and eventually will be fully Negro owned.
- It is designed to train the hard-core unemployed in high-skill jobs.
- It is located in an area shunned by manufacturers and is designed to demonstrate to them the advantages of a nearby labor pool—the ghetto residents.
- And it is to do all this at a profit.

Hough Mfg. is being supported by Warner & Swasey Co. to the tune of \$300,000, but will not be controlled by W&S or owned by it.

To run Hough Mfg., a ghetto demonstration company, W&S picked Robert L. Coles as president. Hough Mfg. also absorbed Coles' company, Cuyahoga County C&B Machine Co., formerly at 9827 Bessemer Avenue S.E.

COLES IS one of the fewer than six Negroes to own and operate industrial-type companies in the Cleveland area.

To get into production quickly, Hough Mfg. absorbed the contracts, tools and employes of C&B in exchange for 200 shares of the 2,000 authorized. W&S received 500 shares on an initial basis for cash supply; ing operating funds. It also bought the building and leased it to Hough Mfg.

W&S is expected to help in opening the doors for financing and customer acceptance of the firm.

THESE WERE the biggest problems Coles faced in building up his C&B Machine Co. in the past 18 years. Another handicap was that to get machine operators to work for a Negro, he had to train unskilled and unemployed persons to become skilled workers, such as turret lathe operators.

This makes him just about perfect for running a company designed to give skills to the unemployed at work at a profit, associates said.

With W&S help the company is expected to expand to about 50 employes by the end of the year and increase the sales level from about \$100,000 to about \$250,000.

THE COMPANY also is expected to diversify beyond machine shop operations to other manufacturing work depending on contracts it receives. The purpose is to provide lower-level job skills to those unable to run machine tools.

"The ultimate goal of Hough Mfg. Co. is to become a wholly independent, employe and community owned company," Coles said. He added that provisions for buying back shares are included in the company's articles of incorporation.

W&S SAID the new company was an investment and not charity. Calling it a modest first step for the city, C&W said: "It is our hope that the success of Hough Mfg. Co. will encourage new growth through further business investments in the innercity."

On the board of directors are D. C. Mitchell, associate professor of business at Cuyahoga Community College; A. B. Cummins, professor of industrial management at Case Western Reserve University; N. R. Eliss, Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.; N. H. Corbin, W&S; J. H. Tinsley, W&S, and Coles. Mitchell also is secretary of the company and Corbin is treasurer.

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

28

THE PLAIN DEALER
(Cleveland, Ohio)

Date: 8/28/68
Edition: FINAL
Author:
Editor: THOMAS VAIL
Title:

Character:

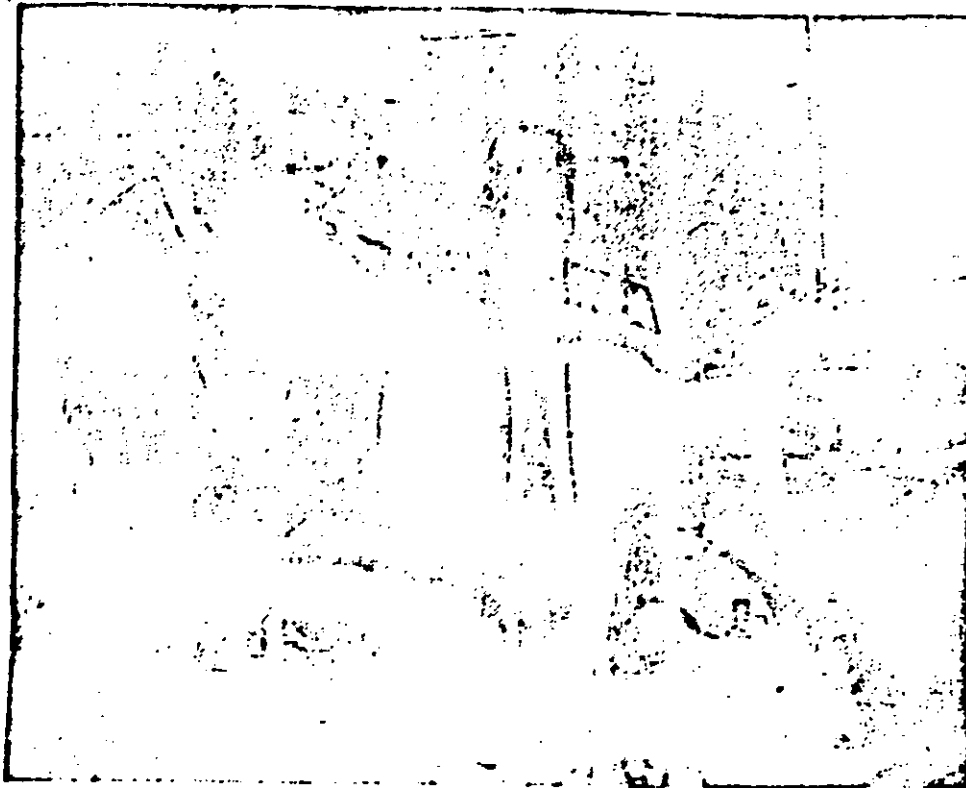
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CLEVELAND

Being Investigated

22



HOUGH WORK—L. C. Bolin operates a machine under the watchful eye of Robert L. Colcs at the new Hough Manufacturing Co., which will train the hard-core unemployed.

Plain Dealer photo (Richard J. Conway)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CLEVELAND (157-1189) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/25/68

St. [unclear]
[unclear]
[unclear]

Two copies of an article from the 8/28/68 issue of the Cleveland "Plain Dealer" are enclosed for the Bureau.

The individual identified as L.C. BOLIN in the photograph appearing with this article is L.C. X (BOLIN), the Assistant Minister of the Cleveland Temple of the NOI (MTI #18). BOLIN has worked for the Robert L. Coles, referred to in this article, for several years when COLES operated the C & B Machine Company in Cleveland. The C & B Machine Company was operated as a small manufacturing company in a residential area of the city of Cleveland with a very limited number of employees.

Investigation in early 1966 developed that L.C. X (BOLIN) had apparently obtained jobs at this small company for rank and file members of the NOI and it was reliably reported in March, 1966 that BOLIN had stated that there were six other members employed by the C & B Machine Company. It was also established that COLES knew that BOLIN was a Black Muslim.

It is believed that the above information should be made available to the executives of the Warner and Swasey Company, primarily to prevent the newly established Hough Manufacturing Company from becoming a financial support to the NOI and possibly a recruiting ground. It is also possible that the NOI may eventually gain control of this enterprise.

The Warner and Swasey Company is a very large manufacturing company with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio. It is engaged primarily in the manufacture and construction of machine tools, textile testing and control systems with annual sales ranging in the \$110,000,000 to \$150,000,000 bracket.

- 1 + 1 encl 906920
- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 2)
- 5 - Cleveland

ENCLOSURE
REC-76

(1 - 100-21569) (NOI)

15 SEP 26 1968

AJQ
(8)

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

RACIAL

24

10-2-68
 JTD/ [unclear]



FBI

Date: 10/4/68

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	

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(NATION OF ISLAM)

Handwritten: H.C. [unclear]
[unclear]

Re Buairtel to San Antonio and Chicago, 8/27/68; San Antonio airtel and LHM to Director, cc Chicago, dated 9/18/68 titled "NOI".

Re San Antonio airtel and LHM sets forth data from [redacted] at a meeting of that group on [redacted] commented Communist China by telegram advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD 80,000 troops were available to him any time he wanted them; that [redacted] received this information directly from MUHAMMAD as [redacted] corresponds directly with MUHAMMAD. [redacted] had no knowledge of this and labeled the statement as absurd.

Rebuairtel suggested the statements by [redacted] could be utilized to discredit [redacted] in the eyes of MUHAMMAD either for reporting false information or violating a confidential trust through the use of an anonymous letter to MUHAMMAD and/or release of the statements through a cooperative news media.

Chicago is not in a position to evaluate the statement attributed to [redacted]. This Office is not in a position to know the respect afforded [redacted] by his followers, reportedly 11, or the impact [redacted] or the NOI has on the Negro community in San Antonio, if any.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - San Antonio (Info.) - (RM)
 - Chicago
- Handwritten:* 1-806 949

JRS:jto
(5)

C. C. - Bishop

Handwritten: 100-448006-298
100-1328
100-1328

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____
18 OCT 9 1968

[REDACTED] reliable in the past and who are aware in many instances of MUHAMMAD's plans, policies, visiting Ministers, thinking, etc., were discreetly contacted in this matter. Both advised they doubted if MUHAMMAD would be aware of the identity of [REDACTED] without being told; that they doubted if any national NOI leader had ever visited [REDACTED] or the NOI group in San Antonio; and that they seriously doubted if [REDACTED] was in direct contact with MUHAMMAD other than through whatever routine correspondence [REDACTED] might have with, in all likelihood, a Secretary of Muhammad's Temple No. 2, Chicago, National Headquarters of the NOI. The sources noted the NOI group in San Antonio would be quite small and MUHAMMAD would have only a passing interest in it and that would center around the money the group donated to NOI headquarters.

It has been the experience of this Office that many Ministers of NOI groups outside Chicago, who have limited contacts with NOI headquarters, have made repeated irresponsible statements not too unlike the one made by [REDACTED] Without mentioning specifics, the matter was discussed with [REDACTED] Both agreed that MUHAMMAD would pay little or no attention to such statements if they came to his attention, adding that in many cases he would be amused. They advised MUHAMMAD seeks any publicity he can get for his organization and even if it occurred in a smaller city he would welcome it as it would probably mean more curiosity seekers would go to the local Temple resulting in more money being donated to him.

Based on the above, Chicago does not feel [REDACTED] statements warrant an anonymous letter to MUHAMMAD or a news release.

Again San Antonio being more aware of the NOI situation in their area may have a plan that would work on a local basis to discredit [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-531) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 10/4/68

Rebuairtel to Albany 3/4/68 and BSlet to Bureau 7/25/68.

1. Operations Under Consideration

Boston is currently considering a method of exposing activities of Black Militants through a newspaper article. This was previously suggested to the Bureau which considered the idea favorably but rejected utilizing the "Boston Globe," as the news media.

Boston is exploring as one means of authoring such an article, a [redacted] who feels he can readily arrange to have such an article published under his name.

2. Operations Being Effected

No operations are currently in effect.

3. Tangible Results

None.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None.

2 - Bureau (RII)
1 - Boston
JFN:maj
(3)

REC 99 / 11 114 8015-21

NOV 10 1968

15 OCT 7 1968



OCT 11 1968

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

REC'D [unclear] SECT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/9/68

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (157-231) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau airtel dated 3/4/68, and Albany letter to Bureau dated 5/29/68.

The following information sets forth the summary of the Counterintelligence Program for the Albany Division as requested in re Bureau airtel:

1. Operations Under Consideration

Presently in the Syracuse, New York, area, a newspaper known as the "Hometown News" is owned and operated by a Negro who often prints editorials of a racially volatile nature. The Albany Division is presently considering the possibility of developing a safe and reliable source in another Syracuse publishing firm who would be agreeable to print articles exposing the "Hometown Newspaper" for their volatile articles.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

There are no operations presently in effect in Albany.

3. Tangible Results

Not applicable at this time.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Albany
TCK/kdf
(3)

REC 25

EX-100

17 OCT 10 1968

REC'D IN SECT.



1 OCT 17 1968

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

28

AL 157-231

4. Developments of-Counterintelligence Interest

Presently, the activities of Black Nationalists and Black Nationalist Organizations are extremely limited and all reactions to Negro matters by the local citizens within this Division are sympathetic. It is felt that when the overall community spirit indicates that the Black Nationalist Movement is getting out of hand, counterintelligence methods made available to this program will be more fully exploited.

FBI

Date: 10/2/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

he

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-9191)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(NATION OF ISLAM)

Re Bureau airtel to San Antonio and Chicago,
9/27/68.

San Antonio has digested the subject matter of referenced airtel and appreciates the Bureau's need for a counterintelligence program in the NOI. This office also fully appreciates the Bureau's suggestion to discredit the NOI minister in San Antonio in the eyes of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

A review of the informant report reflecting the meeting in question at which [redacted] commented about the 80,000 troops available to MUHAMMAD reflects [redacted]

[Large redacted block]

Therefore, in view of the above, it is the recommendation of the San Antonio Office that no such action

- 3 Bureau (RM)(AM)
 - 2 Chicago (RM)(AM)
 - 1 San Antonio
- JMK:IAT

EX-115
RIG-18

TRAM
STARK

(6)

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

[Handwritten initials]

SA 100-9191

be taken in this matter; however, in the event the Chicago Division has further data which would make this counter-intelligence program feasible, San Antonio, of course, would reconsider.

SAC, Detroit

10-9-68

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

[REDACTED] of the black
nationalist extremist newspaper, [REDACTED]
in [REDACTED] has been named [REDACTED] in
Detroit. It is apparent he is continuing to advance
the black nationalist extremist line in [REDACTED]
He even is using a drawing of a black panther in the
masthead. The 9-27-68 issue of the newspaper has a
front-page headline "Free Huey! The Sky's The Limit,"
a slogan used by the extremist Black Panther Party.

Detroit should submit counterintelligence
recommendations concerning [REDACTED] to expose and neutralize
his influence on this college newspaper. No counter-
intelligence action should be taken without Bureau
authority.

It is noted that this newspaper has a budget
of \$100,000, and \$40,000 of this will come from advertise-
ments. If the other \$60,000 comes from State funds,
the Michigan legislature might be interested in the black
nationalist nature of the newspaper. Consider the
possibility of anonymously furnishing the facts to a
legislator.

Also the Board of Trustees of the college might
be alerted to the situation. Consider anonymously alerting
them or the possibility of alerting both the trustees and
the legislature through newspaper publicity. Publicity
about the [REDACTED] could also note that the [REDACTED]

MAILED 2
OCT 8 1968
COMM-FBI

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

TJD:lrb (5) REC-48

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Enclosures - 2

20 OCT 9 1968

56 OCT 10 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

122

Letter to SAC, Detroit
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(KENNETH JOHN WATSON)
100-448006

Other possible methods of neutralizing [REDACTED] should be developed and submitted to the Bureau.

Your airtel 9-27-68 regarding [REDACTED] notes that the Association of Black Students (ABS) is again active at Wayne State University and has received a \$34,000 grant from the Archdiocesan Development Fund to initiate a new college planned for the university to be called the W.E.B. DuBois Institute of Black Studies. It is noted the ABS was headed by two members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. You should possibly consider ways of alerting the Archdiocesan Development Fund to the nature of ABS. In this connection two copies of a pamphlet exposing the communist nature of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs are enclosed. Since these are published by the Catholic War Veterans, they may be of value. They note that DuBois joined the Communist Party, USA, and the pamphlet is public source material.

Analyze the grant to ABS; determine whether it should be the target of counterintelligence action; and, if so, submit recommendation to the Bureau. No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority.

NOTE:

Enclosed pamphlet is the result of prior counterintelligence action and its use was approved by the Director.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/8/68

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau letter to Albany, 8/5/68.

In connection with the counterintelligence program of the Seattle Division against the Black Panther Party in Seattle, contact has been had with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Seattle, Washington. The [REDACTED] an SAC contact. In conducting this particular project, [REDACTED] is desirous of doing a series of news programs concerning the illegal and/or subversive activities of the Black Panther Party and other black hate groups. Bureau is to note that [REDACTED] and his news associates previously conducted a very highly successful Cointelpro operation against the Communist Party at Seattle which brought both national and local awards to the station.

[REDACTED] will need material along the following lines at their request, but these points are not all inclusive and coverage on some might not be desirable:

1. What influences, if any, from outside the community are affecting the ability of local citizens to maintain law and order in their neighborhoods? Is this influence international in origin?
2. Does information generated at one point in the nation become known immediately to black hate groups in other parts of the country or does it travel by word of mouth? In other words, is there an organized effort to exchange activity and intelligence data among the hate groups?
3. What are the goals of these hate groups? General harassment? Anarchistic? Subversive? Are there target cities and a time table for hitting them in a certain order?

2 - Bureau (REG)
2 - Seattle
RBC:cmh
(4)

REC-64

LX-105

10 OCT 1968



4. At the present time, Black Panthers and others allegedly are shaking down Seattle merchants for protection. What has such extortion led to in other areas in the past? What are the chances that organized criminal elements might take over such extortion efforts and solidify control?

[REDACTED] is aware of the sensitive nature in broadcasting a series of programs in this regard. From past experience, there is every indication he and his associates will handle any information furnished to them in a very discreet manner.

No identifiable derogatory information on [REDACTED] was located in Seattle files. His superior, [REDACTED] is an SAC contact at Seattle, as mentioned previously.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

1. Advise Seattle if the Bureau is in agreement with this proposed series.
2. If agreeable, will furnish Seattle public source material that might be given to [REDACTED]
3. Will advise if the film of the Miami Cointelpro operation mentioned in referenced letter is available for exhibition to [REDACTED] or if the name of the station can be furnished to [REDACTED] so inquiry could be made directly to the station by [REDACTED] for the film.
4. What pertinent suggestions does the Bureau have which would enhance the potential success of such a series?

Once the above material is received and incorporated into a local script, the entire program, including public source material, will be submitted to the Bureau for review and approval.

COPIED IN [unclear]

- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. Smith (W. L.)

November 4, 1968

SAC, Seattle (157-721)

REC-123

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 303

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

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY - SEATTLE)

Reurlet 10/8/68.

Authority is granted to furnish public source data and lead material about the Black Panther Party (BPP) to [redacted] on a confidential basis. Insure [redacted] understands that this information is being furnished on a confidential basis and the Bureau cannot be revealed as the source.

(Material relating to the BPP to furnish your source is enclosed.)

MAILED 24
 NOV 4 - 1968
 COMM-FBI

Suggest to your source that the BPP should not just be publicized. Exposure of BPP violence is valuable in alerting the public, but may also help BPP recruiting. A way to offset this possibility is to point out that BPP leaders are living well off contributions from members. Comments about leaders' new cars, new clothes, and living style can effectively neutralize them with the rank and file membership.

It is also valuable to show that BPP leaders are little dictators, interested in power for its own sake and offer nothing constructive to the Negro community. Regarding the questions in relet, the first concerned outside influences. The BPP in Seattle and most other cities has been organized by the BPP in California. Local extremists already present have been recruited and organized by the California group.

Enclosures - 7

TJD:ery 1088

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

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

36

Letter to SAC, Seattle

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; (BLACK PANTHER PARTY-SEATTLE)
100-448006

The transmittal of information and news about activities of black extremists is primarily through the news media, both legitimate, and the "left" press. In this regard, issues of the left press, such as "People's World," the "Guardian," the "Militant" and "Challenge," plus the New Left and "underground" newspapers with articles about black extremists, may be furnished your source.

The goals of the BPP are covered in the enclosures. Generally they are subversive. Huey Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, said on 10/31/67, "As long as an act is revolutionary, it cannot be regarded as a crime." Eldridge Cleaver, BPP Minister of Information, said on 8/24/68, "We're going to move in harmony with Mao Tse Tung, with Ho Chi Min, with Fidel Castro;" and BPP Prime Minister Stokely Carmichael said on 8/24/68, "The revolutionary is willing to kill... we are going to make revolution." These are public statements and may be furnished your source.

Your last question concerned "shakedowns" by the BPP. The extent of this activity is not yet known, although the Bureau has received allegations to this effect.

Keep the Bureau advised of the status of this counterintelligence operation on a continuing basis.

NOTE:

[REDACTED], and his supervisor, [REDACTED], are interested in doing a television special exposing the extremist and violent Black Panther Party. We previously used the [REDACTED] in a highly successful counterintelligence operation against the Communist Party. [REDACTED] completely protected the Bureau's interest in that operation which resulted in the station receiving several awards. Seattle and Bufiles contain no derogatory information regarding [REDACTED] [REDACTED] is an SAC contact.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE THREE

Letter to SAC, Seattle

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY-SEATTLE
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

Material in response to Seattle's request is enclosed. This includes a speech by BPP leader Eldridge Cleaver 8/24/68, a speech by Stokely Carmichael 8/22/68 after he became associated with the BPP, article from "New Left Notes," material from Cuban press, BPP book list, material re defensive chemistry, and BPP "Political Education Kit." All of these materials are on unwatermarked paper with all Bureau markings removed. Furnishing these items will not jeopardize any of our sources.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/9/68

FROM : SAC, HOUSTON (157-1210)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

RE: Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/30/68,
cc Houston.

In connection with instructions contained in referenced letter, the following is being furnished for the information of the Bureau, as well as San Francisco:

Information has been received through Houston informants, particularly [redacted] to the effect that the Black Panther Party (BPP) may possibly be attempting to organize a Chapter in the Houston area. To date, no known Chapter of the BPP has been organized in Houston, although [redacted] that he had been [redacted]

[Large handwritten mark]

[Large redacted block]

It is the firm opinion [redacted] that a BPP Chapter will be formed in Houston in the not too distant future as this matter is being "pushed" by [redacted] who is on the Houston Agitator and Security Index, and who reportedly [redacted]

In view of the fact that [redacted] is in a position to be one of the top leaders of the BPP should they organize in Houston, and because of the fact that [redacted]

[redacted] it appears that Houston will be in a position to direct any activities along counter-

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)(Info.)
- 1 - Houston

DCS:sm
(4)

REC 22

OCT 10 1968



[REDACTED]

intelligence lines against the BPP that may be desired in the future. While [REDACTED] is not pushing for the formation of a BPP Chapter in Houston, he is insuring that he will be in [REDACTED]

There is currently a power struggle developing between persons advocating the formation of the BPP in Houston and this has kept the situation extremely unstable. As far as any specific counterintelligence operation going at this time in Houston, it is felt that [REDACTED] can keep the situation in turmoil and possibly create so much dissension that the BPP will not establish a Chapter in Houston. Other than the above, no concrete suggestions are being made at this time relative to any Black Panther activity in Houston because of the unstable conditions which exist at this time. It is felt that once the situation in Houston becomes more stable regarding the BPP formation, specific counterintelligence actions will be formulated against not only the local groups, but also the group in California.

This matter is being followed on a continual basis.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : *WMP* DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/7/68

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (157-2578)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

*Gohit
(info)*

ReMOlet to Bureau, 7/1/68.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The only Black Nationalist organization active in the Mobile Division is the Youth Progressive Committee at Montgomery, Ala. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The group has recently been in the process of opening the Apollo Bar as a fund raising proposition for the organization which is reportedly affiliated with SNCC. It is contemplated that action might be taken through local state authorities against the Apollo Bar directed toward revocation of license as the bar becomes a growing concern. Interview with various members is being considered as a disruptive action.

2. Operations Being Effected

None

3. Tangible Results

None

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None

2 - Bureau (RM)(AM)
2 - Mobile
JTB:agf
(4)

100-448006-100

100-448006-100

4 OCT 10 1968



41

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 9/27/68

FROM : G. C. Moore

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

PURPOSE:

To obtain authority for the attached letter to those field divisions having Black Panther Party (BPP) activity instructing that the counterintelligence program against this organization be accelerated and that each office submit concrete suggestions as to future action to be taken against the BPP.

The extremist BPP of Oakland, California, is rapidly expanding. It is the most violence-prone organization of all the extremist groups now operating in the United States. This group has a record of violence and connections with foreign revolutionaries. It puts particular emphasis on not only verbal attacks but also physical attacks on police.

OBSERVATIONS:

REC-15 / [Handwritten initials]

The information we are receiving from our sources concerning activities of the BPP clearly indicates that more violence can be expected from this organization in the immediate future. It therefore, is essential that we not only accelerate our investigations of this organization, and increase our informants in the organization but that we take action under the counterintelligence program to disrupt the group. Our counterintelligence program may bring about results which could lead to prosecution of these violence-prone leaders and active members, thereby thwarting their efforts to perpetrate violence in the United States.

Enclosure
100-448006

CONTINUED - OVER

JGD:rmm (7)

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

SCOPE OF PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM:

As stated above, the attached letter will instruct the field to submit positive suggestions as to actions to be taken to thwart and disrupt the BPP. Instructions are and will be reiterated that no action is to be taken without prior Bureau authority.

These suggestions are to create factionalism between not only the national leaders but also local leaders, steps to neutralize all organizational efforts of the BPP as well as create suspicion amongst the leaders as to each others sources of finances, suspicion concerning their respective spouses and suspicion as to who may be cooperating with law enforcement. In addition, suspicion should be developed as to who may be attempting to gain control of the organization for their own private betterment, as well as suggestions as to the best method of exploiting the foreign visits made by BPP members. We are also soliciting recommendations as to the best method of creating opposition to the BPP on the part of the majority of the residents of the ghetto areas.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached letter, in accordance with the above, be approved.

WCS

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

9/30/68

San Francisco

REC-15

306

Director, FBI (100-448006)

EX-101

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
 (BUDED 10/14/68)

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

In view of the continued increase of violent activities on the part of the Black Panther Party (BPP), it is mandatory that the counterintelligence program against this party be accelerated. Each division receiving this letter either has an active BPP chapter in its division or according to information received the BPP is either forming or attempting to form a chapter in that division.

By 10/14/68 each division must submit concrete suggestions as to proposed counterintelligence activity to be taken against the BPP in its particular division as well as suggestions as to what action can be taken against the BPP on a national level. In keeping with Bureau policy no action should be taken on these proposals without prior Bureau authority.

In line with the above, consideration should be given as to how factionalism can be created between local cadres as well as national leaders and how BPP organizational efforts can be neutralized. Give consideration to actions which will create suspicion among the leaders with respect to their

MAILED 4
 OCT 1 - 1968
 COMM-FBI

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|-----------------|----------------|
| 2 - Albany | 2 - Newark |
| 2 - Atlanta | 2 - New York |
| 2 - Baltimore | 2 - Omaha |
| 2 - Boston | 2 - Pittsburgh |
| 2 - Chicago | 2 - Portland |
| 2 - Denver | 2 - Sacramento |
| 2 - Detroit | 2 - St. Louis |
| 2 - Houston | 2 - San Diego |
| 2 - Los Angeles | 2 - Seattle |
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- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Fishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

5100214 10/1/68

JCD:PM (43) TYPE UNIT
 MAIL ROOM

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

44

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

financial sources, suspicion concerning their respective spouses, suspicion as to who may be cooperating with law enforcement and suspicion as to who may be attempting to gain complete control of the organization for his own private betterment. In addition, consideration should be given to the best method of exploiting foreign visits BPP members have made as well as the best method of creating opposition to this party on the part of the majority of the residents of the ghetto areas.

This matter must be given continued attention and your imagination and resourcefulness must be employed in order for the Bureau to be successful in this most serious matter.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan captioned as above, dated 9/27/68 prepared by JGD:ram.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 10/10/68

FROM : *sf* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet, 9/30/68.

The following comments are offered by this Office.

Factionalism between leaders of the BPP is a real possibility, arising from personal jealousies and differences of background. Primarily this would seem to be on a regional basis, where BPP leaders from the East see no profit in taking orders from provincial leaders like BOBBY SEALE and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

Reference is made to New York letter, 8/21/68, in [redacted] which disclosed East Coast dissatisfaction with West Coast leadership and also disclosed that some Black Panthers in Brooklyn suggested ELDRIDGE CLEAVER be shot. In this connection, New York comments are requested concerning the possibility of having a "brother" from Brooklyn anonymously warn ELDRIDGE CLEAVER that the brethren in New York are planning to eliminate him.

Financial records are possible sources of embarrassment to the BPP. Monitoring of the HOLY NEWTON Defense Fund shows that [redacted] that a loan [redacted] means, and [redacted] regularly receives a check for \$100 "cash" on the account.

It is suggested that IRS, San Francisco, be advised of the activity in this account to determine if all taxable

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (Info.)(RM)
- 3 - San Francisco
(1 - 157-1204 - BPP)

WAC:sf
(6)

REC-73
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REC-106
OCT 12 1968
RACIAL INT. SECT



SF 157-601
WA:sf-

income is being reported by the recipients.

That the BPP is sensitive to unauthorized use of "Defense Fund" monies was seen by the BPP press conference called in August, 1968, to refute charges "Defense Fund" dollars were used to pay for a trip to Mexico for three BPP functionaries.

In connection with this "Defense Fund", the State of California is [REDACTED]

It is suggested that permission be granted to discuss this matter with Alameda County District Attorney LEAN COAKLEY to ascertain if the State can [REDACTED] and BPP leaders to say where the money from the Defense Fund is being dispersed and provide an accounting of same.

It is believed that above suggested actions possess merit.

Set out below are situations where this Office is alert to possibilities, but lacks sufficient basic details to initiate action at this time.

1. Suspicion between spouses.

The principal interest here is between ELDRIDGE and KATHLEEN CLEAVER. KATHLEEN appears to have a genuine feeling for ELDRIDGE and if it could be shown, he was interested in another female, a split right ensue. There have been indications of "spats" between the two, but nothing definite as to the cause is known. Sources in the BPP have said that discussion of such matters around Panther House is forbidden. Instances of zealous Panthers trying to ask embarrassing questions have been reported. The result has been an instruction to "mind your own business". The inner hierarchy does not open to discussion personal relationships between the leaders. These particular matters had to do with Black leaders having white wives.

2. It is realized that the Party is awake to the possibility of "police spies" in their midst. To date they do not seem to be excessively worried about this, and continue to make

SF 157-601
WAC:sf

their pronouncements over TV, press and before church and school groups. They also put themselves in print in the "Black Panther", official publication of the BPP. To date, no "leak" of significance to the BPP has come to law enforcement agencies which has aroused the Party's animosity. This Office will be alert to this possibility.

3. There may be rivalry between CLEAVER and SEALE for leadership in the BPP; so far, authority seems to be divided among several persons who do not appear to resent the way the Party is progressing. There does not seem to be a single leader who is trying to take over the organization for his own benefit, exclusively.

In this connection many persons share in the plums of travel, such as the CLEAVERS, the SEALES, [REDACTED]. These spend BPP funds freely and their travels are known to the membership. If there is any animosity aroused by this, it is unknown to this Office. Perhaps the membership takes pride in the publicity the leaders receive as a result of these travels.

4. It is believed true that many older residents of the ghetto fear and dislike the BPP. How true this is among the youth is another matter and the amount of control the middle aged parents have over their children is definitely problematical. The "Black Panther" now prints 60,000 issues and even at this figure sometimes it is difficult to find extra copies. This is cited to indicate that the BPP receives considerable support from the black community.

5. The fate of HOLY NEWTON who may be kept in jail for several years is a factor in the continuance of the BPP. Already sources sense a drop-off in interest among the militant youth who were "trained for action" and then did nothing for HOLY. Whether or not NEWTON was disappointed by a lack of positive revolution as a result of his conviction and sentencing is not known. The fact is that he is in jail and Party leaders are spending money raised for his defense. Perhaps as time goes on and the same situation pertains, NEWTON may tire of his martyr status and voice dissatisfaction. In this connection, this Office will endeavor to create the situation in NEWTON's mind that he is being exploited by the Party leadership.

SF 157-601
WAC:sf

6 As an example of success in the counterintelligence field, we cite the recent [REDACTED] [REDACTED] where it was necessary for them to travel via [REDACTED], at great expense, because of counter-action undertaken by Legat, Mexico. Such opportunities come up very quickly and often actions are taken without advance planning. These types of actions will continue to receive attention.

ROUTE BY ENVELOPE

SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

October 31, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) 308

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/10/68.

The various counterintelligence proposals contained in relet have merit and show resourceful thinking on your part.

In connection with information obtained by your office indicating misappropriation of money from the " Huey Newton Defense Fund" [REDACTED] the Bureau desires to furnish this information to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) at the Seat of Government by means of liaison. Submit letterhead memorandum to the Bureau setting forth all pertinent available information concerning the Defense Fund and indications that Federal tax may be owing on the disbursement of some of these funds. Make no local dissemination to IRS.

Authority is not granted at this time to discuss this matter with Alameda County District Attorney Frank Coakley. Furnish pertinent information concerning Coakley's relationship to your office. This information should include a review of indices, statement concerning past cooperation with the Bureau, and reason to believe he will not breach Bureau confidence. After receipt of this information and your assurances that Bureau monitoring of the "Huey Newton Defense Fund" will not be publicly disclosed, further consideration will be given to granting authority to discuss this matter with Coakley.

MAILED 24
OCT 31 1968
COMM-FBI

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

WON:ekw
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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

98 NOV 4 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

51

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

It appears that the marital relationship of the Eldridge Cleavers is a delicate matter in BPP circles. Promptly submit concrete recommendations to the Bureau to exploit the sensitivities of BPP members in this regard and to sow the seeds of suspicion concerning the fidelities of the Cleavers.

Follow through with existing conditions which may develop into counterintelligence situations. Take no action without prior Bureau authority.

NOTE:

Relet submitted in response to Bulet dated 9/30/68, requesting counterintelligence suggestions from the field. Above contains instructions relating to specific recommendations made by San Francisco.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/9/68

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BPP)

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/30/68.

No information has been received from [REDACTED] nor any of the Ghetto sources that the Black Panther Party is forming or attempting to form a chapter in the Atlanta Division. It has been rumored that Atlanta is one of the cities in which such an attempt would be made.

In the event information is received from any source indicating that the establishment of a BPP Chapter is under way, Atlanta will make a recommendation applicable to the local situation through which counter-intelligence may be implemented.

Atlanta notes that in a recent edition of Ebony Magazine, photographic coverage of the BPP was given which indicated that MARLON BRANDO was endorsing the BPP. The details of BRANDO's sympathies in this regard are unknown to Atlanta, however, it is felt that in his background and pictures in which he has performed some facet or situation exists that runs in counter to the policies of the BPP. Possibly this could be used to embarrass the BPP in allowing publicity indicating BRANDO is in sympathy with its policies. This possibility has probably already been considered by San Francisco but is being offered in accordance with the Bureau's request that suggestions be made as to what action can be taken in the Counterintelligence Program against the BPP on a national level.

2-Bureau (100-448006) (RM)

2-San Francisco (RM)

2-Atlanta (100-7182)

EUC:th

(6)

REC-64



5010-108-02

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

46

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/9/68

FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Succinct Summary of Black Nationalist Movement in Indianapolis Division

A. Nation of Islam (NCI)

The NCI has an approximate total membership of slightly over 200 in the Indianapolis Division. There is a total of seven temples or mosques that remain active in the Indianapolis Division. The mosque at Gary, Indiana, with about 40 members, the mosque in Indianapolis with approximately 30 members, and the mosque in South Bend, Indiana, with 100 to 125 members are the largest mosques active in Indiana. The two newest mosques at Fort Wayne and Muncie, Indiana, are still struggling with only the initial four or five members with which they started and have a minimum of activity. The other two mosques in Indiana at Evansville and East Chicago, Indiana, remain relatively stable with six to ten members each.

All of the groups in Indiana are led by ministers who receive their instruction from NOI Headquarters in Chicago, Illinois, and adhere to teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, their leader. None of the groups have proposed violence to date, but their hatred for the white man under the right circumstances could cause violence to erupt.

B. Radical Action Project (RAP)

RAP is a black militant organization formed originally in the fall of 1967 and in early winter or spring, 1968, became a totally Negro organization with a sixteen member board of directors.

RAP now has new

2- Bureau (RM)
1- Indianapolis

15 OCT 11 1968

LLG/dla
(3)

REC-3

61 OCT 17 1968

DET. M. J. T. RACIA

53

IP 157-761

headquarters located at 2264 North Meridian, Indianapolis, Indiana, and is the most active and the largest black militant influence in Indianapolis. All known activities of RAP to date have been to handle problems within the framework of the existing law and no violence has been attributed to RAP to this date.

[REDACTED] board member of RAP, has separated himself from RAP and now is running his own community center. In addition,

[REDACTED] has gradually had less and less to do with RAP and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], of which he is director.

C. Afro-American Student Association

A group which calls itself the Afro, Afro-American Student Association (AAASA) was formed in the second semester of the 1967-1968 academic year at Indiana University (IU), Bloomington, Indiana. During that semester there was very little activity taking place other than attempting to organize and making a demand to the University president that a Negro be placed on the University's Racial Problem Committee, which demand was met. The group is again organizing on the IU campus and all activities will be followed. A similar group has been formed this fall semester at Notre Dame, in South Bend, Indiana. At this date, there has been minimal activity, but Indianapolis Division will continue to follow their activity.

1. Operations under Consideration

Plans to interview all of the most active members of the Black Nationalist groups are continuing.

2. Operations Being Effected

Contact with [REDACTED], has been maintained. Through contact with [REDACTED] funds being furnished to [REDACTED] have been cut off. [REDACTED] maintained his association with [REDACTED] and he has helped [REDACTED] to establish his own community center called Black Unity Development Center (Bud's Center), 2020 North Tacoma, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Though the Negroes have been trying to unite the leaders of RAP, [REDACTED]

all now have their own groups and actually are becoming further apart, thereby having the opposite effect of uniting the Negroes in Indianapolis.

Contacts with local black power leaders and keeping them informed of the Bureau's responsibility in civil rights cases has also helped to keep the black power element friendly to the Bureau although they are not with the Indianapolis Police Department

3. Tangible Results

There have been no racial incidents in Indianapolis, Indiana, to date and the splitting up of the black power leaders has had an effect of neutralizing their power and influence on the Negro population of Indianapolis. By being split rather than united, the leaders have been unable to get a large enough following to create any major disturbance.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Through conversations with the various leaders of the black power groups it has been evident that there exists a jealousy between the different groups and leaders. Each leader resents any success that another leader or group has. In these conversations these jealousies of the leaders have been fanned in a way such that it has increased the animosity between the leaders and groups, thereby helping to keep the black power element divided among themselves.

DIRECTOR, FBI

10/9/68

SAC, PITTSBURGH (157-1011) (P)

[REDACTED]
RM

Re Pittsburgh letter to Bureau dated 9/24/68, and New York letter to Bureau dated 10/1/68.

Re Pittsburgh letter reported [REDACTED] had requested \$600,000 from the Mellon Foundation, Pittsburgh, for a new program of the National Urban League. The New York Office was requested to furnish any derogatory information concerning WHITNEY YOUNG inasmuch as this office is in a position to influence the grants by the Mellon Foundation.

The New York Office advised [REDACTED] that no derogatory information was known concerning him.

[REDACTED], has been most cooperative and has been previously utilized in a counterintelligence matter. He is being [REDACTED] He has been found to be reliable and discreet.

REQUEST FOR BUREAU AUTHORITY

Bureau authority is requested to advise [REDACTED] that no derogatory information is known concerning [REDACTED]

- (3) - Bureau (RM)
- (1 - 100-448006) (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE)
- 3 - Pittsburgh
- (1 - 100-15780)

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191 OCT 10 1968

98 OCT 29 1968

56

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

10/11/68

SAC, Philadelphia (157-2371)

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

2/1
SF

For the information of recipient offices the Philadelphia Division has advised that [REDACTED] has said that the Black Panther Party was being used by the New Left and because of this the Panthers cannot be trusted. It is noted that Black Panther Party (BPP) leader Eldridge Cleaver is the candidate for President of the Peace and Freedom Party, a white New Left group.

The Bureau feels this would be a possible means of counterintelligence. Black Panther leaders might be neutralized by spreading the story that their cooperation with the Peace and Freedom Party has been purchased by that party. An indication of this might be the fact that the Peace and Freedom Party helps the BPP obtain speaking engagements for large fees.

Philadelphia and each office should submit concrete recommendations in line with the above as soon as possible. No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority.

MAILED 7
OCT 11 1968
COMM-FBI

In addition, Philadelphia should submit recommendations for alerting the BPP to [REDACTED] statements in order to cause friction [REDACTED] and the BPP.

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

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| 2 - Baltimore | 2 - Newark | 2 - San Francisco |
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| 2 - Detroit | 2 - Pittsburgh | 2 - WFO |
| 2 - Los Angeles | 2 - Sacramento | |

TJD:lst
(29)

REC 22

100-448006-310

EX 110

19 OCT 11 1968

61 OCT 16 1968

57

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/11/68

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894)

JH

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED: 10/14/68)

ReBulet to San Francisco dated 9/30/68.

Sacramento is presently transcribing a tape of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's address on 10/2/68, at the symposium held at Sacramento State College. His address was filled with obscenities and numerous derogatory remarks concerning Governor REAGAN and other State and Federal officials.

Sacramento suggests that word for word transcribed copies of this address be mailed anonymously to members of school boards, educators, heads of parent-teachers associations, members of the clergy and others who might be responsible for bringing guest lecturers into the community so that they can see in black and white the sort of thing that the students, high school as well as college, are hearing.

A copy of above transcription will be forwarded to the Bureau as soon as it is completed.

- ② - Bureau *fm*
- 2 - Sacramento
- GMS:nme
- (4)

REC 45

1011

4 OCT 14 1968

INT. SEC.

58

SAC, Sacramento (100-894)

October 24, 1968

REC-123

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 311

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance Folder
- 1 - [REDACTED]

EX 109

CCOUNTERINTELLIGENCE PRGR/II
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/11/68.

The anonymous mailing to selected individuals in the educational field of the verbatim transcription of an inflammatory speech made by Eldridge Cleaver on 10/7/68 has merit. The full disclosure of Cleaver's remarks to persons in positions of responsibility in the educational system could result in bringing pressure to bear upon college administrators to refuse Cleaver a forum in the future.

When forwarding the transcription to the Bureau include in the caption the title appearing above and make specific recommendations concerning the proposed recipients of the anonymous mailings and the tangible results you hope to secure. Take no action in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

WJN:ljs/ekw

MAILED 4
 OCT 24 1968
 COMM-FBI

NOTE: The Sacramento Division is presently transcribing a tape of Cleaver's address before a symposium at Sacramento State College. His address was filled with obscenities and insulting remarks. In relet Sacramento suggests that the transcription of his remarks be anonymously mailed to selected educators. We agree that this could be an effective means of barring Cleaver from future speeches before educational groups. Sacramento is being instructed to follow through with its suggestion.

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

[Handwritten signature]

61 OCT 30 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

59

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/11/68

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Bureau letter, 9/30/68, and Seattle letter, 10/8/68.

On October 10, 1968, [redacted] who is well acquainted with racial matters in Seattle, orally reported that the "word is out" in Seattle's Central (ghetto) Area that a price of \$25,000.00 is being offered for the [redacted], both of whom are Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders in Seattle, Washington. The source was not able to learn who is offering the price and does not know whether such a price is in truth being offered, but it is being told in the Central Area.

By way of further information, the source also reported that [redacted] does not have any respect for his parents, who would be glad to see him in jail. Further, [redacted], Washington, is afraid of [redacted]. (Consideration is being given to interviewing [redacted])

The source further reported that [redacted] a Negro militant in Seattle, is also supposed to be killed, but the source does not know whether [redacted] is included in the price.

Whether this is rumor or fact, this situation could lend itself to a counterintelligence measure in the form of a flyer, which would of necessity have to be couched in simple language. Objections to such a measure would be that, if such a flyer is distributed, [redacted] sense of self importance might be enhanced by the mere fact that a price

- 2 - Bureau (REG)
- 1 - Seattle
- (1 - 157-721)
- (1 - 134-40A)

EX 109

REG-9

[redacted]

CNG:cmh
(8)

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

RACIAL INT. SECT.
60

SEE BUREAU LETTER
10-10-68
WDD:mfs



has been put on them; also the whites would undoubtedly be blamed for placing the price.

However, if the flyer were couched in simple language, so as to lend an aura of authenticity, and no specific price were named, then this might prove to be a means of causing a chism within the black community of Seattle and the BPP. There definitely is a growing indication that some segments of the black community are becoming more and more disenchanted with the BPP.

The following text for a flyer is suggested:

[REDACTED] YOUR PEOPLE ARE FED UP WITH
YOUR JIVING. WE DON'T NEED YOU. THE WORD IS
OUT. GET OUT OF TOWN BABY BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE."

This is being submitted for the consideration of the Bureau and no distribution of any such flyer will be essayed by the Seattle Division without prior Bureau authorization.

The flyer, if authorized, would be prepared on community purchased paper which cannot be traced. If this suggestion is approved every caution will be exercised to protect the Bureau as a source of this activity.

It is contemplated that the flyer would be distributed by an anonymous mailing to the BPP headquarters, 1127 1/2 - 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington, selected taverns within the Central Area, and hangouts of [REDACTED] so as to broadcast this situation in the central Area. If mailed to their hangouts, this might suggest to [REDACTED] that someone within their own group prepared the flyer.

If the flyer is authorized, the Seattle Division will report any tangible results.

On a national scope, it is suggested that established Bureau contacts, in the news media, both of publications and radio and TV broadcasting networks, be apprised of the history of the BPP, identities of leaders, with accompanying background sketches. They should also be apprised of the locations where the BPP has established branches and where they intend to do so and the overall aims of the BPP and how these aims will be accomplished. These established sources should be requested to decrease the amount of coverage given BPP activities and relegate what coverage is given to the "back pages".

SAC, Seattle (157-721)

October 29, 1968

REC-28

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 217

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/11/68.

The Bureau appreciates your resourcefulness in devising a counterintelligence measure aimed against [REDACTED] Black Panther Party (BPP). Authority denied to implement this suggestion in view of the fact it may be in violation of the Federal Extortion statute.

Your suggestions relating to counterintelligence actions against the BPP on a national level will be considered in the over-all evaluation of similar proposals received from various field offices.

WDN:mfs/ekw

(7)

MAILED 4
 OCT 30 1968
 COMM-FBI

NOTE: In relet Seattle recommends the anonymous mailing of the following flyer to selected hangouts of [REDACTED] both of whom are BPP leaders in Seattle, Washington.

[REDACTED] YOUR PEOPLE ARE FED UP WITH YOUR LIVING. WE DON'T NEED YOU. THE WORD IS OUT. GET OUT OF TOWN BABY BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE."

The anonymous mailing of the above flyer could possibly be in violation of Federal law relating to the sending of extortion notes through the United States mails.

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

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten initials]

62

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/11/68

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16921) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBuairtel, 3/4/68.

1. Cincinnati is formulating a proposal regarding television interview of the leaders of certain "marching groups" in the Cincinnati area by established TV interview shows, wherein the interviewer will be given information which refutes alleged peaceful intent of the "marching groups". This proposal will be submitted under separate caption.

2. None

3. None

4. None

There have been no changes in the overall Black Nationalist Movement in this division since the Bureau was last advised.

2 -Bureau (RM)
2 - Cincinnati

BCK/jmh
(4)

REC 82



5010-106-02

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

RACIAL INT. SEC.

63

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446003)

DATE: 10/11/68

FROM : SAC, EL PASO (157-126) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Bureau letter to SF, 9/30/68.

The existence of a Black Panther Party Chapter in the El Paso Division has not been established to date nor has any information been received which would indicate that the Black Panther Party (BPP) of California is actively recruiting members at this time in the El Paso Division.

The only information received regarding California BPP persons being involved in El Paso came on 8/1/68 from a liaison source who reported that two individuals had told him that a [redacted] and indicated to them that he had talked with two Black Panthers from California, who were surveying the situation in the El Paso Division.

On 9/1/68, an individual identifying himself as [redacted] called the El Paso Office and advised that he had [redacted], and that meetings were scheduled for the fourth and fifth of 9/68. As a counterintelligence tactic, the alleged meeting place was surveilled by Agents of the El Paso Office, with negative results to indicate any type of meeting.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised Agents of the El Paso Office that [redacted] user, a "pillhead with a big mouth",

Let me know if you have any info on this.
10-2-68
WJW:ME

- (2-Bureau (RM))
- 5-El Paso (2-157-126)
- (1-157-211)
- (1-157-217)
- (1-100-6075)

REC 82

FJP:sf
(7)



64

EP 157-126

and an individual who has a very poor record for telling the truth.

On 9/5/68, a member of the Military Intelligence Division of the Texas State Guard, reported that he had received information that there were two tall Negro males in black berets and black clothing in El Paso on 8/31/68, and that they had the initials "BP" on armbands. No other reports of these two individuals were received by any of the intelligence agencies or police departments.

On 9/26/68, an individual believed to be a Negro, called the local radio station indicating that he was a Black Panther, and there were 20 - 27 Black Panthers in El Paso, with more coming in for a demonstration. He was invited by the moderator of the open forum-type program to come to the station on 10/2/68 and/or 10/3/68 to be interviewed.

On 10/2/68, during the program from 4 to 5 p.m., the individual called and stated he was unable to show up because "someone had put sugar in his gas tank".

On 10/3/68, the alternate date, no call was received nor did anyone appear.

The BPP being an open organization and not clandestine in its activities, a grave doubt was raised as to the existence of the organization.

Nevertheless, the El Paso Office covered the alleged meeting spots on successive nights without any information being developed to indicate a meeting taking place, established a surveillance across from the radio station to observe and photograph any Black Panthers who showed up, and in addition,

[REDACTED]

have been alerted to him for the purpose of reporting any activity on his part.

Further, [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the Bureau, has been instructed to [REDACTED] to determine his current activities. It is to be noted

that [REDACTED] who alleges to be the leader of the organization, is an individual who is generally regarded as being without any friends or associates, and as one who possesses no leadership qualities.

Regarding counterintelligence techniques which can be utilized on a local or national level, the El Paso Office suggests the following for the Bureau's consideration:

1. Interview suspected Black Panther members in an area where the interview by Bureau Agents can be observed by other Black Panther members, thus casting the suspicion that the interviewed individual is a Bureau informant.
2. Call for the member at the BPP Headquarters or other place known to be frequented by them, and leave a fictitious name and the number of the FBI Office with the request that they have the man call. When, if suspicion has already been cast upon this member, a member of the Black Panthers calls to verify the number, the Bureau switchboard operator will, quite naturally, deny the existence of such an Agent, thus creating further suspicion.
3. Have a female call the wife of a Black Panther member or official, asking for the husband by first name.
4. Write a letter or make a telephone call to the wife of the member demanding that her husband stay away from the writer's wife, lest there be trouble.
5. Anonymously send a small contribution to the BPP, stating that this amount is not as large as that contributed previously (stating a large figure if deemed advisable) and since no record of the receipt of such a letter will be at the BPP Headquarters, the inference will be that someone there intercepted the money.
6. A variation of #5 would name a Black Panther member to whom the previous money was allegedly contributed, thus casting the suspicion that the member is holding out money on the organization.

7. If applicable, write a letter to the National Headquarters inferring in the letter that the local treasurer of the local BPP Chapter is holding out money on the National Headquarters.
8. Furnish to a cooperative, friendly, trustworthy newspaper or news media man, the criminal, moral, and other pertinent background regarding the leadership of the BPP.
9. An anonymous letter stating that despite what brother [REDACTED], or as the name may be, says about the leadership of the BPP Chapter, the writer believes that they are doing a fine job.

It is realized that not all of the techniques can be utilized in every situation, and that some have been used in the past, nevertheless, it is believed that the greater the disruption at the time of the organizing of a Black Panther or Black Nationalist Group chapter, the greater the possibilities of neutralizing the chapter and its leadership.

El Paso will remain alert to the counterintelligence problem, and will furnish information and techniques as they develop.

SAC, El Paso (157-126)

10/24/68

REC-138

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 211/

1
1
1



EX 109
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/11/68.

The various counterintelligence proposals contained in relet have merit and will be considered in the over-all counterintelligence program aimed against the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Suggestion #5 contained on page 3 of relet has considerable merit and could be implemented in the near future, however, the suggestion is irrelevant to your division in view of the fact there is no known organized BPP activity in El Paso. This suggestion is being set forth for the edification of the San Francisco Division which may desire to utilize it against the BPP headquarters.

"Anonymously send a small contribution to the BPP, stating that this amount is not as large as that contributed previously...and since no record of the receipt of such a letter will be at the BPP headquarters, the inference will be that someone there intercepted the money."

Prior to dispatching such a communication to the BPP headquarters, San Francisco should submit the proposed letter to the Bureau for approval along with specific comments relating to the anticipated effectiveness of the letter.

2 - San Francisco (157-601)

MAILED 2
OCT 24 1968
COMM-FBI

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

WDN:mis
(8) *mfe*

Jle

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

61 OCT 30 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

68

Letter to SAC, El Paso
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

NOTE:

In relet El Paso makes nine specific recommendations concerning counterintelligence measures against the BPP, all of which will be considered in an over-all review of suggestions from the field concerning captioned matter. The suggestion set out in the body of the letter for San Francisco has immediate potential for use by the San Francisco Office, however, it is not pertinent to El Paso in view of the lack of any organized activity of the BPP in that division.

Memorandum

TO :
FROM :
SUBJECT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

DATE: 10/10/68

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to SF, 9/30/68.

On 9/18/68, [REDACTED] appeared in the [REDACTED] which contained information to the effect that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] disclosed that fear of the Black Panthers forced her to resign her leadership role in a civil rights organization. "Trembling with emotion, the civic leader told the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime and Violence, 'Our own people are attacking us. These Black Panthers, militants and extremists threatened our lives. This is the trend'."

[REDACTED] in the city's [REDACTED] interrupted [REDACTED] testimony to suggest the formation of a black mans club to stand up to these Panthers and extremists. We had the same trouble in Buffalo, but we stood up to them, and when they told me they were going to kill me, I told them that my friends would kill every one of them. [REDACTED] said - You can't back down from them."

A xerox copy of the complete article is attached as an enclosure to this letter.

2- Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM) REC-48
1- New York

JJD:pf
(3)

ENCLOSURE EX 110

REC-68

OCT 14 1968

RECEIVED



NY 100-161140

It is not often that a well known Negro condemns a Negro group and the testimony appears in a well read newspaper like the "New York Daily News".

It is felt that we should attempt to take full advantage of this disclosure and a sufficient number of xerox copies of the article should be made up and disseminated nation-wide in areas where the Black Panther Party (BPP) are known to have chapters. It is believed that the article would have national appeal because [REDACTED]

After the article has been xeroxed it can be mailed in plain white envelopes to Negroes in high offices, Negro Ministers, responsible civil rights leaders, leaders of various youth organizations, people whose names have been found in possession of Black Panther members and other individuals who might be in a position to help destroy the BPP or who might be developed as a source of information on BPP activities.

It is believed that this counterintelligence move will do one of two things: cause persons interested in the BPP to reconsider before joining the group or to leave the group; and secondly persons who receive a copy and then are interviewed under the Racial Informant-Ghetto program might be more prone to assist the Bureau under the informant program.

At the present time, there does not appear to be any factionalism in the NY Chapter of the BPP. There are of course individual quarrels but no known dissension against the main group or the objectives of the organization.

NY 100-161140

On a continuing basis the NYO has tried to foster hostile attitudes between the BPP and SNCC. This has mainly been accomplished by pretext phone calls to both organizations. As lately as 10/8/68, [REDACTED] stated, when telephonically pretexted, that SNCC is constantly guarding their premises against planned attacks by the BPP. On 10/4/68, [REDACTED] of the BPP, stated when telephonically pretexted, that he heard that SNCC was going to dynamite the office of the BPP, and they were going to get a hot reception when they arrived. He also mentioned they have two live snakes in the basement of their storefront located at 780 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, NY, to attack people who might prowl around their headquarters at night.

It is not felt that factionalism between local leaders and National leaders of the BPP will be accomplished while the organization is "riding high" but factionalism within the organization might begin to take place when the Negroes themselves begin to find fault with the group. It is hoped that the suggestion set forth above will help create this distrust by the mainstream of Negroes themselves.

In regard to suspicion among the leaders with respect to financial sources it is noted that [REDACTED] reportedly [REDACTED] At this time it is not known where these funds come from, other than the Peace and Freedom Party and various other fund raising ventures. It is not known whether there is any large contributor to the BPP in the NY area.

NY 100-161140

Concerning suspicion about the spouses of BPP members nothing has occurred in the NYO area which would highlight any infidelity upon the part of the members. Although it must be assumed that this group is generally a low moral outfit and general misconduct might be rampant. In this regard the NYO would suggest that when the individual members of the BPP have been investigated and their home addresses, identity of spouses and telephone numbers have been established, consideration can be given to placing discreet pretext phone calls, using a Negro accent, to the spouse suggesting various things concerning her husband. This can be easily accomplished utilizing the minimum of investigation time.

As to suspicion as to who may be cooperating with law enforcement and suspicion as to who may be attempting to gain complete control of the organization for his own private betterment it is felt that in both cases this can best be handled during interviews with BPP members, that is to say that this suspicion can best be placed in the minds of these BPP members when we are talking to them. As the Bureau is aware the NYO is attempting to interview all known BPP members in this areas as well as all other individuals who are known to have contact with these members. As the interviews have progressed all agents assigned to these interviews are cognizant of the value of planting suspicion along the lines set forth above. This is a continuing method which just pay dividends in the long run. In the case of [REDACTED] he was told that of course he knew he could not trust all those around him as some of them were bound to inform. This disarmed him somewhat and caused him to think. Efforts are continuing in the NYO to make [REDACTED]

NY 100-161140

In the case of foreign visits by BPP members [REDACTED] was asked if the [REDACTED] attempted to gain his cooperation [REDACTED]. He was advised of the provisions of the espionage statute and non-registration of foreign agents. He stated that the [REDACTED] did not seek his cooperation. It is not known if other BPP members have made similar visits.

It is felt that one method of creating opposition to this party on the part of the majority of the residents of the ghetto areas would be to publicize statements made against the BPP by responsible and well known Negroes as previously set forth in this letter. For the most part the residents of the ghetto areas will only listen to their own people especially if they are well known individuals.

It has also been observed, that outside of a small percentage of Negro extremists, as of this date, it does not appear that the DPP has been able to gain widespread support among the residents of the ghetto areas in NYC.

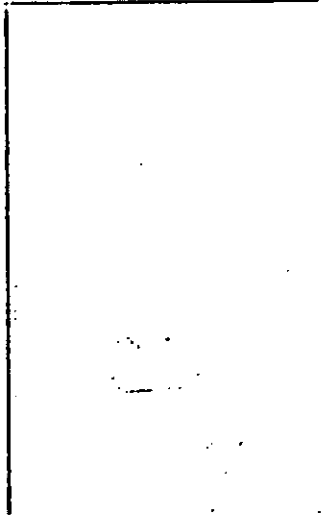
Basie's Wife Tells of Fear Of Panthers

BY THOMAS POSTER

Fear of the Black Panther forced her to resign her leadership role in a civil rights organization, Mrs. Catherine Basie, wife of the famed orchestra leader, Count Basie, disclosed yesterday.

Trembling with emotion, the civic leader told the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime and Violence:

"Our own people are attacking us. These Black Panthers, with



Mrs. Catherine Basie
Forced to resign, she says

gangs and extremists threatened our lives. This is the trend."

Assemblyman Arthur O. Evt (D-Buffalo), a leader in that city's Negro community, interrupted Mrs. Basie's testimony to suggest the formation of "a black man's club to stand up to these Panthers and extremists."

"Same Trouble in Buffalo"

"We had the same trouble in Buffalo, but we stood up to them, and when they told me they were going to kill me, I told them that my friends would kill every one of them," Evt said. "I can't back down from them."

The lawmaker, a member of the committee, said that since Evt and he are members of the Black Black Club, some attend community meetings in the Negro area to "protect their wives and children from any extremist infiltration."

Mrs. Basie, near tears, concluded that "what do you do when 50 or 70 of these Black Panthers surround your meeting and threaten your loved ones, threaten their lives. I cannot go along with this new slogan and this intimidation. Even the Negro businessmen are getting out of our neighborhoods."

In Council 16 Years

She told the lawmakers that she resigned as chairman of the South Buffalo Community Council, a post she had held for 16 years.

"One hundred years ago we feared the white man," she added, "and now we fear our own people, and it's a worse fear."

ENCLOSURE

76

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. R. H. Horner
- 1 - [REDACTED]

October 29, 1968

SAC, San Francisco ST-11

REC-139

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 315

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance
- 1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
 BUDED: 11/15/68

ReBulet to San Francisco 9/30/68, copies of which were furnished to receiving offices.

Enclosed herewith for recipient offices is a reproduced copy of an article which appeared in the 9/18/68 issue of the New York Daily News. This article vividly portrays the fear the Black Panther Party (BPP) instills in the Negro community. The impact of this article on responsible Negroes should harden their resistance to BPP intrusions in the Negro community.

The New York Division has recommended that a sufficient number of reproduced copies of the article be prepared and be disseminated on a Nation-wide basis in areas where the DPP is known to be active.

MAILED 5
 OCT 30 1968
 COMM-FBI

Enclosure

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2 - Albany (Enclosure) | 2 - Newark (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Atlanta (Enclosure) | 2 - New York (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Baltimore (Enclosure) | 2 - Omaha (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Boston (Enclosure) | 2 - Pittsburgh (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Chicago (Enclosure) | 2 - Portland (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Denver (Enclosure) | 2 - Sacramento (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Detroit (Enclosure) | 2 - St. Louis (Enclosure) |
| 2 - El Paso (Enclosure) | 2 - San Diego (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Houston (Enclosure) | 2 - Seattle (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Los Angeles (Enclosure) | 2 - WFO (Enclosure) |

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

WDM:ekw (51)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

51 NOV 14 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

76

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

Recipient offices furnish to New York no later than 11/15/68 the names and addresses of responsible Negroes in your division to whom you desire attached article be sent. After receipt of this information, the New York Division is authorized to mail in plain white envelopes reproduced copies of the newspaper article to those individuals whose names have been furnished by receiving offices.

New York handle this in such a manner that the mailing is not traced to the FBI. All offices report to the Bureau all tangible results obtained by this counter-intelligence action.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan dated 10/28/68, same caption, prepared by WDN:ekw. 217

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/11/68

FROM : *BIP/m* SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to San Francisco dated 9/30/68 and Newark letter to Bureau dated 10/2/68.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) activity in the Newark Division is of recent origin. A chapter began to organize in Newark on or about 6/21/68 followed by chapters in Jersey City and Paterson, N.J.

There has been one incident involving the Jersey City chapter and the Jersey City Police Department; however, the three chapters in New Jersey have not played a significant role to date.

Persons appear to be attracted to this organization mainly due to the name and uniform.

Most individuals in the BPP do not appear to have employments like the average person based on the time they can spend on the streets.

Newark therefore has been concentrating on determining the financial resources of BPP chapters and criminal records of members. In this regard referenced Newark letter dated 10/2/68 set forth suggestions relative to the Jersey City chapter.

It is felt that if funds which support BPP operations can be interrupted or if a criminal check reflects someone in a leadership capacity is on parole, you then have the best opportunity for counterintelligence action which could tend to neutralize BPP activity. It is believed that this approach may have validity in other divisions where, like Newark, activity by the BPP is minor and of recent origin.

No known foreign ³⁰ visits have been made by Black Panthers in this area, and Newark has no suggestions relative to this aspect at this time.

2 - Bureau (RM) (L)

2 - Newark

(1 - 100-49194)

AGO:aas

(1)

23 OCT 15 1968

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

RACIAL INT. SECT.

78



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: October 14, 1968

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) DATE 3/25/77

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco dated September 30, 1968.

In the latter part of August, 1968, several members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) from New York City came to Baltimore for the purpose of initiating a Baltimore unit of the BPP.

~~_____~~ in the Baltimore area. ~~_____~~ and all but one of the individuals from New York City were subsequently arrested in connection with their activity involving the fire bombing of the Supreme Food Market in the Cherry Hill area of Baltimore, Maryland. The arrest of ~~_____~~ effectively nullified his activities in this year. However, ~~_____~~

~~_____~~ unit in Baltimore and continued recruiting activities in the Soul School. At one meeting, informants reported that ~~_____~~ stated that any BPP member who permitted himself, or another blackman to be arrested, by a police officer in his presence, without attempting to kill the officer, should not return to the BPP.

The information concerning ~~_____~~ statement was conveyed to the Baltimore, Maryland Police Department and on September 26, 1968, ~~_____~~ was arrested by the Baltimore City Police Department on outstanding traffic warrants and upon search it was found that he had marijuana in his possession. With ~~_____~~ at the time of his arrest,

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - Baltimore

FJW:kss

(3)

REC-1

15 OCT 15 1968

11/4/77
declassified by 7306 TJS/br
3/26/77

RACIAL INT. SECT.



[REDACTED] was [REDACTED] and two females. [REDACTED] submitted docily to the arrest. According to [REDACTED] this has had a very calming effect on [REDACTED] activities because he fears further arrests and has lost some prestige in the eyes of the persons he was recruiting into the BPP. It has also caused lessening of activity at the Soul School. This has resulted in financial embarrassment due to the fact that the Soul School has not been able to sell African-type jewelry and clothing from which some income was derived.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED], and that in the near future a delegation from New York City would come to Baltimore to straighten out the situation. [REDACTED] was left with the impression that he [REDACTED]

Sources associated with the BPP and the Soul School have been furnishing information indicating that there is considerable dissension within both the Soul School and the BPP in Baltimore at this time.

In view of the above information, and in view of the fact that it is expected that [REDACTED] it is not felt that any drastic counterintelligence activity need be taken against the BPP in Baltimore, at this time. However, the Baltimore Office is continuing its efforts to develop additional quality informants in both the Soul School and the BPP and it is felt that when the proper time comes, the Baltimore Office will be in a position to take counterintelligence action to prevent the BPP from becoming in any way effective in the Baltimore area.

At the present time, the Baltimore Office does not have sufficient information on a national level

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BA 157-2520

to make any specific recommendations or suggestions for counterintelligence activity against the BPP on a national level.

It is hoped that the Baltimore Office will be able to develop a source on a national level which would be it in a better position to make such suggestions in the future.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/15/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

ReBulet dated 8/14/68, and WFO airtel and LHM captioned "Black United Front, Racial Matter," dated 8/10/68.

As indicated in referenced LHM, an individual spoke against the Black United Front (BUF) proposal for community control of the police department. This individual said that the small attendance at the BUF meeting involved was proof that people were against BUF proposals. The individual condemned violence and asked why STOKELY CARMICHAEL did not leave Washington, D. C.

On 8/20/68, [redacted] was recontacted regarding the identity of the above [redacted] at the BUF meeting on 8/8/68. Source said this individual was not a Reverend, but was [redacted]

Washington, D.C., where the meeting was held. He seemed to speak as a staunch church member and indicated he was a resident of that area. He appeared to be quite intelligent and was very articulate. The source described this person as a [redacted]

- (2) - Bureau
- 2 - WFO
- (1 - 157-1426)(BUF)

AM/mee

(4)

declassified by 7316 TJS/ct
3/26/11
15 OCT 15 1968



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[REDACTED] was recontacted in regard to the identity of the [REDACTED] at a BUF meeting. This source stated the above person did not identify himself by name and did not appear to be a Reverend. He surmised from his talk that he was a rather intelligent individual, who expressed himself and his [REDACTED] very well. Source stated he could not be sure that he would recognize this man again in the future; however, he will bear the matter of this person's identity in mind and will advise WFO should any pertinent information come to his attention. Source described this individual as having a [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was recontacted regarding the identity of the [REDACTED] and advised that this person did not identify himself, but the source [REDACTED] Washington, D.C. [REDACTED] was unable to furnish any additional pertinent information regarding this person, but stated he, [REDACTED], had a friend who [REDACTED] could attempt to determine the identity of this person through [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he had contacted his friend who [REDACTED], but was unable to further identify the individual previously referred to above. [REDACTED] stated that he would continue his attempts to identify this person and would advise WFO of any pertinent information.

[REDACTED] who has been cooperative in the past, advised he did not have any idea what teacher may have attended the BUF meeting on 8/8/68. He said that generally speaking he did not know of any [REDACTED] who would

[REDACTED]

WFO 157-1292

attend BUF meetings and if any did so, he did not believe they would be inclined to speak out as this person did. [REDACTED] stated that he would attempt to determine if any teachers from Eastern have been attending BUF meetings, but added that the description of the individual referred to above did not resemble [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he had made a general inquiry among the [REDACTED], but was unable to locate anyone who had attended any BUF meetings. He said he would remain alert to the possible identity of this person.

It is pointed out that, ^{Precinct} BUF meetings are not restricted to membership, are open to the public and people in attendance could be from any area of the city.

WFO will remain alert to the identity of this individual through sources but does not contemplate any further investigation to identify him.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 10/11/68

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) RUC

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 10/14/68)

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/30/68.

This Division proposes that the following suggestions be considered in the counterintelligence program against the Black Panthers:

1. Making available to responsible Bureau sources who are in positions of authority locally in Negro newspapers, copies of The Black Panther newspaper in order that they may publish selected excerpts from it which particularly expose the rabid racist and violence-prone nature of the Panthers, thereby encouraging Negro opposition to the Black Panthers.
2. Utilizing the same sources to publicize Black Panthers who are in disfavor with the Panther leaders and/or other black nationalist leaders and contrasting Black Panther leaders in a less favorable light, thereby creating the climate for factional in-fighting.
3. Have law enforcement agents pick up a Black Panther lesser official at a location away from their headquarters, drive him in a law enforcement vehicle to a location near the headquarters, and then let him out of the vehicle as one of the agents says in a loud enough voice, "Thanks for the information, Willie (or whatever his name is), we'll pay you again next week."

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
(1 - 157-5818) (1 - 157-5872)

JAF:bam
(5)

REC-35

PROVIDENT, SECT.



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

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SL 157-5818

4. Handprint a Black Panther's first name on an FBI embossed envelope (empty) and place it anonymously in the vehicle of another Black Panther while the vehicle is unoccupied. Both this suggestion and number 3 should serve to cast suspicion on the Panther involved.

5. Have a Negro agent or male clerk telephonically contact the residence of a Black Panther during late hours, and ask for the Panther's wife by her first name. In any ensuing conversation, the caller should attempt to leave the impression with the Panther that he is the current lover of the wife.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: Oct. 12, 1968

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, Denver (157-199)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to San Francisco dated 9/30/68.

A Black Panther Party (BPP) chapter is being formed at Denver, Colorado. When the identity of the persons attempting to form this chapter became known to the Denver Office, Denver immediately [redacted] with the leaders of this group. [redacted]

[redacted] regularly [redacted] information concerning the activities of [redacted] which information is immediately relayed to the Denver Police Department in instances where action can be taken by them. In this regard, [redacted] advised of a racial disturbance in progress in the northeast Denver area. [redacted]

[redacted] This information was immediately relayed to the Denver Police Department who sent Special Service Unit officers [redacted] where [redacted] were arrested and police confiscated several weapons and ammunition from [redacted] residence after search warrant secured and executed on the residence. [redacted] was charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor, a non-bondable offense in the State of Colorado; however, his attorney obtained his release on a writ of habeas corpus on a \$500.00 bond.

REC-65

Bureau (RM)
- Denver
LRH:mf
(3)



175
54 OCT 29 1968

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

88

DN 157-199

[REDACTED] had incited some Negro youths to extensively damage a cleaning establishment in the Negro area of Denver. As a result of this, [REDACTED] was arrested by the Denver Police Department for conspiracy to commit arson and conspiracy to incite destruction of life and property by racial disturbance, September 12-13, 1968. He is presently free on \$10,000 bond on this charge, his trial being scheduled for [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] that due to [REDACTED] being out on bond on this charge, he was unable to attend the GEORGE WALLACE appearance held in Denver on October 11, 1968.

[REDACTED] BPP, Denver was arrested for [REDACTED] during the [REDACTED] racial disturbance and is currently out on \$1,000 bond.

[REDACTED] was arrested on [REDACTED] for assault and malicious mischief, larceny and resisting arrest during a racial disturbance in Denver [REDACTED]. He is currently out on \$500.00 bond on this charge. [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] by the Denver Police Department on [REDACTED] on a warrant issued by the Arapahoe County Sheriff's Office [REDACTED]. Denver police officers advised they delayed arresting [REDACTED] until October 10, 1968, in order that he would be in jail on October 11, 1968, when GEORGE WALLACE was making his appearance in Denver.

With Bureau approval the Denver Division will conduct its counterintelligence activity against the BPP by immediately furnishing information obtained from Denver's excellent informant in this organization to the Denver Police Department where action can be taken against members of the BPP. The Denver Office feels this is an effective way to neutralize the activities of the BPP, it being noted that they have had difficulty in raising money to make their bonds. [REDACTED] traveled to Oakland, California, and contacted the BPP there in an attempt to raise money for his bond.

The Denver Division feels the above method would be excellent action to take against BPP on a national level.

DN 157-199

No foreign visits have been made by BPP members from the Denver Division.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 10/14/68

FROM : *[Handwritten initials]* SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15780)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to San Francisco dated 9/30/68.

It is noted that the status of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Pittsburgh is not clear at this time. There was a flurry of indicated organizational activity in Pittsburgh during early September, 1968, when [redacted] was in Pittsburgh [redacted] returned to Oakland about 9/16/68, and sources report no activity since then.

Proposed counterintelligence activity to be taken against the BPP in Pittsburgh is as follows:

A contact is planned with [redacted] who is one of the aggressive but rational leaders of the responsible Negro element in Pittsburgh, to ascertain his feelings re the BPP and to sound him out concerning the possibility of organized Negro resistance to the BPP. Bureau authority is not deemed necessary for this contact because [redacted] is an established source and because it is not planned any specific action will be taken other than to discuss the matter. If any specific action develops, Bureau authority will be requested.

Consideration is being given to early interviews with all individuals known to have been involved with the BPP activity in Pittsburgh during early September. It is not believed that Bureau authority will be necessary for these interviews inasmuch as none of these individuals are known to be BPP members. In addition to having a counterintelligence effect, it is considered these interviews will present an opportunity for possible informant development.

1 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Pittsburgh

RIR:jab
(3)

REC-38

[Handwritten initials]
RACIAL INT. SEC.

91



[Handwritten notes in left margin:]
Let to [redacted] Pittsburgh
10-24-68
WCS:mfz

PG 100-15780

It is planned this office will remain alert to the possibility of the BPP, if it becomes active in Pittsburgh, attempting, in one way or another, to obtain funds through charitable foundations. This office, [REDACTED] has excellent potential to influence the granting of these funds. If it develops the BPP in Pittsburgh is attempting to obtain foundation money, Bureau authority will be requested to appropriately handle the matter.

Regarding action that can be taken against the BPP on a national level, it is believed that any effective opposition to the BPP must come from the Negro community itself. To achieve this, it is believed the possibility should be considered in the various areas of activity of the BPP of contact with responsible Negro sources and contacts for the purpose of discussing the matter and perhaps subtly suggesting action that could be taken. This would be the same idea on an expanded basis of the contact planned with [REDACTED] above.

This matter will be further considered and any additional ideas developed will be promptly submitted.

SAC, Pittsburgh (100-15780)

October 28, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) *REC-126*

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/14/68.

In connection with your stated intention to ascertain the views [REDACTED] concerning the Black Panther Party (BPP), you should be most circumspect in your interview with him so as not to leave [REDACTED] with the impression that the FBI is urging organized Negro resistance to the BPP.

Such organized resistance by responsible Negro leaders is most desirable, however, it is neither fitting nor proper that the FBI be identified with such a movement.

In your contacts with [REDACTED] emphasize that the Bureau's investigatory interest in the BPP, among other things, is to learn in advance of any planned acts of violence so that appropriate action can be taken by law enforcement agencies.

WDN:mfs/ekw (6)

NOTE: In relet Pittsburgh advises it plans to interview [REDACTED] who is described by Pittsburgh as aggressive but rational, for the purpose of ascertaining his feelings regarding the BPP and to sound him out concerning the possibility of Negro resistance to the BPP. Pittsburgh states that Bureau authority is not deemed necessary for this contact because [REDACTED] and that no specific action will be taken other than to discuss the matter with [REDACTED]. Such action on the part of Pittsburgh could result in embarrassment to the Bureau and for that reason Pittsburgh is being instructed as above.

MAILED 25
OCT 25 1968
COMM-FBI

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

61 OCT 30 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

93

1 - C. Moore
(route through for review)

1 - [REDACTED]

10/17/68

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-163303)

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurtel 10/11/68, captioned "Student Agitation,
New York University 10/11/68 by Students For A Democratic
Society, Katara, and Afro-American Student Society;
IS - C; RM."

Retel, in developing the situation created by
SDS, Katara, and the Black Allied Student Association (BASA)
at New York University, stated that SDS appeared to be
attempting to capitalize on the [REDACTED] controversy.
Katara and BASA, on the other hand, are intent on preventing
SDS from dominating this situation.

It would appear that this situation is a fertile
field for disruption of both the New Left and the black
student power forces.

New York, by return airtel, submit suggestions
including anonymous communications whereby SDS, Katara,
and BASA can possibly be brought into conflict with
one another as a result of their grab for power at
New York University.

1 - (100-448006)

NOT RECORDED
162 OCT 17 1968

RHH:jms
(6)

NOTE:

TRIPPLICATE YELLOW

Recently [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] in a public address called both Nixon and
[REDACTED] "leftist bastards." As a result, he was dismissed by
[REDACTED] As a result of this action, the
above groups instituted student agitation at [REDACTED]

55001221368

NOTE CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

ORIGINAL FILED IN

94

Airtel to SAC, New York
Re: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
100-449698

NOTE CONTINUED:

Retel states that as a result of this agitation, [REDACTED] to serve as an advisor to Negro students on the campus; and while he has no official connection with [REDACTED], he will be furnished office space. Retel further states that during the campus agitation resulting from this incident, SDS appeared to be attempting to capitalize on the [REDACTED] controversy. This seeming grab for power would appear to offer an opportunity to drive a wedge between the New Left and the black student power advocates. This has been coordinated with [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/15/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

[Handwritten signature/initials]

ReWFOlet dated, 7/23/68.

In accordance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 3/4/68, the following data is submitted:

PERTINENT CHANGES SINCE DATE OF RELET

As the Bureau is aware, according to information in possession of WFO, STOKILY-CARMICHAEL recently severed his relationship with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and reportedly was becoming more closely aligned with the Black Panther Party (BPP), a California based organization.

Due to internal problems between [redacted] and [redacted] factions apparently loyal to CARMICHAEL which erupted into violence, the WDC SNCC Office was closed during August, 1968, and has not been reopened.

[redacted] reportedly departed the WDC area following the eruption of violence, but has now reportedly returned to WDC and is continuing to reside in the area.

- 2 - Bureau
- 4 - WFO

REC-33

- (1-100-43503) (CARMICHAEL)
- (1-157-1426) (BUF)

AAM:njs
(6)

[Handwritten signature]
RACIAL INT. SECT.



I. Operations Under Consideration

1. As the Bureau is aware, during a meeting of the Black United Front (BUF) on 10/2/68, at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] On several occasions during the meeting, [REDACTED] raised questions regarding the organization of the BUF, involvement of CARMICHAEL in the BUF and at one point, specifically requested CARMICHAEL to explain the aims of the BUF in view of his association with the BPP. Apparently CARMICHAEL was upset by [REDACTED] questioning and finally refused to recognize him from the floor until the audience orally indicated their desire to hear [REDACTED]

In addition, as the Bureau is further aware, [REDACTED] has in the past written numerous letters to various WDC newspapers and many of these letters concerning Negro life, civil rights and black power, have been published.

During recent contacts with WFO, [REDACTED] has expressed an intent to write letters for publication to various WDC newspapers, which letters would be against CARMICHAEL. In these letters, he intends to question the source of CARMICHAEL's funds, his affluence, why the Negro should follow him, etc.

WFO is interested in further encouraging [REDACTED] to write such letters and consideration should be given to providing him with selected information which may not otherwise be available to him, for more effective results.

2. Noting the fact that CARMICHAEL apparently did become upset by [REDACTED] questioning during the above-referred to BUF meeting, WFO is considering attendance

at future BUF meetings of selected individuals who could question CARMICHAEL and other panel members regarding issues discussed during the meeting, personal habits of panel members, etc. This would not only raise questions in the minds of the audience present, concerning various BUF proposals and panel members, but may also cause further dissention among the panel members themselves.

3. Since the closing of the WDC SNCC Office, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] has been considering opening an Afro information center for Blacks to come for information and messages, etc. CARMICHAEL and [REDACTED] have indicated a willingness to cooperate in setting up such a center.

Consideration is being given to any possible use such a center would have in a Counterintelligence Program.

4. WFO is considering the potential of lengthy interviews and re-interviews with selected members of the New School for Afro-American Thought (NSAT), BUF, etc., as a counterintelligence measure against these organizations and their members. An interview program of this type should result in suspicion among fellow members and create an air of uncertainty within the target organization. The length of the interview would be important in such a program, inasmuch as during conversation among various members, the time element would most likely be mentioned and should result in associates wondering about the topic of conversation during such a lengthy interview. Especially after the interviewee has most likely stated that he said nothing pertinent during the interview.

5. A WFO source has indicated that a member of the NSAT, while in the presence of fellow NSAT members, was recently addressed by his first name by an individual known to be a law enforcement officer. The addressee was very upset and has continually suffered the barbs of his associates ever since the incident occurred.

WFO is of the opinion this would be a very effective counterintelligence measure, particularly with regard to the NSAT and could be employed following interview of a particular individual or without interview.

6. A publicity campaign to discredit CARMICHAEL among BPP members should be considered. Although CARMICHAEL was reportedly named as Prime Minister of the BPP, it could be rumored that he intends to become an active national figurehead of the BPP and believes that he can accomplish this aim because of his notoriety. That he plans to use the BPP in the same way he used SNCC to further enhance his reputation among the black people and result in furtherance of his personal affluence.

The Bureau's comments are solicited regarding the above proposals.

II. Operations Being Effected

WFO is not currently effecting any operation under the Counterintelligence Program, but has given limited encouragement to [REDACTED] previously mentioned above, inasmuch as he does intend to submit letters to various newspapers on his own initiative.

III. Tangible Results

In relet, WFO commented that the very nature of some of the individuals which comprise the various black nationalist hate groups, lends to a certain disunity in itself as illustrated within Resurrection City. This was again borne out by the internal problems between [REDACTED] WDC SNCC Office, and apparently CARMICHAEL factions, which erupted into violence and the subsequent closing of the WDC SNCC Office.

Much of the dissention between the [REDACTED] and CARMICHAEL forces was brought about through the constant efforts [REDACTED] to promote discord between SNCC factions. [REDACTED] was instrumental in causing dissent by [REDACTED] administration of SNCC. This action by source contributed in large measure in bringing about the dispute that erupted and the subsequent closing of SNCC.

IV. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

As previously mentioned, the WDC SNCC Office was closed and has not been reopened.

[REDACTED] sided with [REDACTED] during the dispute for control of the WDC, SNCC Office.

According to a WFO source, there has been no activity at SNCC Headquarters, WDC, since 9/9/68, and in fact the building has been locked.

CARMICHAEL has apparently severed his relationship with SNCC and reportedly was becoming more closely aligned with the BPP.

SAC, WFO (157-1292)

October 24, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 302

REC-126

1 -
1 -
1 -



COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - ¹⁰² HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurlet 10/15/68.

Referenced letter noted six counterintelligence operations under consideration by Washington Field Office (WFO). WFO should submit specific recommendations concerning these for Bureau approval. The Bureau feels these operations have merit.

Item Number Four in referenced letter concerns interviews of selected black nationalists. Authority for these should be handled pursuant to the Manual of Instructions since interviews per se are not strictly a counterintelligence measure, although an interview program does result in some disruption of an organization.

Particularly important is Item Number Six to discredit Stokely Carmichael among Black Panther Party members. Consider methods to show that Carmichael is attempting to enhance his own position for personal grandizement. It would be valuable to convince his followers that Carmichael is doing a lot of talking, often for large fees, but is not taking any action. He is, in effect, saying do as I say, not as I do.

MAILED 5
OCT 29 1968
COMM-FBI

No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority and each suggestion submitted by WFO should be submitted separately.

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

TJD:ekw
(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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NOV 15 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

101

Letter to SAC, WFO

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK NATIONALIST -
HATE GROUPS

100-448006

NOTE:

Washington Field Office submitted its quarterly progress letter noting several possible counterintelligence operations which have merit. These should be submitted separately as specific recommendations.

FBI

Date: 10/10/68

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	_____

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-34655)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau letter to Detroit, dated 10/9/68; Detroit airtel to the Bureau, dated 9/18/68, and Bureau letter to Detroit, dated 9/25/68.

The following is a 90 day progress letter submitted per instructions in Bureau airtel to Albany, et al, dated 3/4/68:

1. Operations under consideration:

A proposal recently submitted to the Bureau as set forth in Detroit airtel to the Bureau, dated 9/18/68, captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)" is being held in abeyance per instructions contained in referenced Bureau letter to Detroit, dated 9/25/68. This suggestion will be resubmitted when ROBERT F. WILLIAMS' status, as to whether or not he will return to this country, has been determined.

In addition, Detroit is preparing counterintelligence recommendations concerning [redacted] and the Association of Black Students, utilizing suggestions set forth in Bureau letter to Detroit, dated 10/9/68, and other possible methods. No counterintelligence action will be taken without Bureau authority.

2. Operations being effected:

None.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Detroit
DML/mcm
(4)

REC-40

OCT 15 11 22 AM '68

OCT 16 1968

1-806920

TELETYPE UNIT DIA

E. C. Bishop

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

14 OCT 22 1968

103

DE 100-34655

3. Tangible results:

None.

4. Developments of counterintelligence interest:

None.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15780) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 10/15/68

[REDACTED]

Re Pittsburgh letter to the Bureau dated 7/29/68.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised she had determined that mission giving in the United Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh had decreased by about ten percent during 1968. She attributed a substantial portion of this decrease to the efforts of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] She stated the decrease in mission giving was causing serious concern and it was generally recognized within the governing body that the reason for the decrease was opposition to use of church funds for certain civil rights causes. To date, the funds for [REDACTED] have not been curtailed, possibly because his program was set up on an annual basis. It is anticipated that additional funds for [REDACTED] will be seriously questioned.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Pittsburgh
(1 - 157-718)

RIR/nju
(5)

1-906-010

1019

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4 OCT 17 1968

OCT 15 11 30 AM '68

RACIAL INT. SECT.

REC'D DIV. 10 OCT 17 1968



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

51 OCT 24 1968

105

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 10/14/68)

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco dated 9/30/68.

The following counterintelligence proposals are being submitted for Bureau consideration.

As the Bureau has previously been advised, Los Angeles has received information indicating that the Black Panther Party (BPP) believes that [REDACTED] has sold out to the "establishment". Various sources have reported that the BPP has a "contract" out to kill [REDACTED] but that this "contract" is being held in abeyance until the HUEY NEWTON trial and appeals have been completed in order that the BPP will receive the full support of the black community. In order to capitalize on this situation, it is recommended that Los Angeles be authorized to prepare a letter, utilizing street vernacular and appropriate stationary, which will be sent to the Los Angeles BPP purporting to come from an anonymous member of the "US" organization. The letter will state that the youth group of the "US" organization, the Young Lions, or Simba Wachanga, are aware of the BPP "contract" [REDACTED] and that they, in retaliation, have made plans to ambush leaders of the BPP in Los Angeles. The text of the letter will indicate that the person is sympathetic toward the BPP but is afraid of the consequences if "US" members should find out about the letter.

Investigation has shown that the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), a duly constituted political party in California which supports peace candidates, has been supporting some activities of the BPP and is providing the BPP with financial

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

2 - Los Angeles
(1 - 157-1618)RHR/gcw
(4)

30-91

4 OCT 17 1968

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1968

106

LA 157-1751

assistance. It has been determined that the PFP actually made arrangements to lease the building in which the BPP in Los Angeles has its headquarters. It is requested that the Bureau authorize Los Angeles to prepare an anonymous letter, again using street vernacular and appropriate stationery, which will be sent to a selected individual in the PFP, to inform him of statements made by the BPP concerning their association with the PFP. Specifically, the statements will include the fact that the BPP has made the statement in closed Panther meetings, that when the time comes, they will "line up the Caucasians in the PFP against the wall with the rest of the whites". The letter will purport to come from an individual who is associated with Panther members and who has heard Panther members boast of what they will do to Caucasians in the PFP when the Panthers finally launch an armed rebellion. It is felt that a letter of this type could cause considerable disruption of the association between the BPP and the PFP.

It is also recommended that Los Angeles be authorized to prepare a letter, which will be sent to the Oakland BPP Headquarters, stating that the BPP leaders in Los Angeles are using BPP funds for their own benefit and are not really interested in supporting HUEY NEWTON and other Panther leaders. This letter will also be anonymous and will purport to come from a Panther member in Los Angeles who is afraid to reveal his identity.

Information has been received that [REDACTED] is presently at odds with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. [REDACTED] in the past, has reportedly traveled to Tokyo and possibly to Rome, Italy. Information received by the Los Angeles Office indicates that [REDACTED] is presently in New York and may stay in the East because of his disagreement with Panthers on the West Coast. It is recommended that Los Angeles be authorized to prepare a letter, which will be sent to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, complaining about the high standard of living of [REDACTED] and criticizing [REDACTED] for his expenditure of Panther funds. This letter will be anonymous and will purportedly come from a Los Angeles Panther member who is afraid to reveal his identity. It is felt that such a letter could widen the split between leaders of the BPP.

LA 157-1751

If Bureau approval is granted in regard to any of the above suggestions, Los Angeles Division will submit a specific letter for Bureau approval prior to the initiation of any of these proposals. Los Angeles will continue to remain alert for counterintelligence measures against the BPP, and additional recommendations will be submitted to the Bureau in the future.

SAC, Los Angeles (157-1751)

October 31, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 295

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance
- 1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/14/68.

The four specific counterintelligence measures to disrupt the Black Panther Party (BPP) suggested in relet show imagination and insight on your part. For your information, numerous counterintelligence proposals are being considered at the Bureau concerning the BPP, many of which involve the "anonymous letter" technique. Although each recommendation involving anonymous letters made by you has merit, approval for each is not being authorized since the overuse of this technique may reduce its effectiveness.

Your suggestion to capitalize on BPP differences with [REDACTED] are appealing and could result in an "US" and BPP vendetta.

Submit for Bureau approval your proposed anonymous letter in this regard.

Also submit to the Bureau for approval the anonymous letter you propose to send to a selected individual in the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP). Advise of the identity of the individual in the PFP to whom you intend to send the communication.

WDN:ekw (7)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

MAILED 5
 OCT 31 1968
 COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
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- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

54 NOV - 7 1968
 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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109

Letter to SAC, Los Angeles
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

In view of counterintelligence suggestions being considered at the present time which involve the mailing of anonymous letters to Eldridge Cleaver, the Bureau does not desire that you prepare an anonymous letter to Cleaver concerning [REDACTED]. For the same reason, the Bureau does not desire that additional anonymous letters be sent to the BPP headquarters in Oakland, California.

In order to fully capitalize upon the falling out of Cleaver [REDACTED] as well as your excellent suggestion that funds being collected in Los Angeles for the defense of Huey Newton are being dissipated by BPP members in Los Angeles, the following variation on your idea is being submitted for your consideration and development.

Prepare an envelope which appears to have been prepared and distributed by the Los Angeles BPP soliciting donations for the defense of Huey Newton. The envelope can appear to be one of many preprinted envelopes directing the donor to place his contribution in the envelope with instructions to mail the envelope to the mailing address of [REDACTED] name and address or that of the local Los Angeles office of the BPP can be preprinted on the envelope. This envelope with a small financial donation can be forwarded to the Oakland BPP headquarters along with a subscription request to the BPP newspaper. Obtain name and address of Negro donor from obituary column of Los Angeles newspaper. The envelope could inadvertently be sent to the BPP headquarters in Oakland rather than Los Angeles. The desired effect would be to give the BPP headquarters in Oakland the impression that a considerable amount of money was being collected in Los Angeles for Newton but the money was not being forwarded to the defense fund but rather being pocketed by Los Angeles Panthers and [REDACTED] himself.

Make specific recommendations concerning all of the above discussed counterintelligence actions. Take no positive action without prior Bureau authority.

Letter to SAC, Los Angeles
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

NOTE:

In relet Los Angeles submits four proposed counter-intelligence techniques aimed against the BPP. Each suggestion involves the mailing of anonymous letters. In those instances where anonymous letters, under captioned program, are not already being considered, Los Angeles is being instructed to go ahead and submit their anonymous letters for Bureau approval. An alternate suggestion intended to obtain the same results is being forwarded to Los Angeles for its consideration to cover the two instances where anonymous letters are not appropriate for the reasons stated above. Upon receipt of specific recommendations for action from Los Angeles, a detailed memorandum will be prepared in order to obtain authority to implement the above counterintelligence measures.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (157-347)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to San Francisco, 9/30/68.

Black Panther Party - Portland Division

Portland racial informants indicate that while there are some self-admitted Black Panther Party (BPP) members in Portland and Eugene, Oregon, there is no actual functioning BPP chapter. If a chapter is formed, it will be in either Eugene or Portland since there is no significant concentration of militant blacks elsewhere in the state.

Portland is following developments closely and should organization appear imminent, Portland will propose to the Bureau that dissension be created through anonymous leaflets appropriately disseminated, demanding that the other city be the site for Oregon's BPP. In the case of Eugene -- points can be made that those blacks forming the chapter are middle class honky-loving students at the University of Oregon (Eugene), (pointing out white girl friends) who have nothing in common with Oregon's Negro concentration in the Portland ghetto; that these students will sell out for good jobs leaving the ghetto brothers holding the bag.

If organization is started in Portland, Portland will suggest that attempts be made to instill discontent among black students at the University of Oregon who might be expected to furnish leadership. Again anonymous leaflets could be used to point out that Portland blacks are too docile and ridden with police informers for it to be the site of a BPP chapter. This alleged docility has been commented upon

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Portland (1 - 157-347)
- (1 - 157-325)

REC-40

ST-118

15 OCT 1968

LEF:lbt
(4)

RACIA



5010-108-01

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

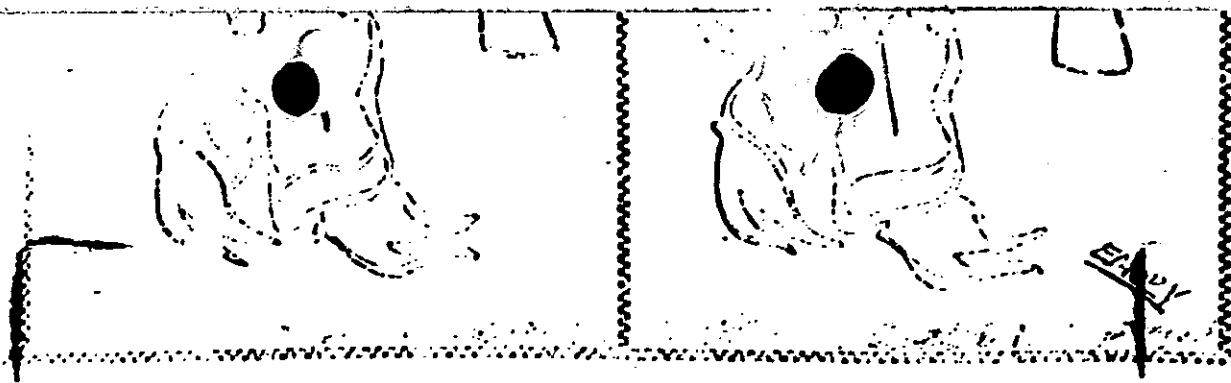
PD 157-347

Oregon

in the past by Eugene blacks, Portland black militants such as [REDACTED] will be pointed out as untrustworthy because they have accepted jobs and money (factual) from whites and have had white girl friends. Suspicion, of course, could be raised concerning money sources of emerging BPP leaders in either Eugene or Portland.

Re: BPP Nationally

The BPP newspaper from Oakland, California, dated 9/28/68, page 22, contains a notice, "Warning to So-Called 'Paper Panthers,'" a xerox copy of which follows:



Huey Newton realized that an organization can be no stronger than its members, so he chose men who were dedicated to the black liberation movement. The chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, exemplifies the type of men that Huey wants for the Black Panther Party. Bobby has held many decent paying jobs, but he could not be bought off in his attempt to help his black brothers. Bobby joined with Huey and has remained faithful to the cause in spite of Huey's imprisonment and constant threats against Bobby's life. The threats of death have only served to strengthen Bobby's resolve.

Denmark Vesey chose Peter Poye as his chief assistant. Peter Poye has been described as a man with the water in his veins - one of the coolest operators ever. When a wealthy white Tom exposed Vesey's plot to capture Charleston, Peter was picked up and questioned, but remained so cool that he was released. Later when more wealthy indicted him, Peter who was condemned to death told a companion who he had started to tell to gain to "Die like a man!" A word from Peter was enough, his companion ceased to complain. At his execution Peter told his fellow revolutionists when they were asked for additional information, "Do not open your lips. Die silent as you shall see me do." A cool character indeed.

Huey realized that only actively the revolutionary system. This is not enough. Huey, Bobby, and Lil' Bobby Hutton started their slogan patrols to discourage police brutality in the ghetto. This effort was very successful in accomplishing its goal, but it turned the heat up against the police controllers of the Panthers. The police continued to harass Huey and the Panthers until the shooting incident that resulted in Huey's imprisonment. Even the incarceration of Huey did not satisfy the Panthers as it was witnessed by the people of the ghetto.

Huey organized his... around the... and was pre... of the city, ... served... and

here had been captured. The slave-owners also admitted that Denmark would have succeeded in taking the city if the Uncle Tom servant had not informed on him.

Gabriel Prosser fought slavery and was executed. Denmark Vesey fought slavery and was executed. Nat Turner fought slavery and was executed. In each case black people did nothing to aid the man who had fought for freedom. Marcus Garvey fought oppression and was jailed. Malcolm X fought oppression and was assassinated. Martin Luther King fought oppression and was assassinated. Black people did nothing. Huey P. New-

ton fought oppression and has not jailed. But Huey P. Newton can still succeed in his efforts to liberate black people if black people will give support to his efforts. He is not being tried for any crime that he has committed (there is no evidence to that effect). He is being tried for attempting to stop the criminal acts of the white racial power structure. He is being tried for seeking justice for all black people. If we allow Huey's trial to end in a conviction and then nothing about it, we should no longer complain about our treatment in America because we deserve no more.

WARNING TO SO-CALLED "BLACK PANTHERS"

Black brothers stop vamping on the hippies. They are not your enemy. Your enemy, right now, is the white racist pig, who support this corrupt system. Your enemy is the Tom nigger who reports to his white slavemaster every day. Your enemy is the fat capitalist who exploits your people daily. Your enemy is the politician who use pretty words to deceive you. Your enemy is the racist pig who use Nazi-type tactics and force to intimidate black expressionism. Your enemy is not the hippies. Your blind reactionary cuts and enlarges the BLACK PANTHER PARTY members and its revolutionary movements. WE HAVE NO COUNSEL WITH THE HIPPIES. LEAVE THEM ALONE. Or--the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will deal with you!

NOW AVAILABLE...

ESSAYS
FROM THE
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
by
HUEY P. NEWTON
WITH FOREWORD AND INTRODUCTION BY
GEORGE S. MEYER
BLACK PANTHER
MINISTER OF DEFENSE

-3-

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PD 157-347

Portland believes that the above notice contains the possibility of exploiting serious factionalism in the BPP. The notice sternly admonishes BPP members to "stop vamping on the hippies." Since the BPP has in the past been strictly anti-white without exception, this notice represents a change, evidently not wholly accepted by all BPP members. Portland believes that through a paper organization with a title such as "West Coast Committee for a Real Black Panther Party," with leaflets indicating origin in Seattle, Los Angeles, etc. chapters, dissension can be created on this issue. Accusation could be made that Oakland BPP are going soft on honkies because Oakland leaders have white girl friends among the hippies. This accusation could be especially effective among BPP females. Dissemination of such leaflets should be made simultaneously in areas of BPP activities, nationally.

SAC, Portland (157-347)

October 28, 1968

REC-139

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 396

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance
- 1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERRINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/14/68.

For the information of San Francisco, the Portland Division in relet suggests a counterintelligence maneuver aimed at exploiting the factionalism existing in the Black Panther Party (BPP). The BPP in the past has been strictly antiwhite. Portland points out a recent change in this policy in which members are admonished to "stop vamping on the hippies." This change in policy first evidenced itself in connection with the publication of the following warning which appeared in the BPP newspaper dated 9/28/68, page 22, set forth below.

"WARNING TO SO-CALLED 'PAPER PANTHERS'"

"Black brothers stop vamping on the hippies. They are not your enemy. Your enemy, right now, is the white racist pigs who support this corrupt system. Your enemy is the Tom nigger who reports to his white slavemaster every day. Your enemy is the fat capitalist who exploits your people daily. Your enemy is the politician who uses pretty words to deceive you. Your enemy is the racist pigs who use Nazi-type tactics and force to intimidate black expressionism. Your enemy is not the hippies. Your blind reactionary

MAILED 22
 OCT 28 1968
 COMM-FBI

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

2 - San Francisco
 WLN:ekw (9)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[Handwritten signature]

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

116

Letter to SAC, Portland

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

acts endanger the BLACK PANTHER PARTY members and its revolutionary movements. WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE HIPPIES. LEAVE THEM ALONE. Or—the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will deal with you!"

Portland advocates the establishment of a paper organization with a title such as "West Coast Committee for a Real Black Panther Party" (WCPP) with leaflets indicating origin headquartered in Seattle, Los Angeles, or some other West Coast city. The WCPP could publish leaflets claiming the Oakland BPP is going soft on honkies because Oakland leaders have white girl friends among the hippies. This accusation could be especially effective among BPP females.

In connection with the consideration of this probative suggestion, San Francisco and Portland may desire to incorporate material in the bogus publication indicating that the softening of BPP opposition to whites is a result of the influence of Stokely Carmichael on the BPP.

The fact that Stokely Carmichael is light complexioned and not a product of black America coupled with the fact his sister, Judy Carmichael, is married to Marc Massin, a British Caucasian who resides in London, England, may indicate to many black militants that he is not a true Afro-American black man. It may also be pointed out that Carmichael, who has traveled extensively around the world and violated many United States laws, has never been arrested, charged, indicted, or brought to trial for violation of any Federal laws. The implication is that Carmichael may be working for some Federal agency such as the FBI or Central Intelligence Agency and is immune from prosecution. It may be further suggested that Carmichael has served his white pig,

Letter to SAC, Portland

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

masters well in ratting on friends of the black man in Cuba, North Vietnam, and in America and he is now putting down the Panthers.

Portland, coordinate this matter with San Francisco and make concrete recommendations for Bureau approval. Take no action without prior Bureau authority.

NOTE:

Portland has submitted an excellent counterintelligence proposal. Our thoughts expanding on Portland's idea being incorporated.

Upon receipt of specific and concrete recommendations from Portland, a detailed memorandum will be prepared requesting approval of the counterintelligence measure considered above.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/16/68

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-34655)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

Re Bureau letter to WFO, dated 7/1/68,
captioned as above.

The Bureau in referenced letter indicated that it was desirous of spreading a rumor among black nationalists that CARMICHAEL is indeed a paid agent of a government intelligence or police agency. The Bureau further pointed out that due to CARMICHAEL's extensive travel overseas and black militants' distrust of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), it might be appropriate to tag CARMICHAEL with a "CIA label".

It is to be noted that CARMICHAEL is currently affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP), having recently severed his association with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The Detroit Office proposes that when information is received that CARMICHAEL is to appear for a speech or any other activity in the Detroit area or in the territory of any other field office, that a throwaway be prepared and given widespread circulation in the black community of Detroit indicating in the throwaway information relative to the attempted purchase by CARMICHAEL in Washington, D.C. of a \$70,000.00 home and further urging people not to attend the affair or give any financial support to CARMICHAEL

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - WFO (157-1292) (Info) (RM)
 - 2 - Detroit
- DML/cmt
(5) 1-806 930

REC 46

OCT 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



DF 100-34655

Inasmuch as he is a traitor to the movement and it could further be implied in this throwaway that CARMICHAEL is a paid informant of a government intelligence agency, namely the CIA.

This throwaway would indicate that it was being distributed by such a fictitious organization as The Black Brotherhood to protect the brothers in Detroit.

In the event CARMICHAEL appears in the Detroit area, Detroit contemplates submitting the above proposed suggestion to the Bureau for Bureau approval.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/16/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (105-2209)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Phoenix letter to Director, cc Chicago, 9/27/68.

Enclosed herewith for Atlanta is one copy of referenced letter.

Referenced letter sets forth statements attributed to [redacted] to the effect Reverend RALPH ABERNATHY of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had met recently with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, same being publicized in the Nation of Islam (NOI) newspaper "Muhammad Speaks", and that this was proof ABERNATHY was accepting MUHAMMAD's teachings. According to the Phoenix source this made a great impression on the NOI congregation.

Phoenix suggests the Bureau and Chicago evaluate whether or not the impact of statements such as the above is prevalent in other NOI Mosques and, if so, to weigh possibility of 1) advising ABERNATHY that the NOI is of the opinion his group is in sympathy with them and requesting a publicized rebuttal by ABERNATHY 2) if ABERNATHY is not cooperative consider utilizing a friendly news media to confront ABERNATHY and asking him if he and his organization are in sympathy with the NOI philosophy.

Chicago in the past has furnished the Bureau with full details in form suitable for dissemination of the several visits made by MARTIN LUTHER KING with MUHAMMAD and of the referred to visit of ABERNATHY with MUHAMMAD. As far as could be determined they were, in the main, social in nature and of short duration. In each instance the visits were given full exposure in "Muhammad Speaks" and on at least one occasion KING was questioned by the Chicago news media as to the purpose of the visit by him

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (Encls. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Phoenix (Info) (105-2544) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

JRS:svb
(5)

711-806 940



CG 105-2209

with MUHAMMAD. In general the purpose seemingly was to try and promote an appearance of unity among leaders and members of the Negro race. Sources reported that MUHAMMAD is greatly impressed when such individuals come to visit him and highly publicizes same; however, he continues to try and convince these leaders he is the only divinely guided leader of the Negro in America and they should follow him and his plan-separation-for the negro. These sources report the visiting negro leaders generally leave MUHAMMAD in a state of disbelief when they find MUHAMMAD so adamant in his views.

The NOI, of course, would publicize such visits throughout its various Mosques as "Muhammad Speaks" is sent to all. It is well known the NOI ministers utilize these papers as texts for their sermons. It would be natural for a NOI minister to do exactly [redacted] did in their continuing efforts to publicize MUHAMMAD as the only true leader.

Chicago cannot evaluate Phoenix's suggestions as to contact, or confrontation by friendly news media, with ABERNATHY in this regard as Atlanta is office of origin in the matter. It would appear to this office, however, that ABERNATHY would react to same by merely commenting that MUHAMMAD is a black man and unity of all is needed. This could possibly result in the press giving undue publicity to MUHAMMAD again, which he thrives on be it good or bad. There is no reason to believe, as far as this office is concerned, that ABERNATHY would react in a manner desired when advised MUHAMMAD was using his name for publicity or that contact by a news media in this matter would do other than possibly imply the white press was persecuting MUHAMMAD, which is certainly not desirable.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-34655)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 10/14/68)

K. M. Johnson
T. J. [unclear]
Re: [unclear]

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco,
dated 9/30/68, concerning captioned matter.

The Bureau in referenced letter requested
the Detroit Division to submit suggestions as to
proposed counterintelligence activity to be taken
against captioned organization in the Detroit Division,
as well as suggestions as to what action can be taken
against the Black Panther Party (BPP) on a national
basis.

Sources of the Detroit Office, including
contacts on a frequent basis with the Special
Investigations Bureau of the Detroit Police Department
and the Intelligence Unit of the Michigan State Police,
to date have developed no information to indicate that
a BPP Chapter has been established in the Detroit
Division. However, it is to be noted in this regard
that just recently a rally was held at a local church
in Detroit, Michigan, the purpose of which was to
support the Presidential candidacy of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,
Minister of Information of the BPP. Speakers exhorted those
in attendance to support CLEAVER's candidacy and
also to contribute financially to the BPP.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
 - 2 - Detroit
- DML/cmt
(5)

EX-110 REC-52

10 OCT 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



Other than the above, no other information has come to the attention of the Detroit Division which would indicate that the BPP was attempting to form a Chapter in the Detroit Division.

In the event a Chapter of the BPP comes into existence in the Detroit area, the Detroit Division plans on creating a dissension between the new Chapter and the local Republic of New Africa (RNA) inasmuch as at the Third Annual Conference of Black Power recently held in Philadelphia, it was indicated that the BPP did not desire to affiliate or be in any way connected with the RNA.

Detroit plans, in the event a Chapter becomes active, on mailing letters to respective BPP members utilizing the stationery of the RNA and pointing out in these letters to the recipients that the BPP is an unsavory organization and does not represent the interests of the black man.

Each Division having a BPP Branch should develop similar counterintelligence plans creating dissension between the BPP and other local black nationalist organizations. If done on a national basis this should be effective in decreasing BPP organizational powers.

Prior to the initiation of the above-mentioned counterintelligence technique, Bureau authority will be requested.

Additionally, in the event a BPP Chapter becomes active in the Detroit area, the local leaders will be immediately identified by the Detroit Office and consideration will be given to actions which will create suspicion among the leaders with respect to their financial sources, suspicions concerning their family life and also an attempt will be made to indicate that these individuals are cooperating with local law enforcement officers.

DE 100-34655

This matter is being followed closely by the Detroit Division and every effort will be made to develop a proposed counterintelligence action against the BPP on a local or national level.

125

SAC, Detroit (100-34655)

October 29, 1968

REC-123

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 327

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance
- 1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ^{PKW/BRM}
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/14/68.

Your suggestions relating to counterintelligence against the Black Panther Party (BPP) on a national level will be considered in the overall evaluation of other proposals received from various field divisions.

In the event a chapter of the BPP comes into existence in your division, promptly follow through with concrete suggestions to the Bureau to implement counterintelligence actions against this organization. Take no action in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

WDN:ekw
 (7)

NOTE:

Relet was submitted in response to Bulct dated 9/30/68, requesting counterintelligence suggestions from the field. Above acknowledges same.

MAILED 22
 OCT 29 1968
 COMM-FBI

h.o.

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

54 NOV - 5 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

126

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (100-324) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 10-16-68

Re Columbia letter to Director, 8-30-68.

For the information of the Bureau, subjects [redacted] out of the [redacted] (USC), Columbia, South Carolina, and both are on academic probation and are not eligible to re-enter until the end of the fall quarter at the very earliest. Both of these individuals were [redacted] and also were associated with the [redacted] which was affiliated with the [redacted]

[redacted] a reliable and established confidential source of the Columbia Division has advised that he has recently observed both [redacted] on the campus of USC. He further advised that neither of these individuals has any business on the campus at this time. He stated he did not know the purpose of their visit to the campus and he has only seen them on the campus two times in the past 30 days.

It is requested that the Bureau grant authority [redacted] to be contacted and a suggestion made to [redacted] that [redacted] be arrested for trespassing the next time they are observed on the campus of USC. [redacted] has advised that they are definitely breaking the trespassing law

4- Bureau (RM)
(2- 100-448006)

4- Columbia
(2- 100-324)

FHA:rat
(8)

1-206 140 110
REC 44

17 OCT 18 1968

RACIAL [signature]



CO 100-324

When they are on the campus while on academic probation. It will be further suggested to ██████████ that this arrest for trespassing violation be made only during the late evening hours so that there will be no chance for these subjects to state that they are being harassed.

SAC, Columbia (100-324)

10/28/68

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 230

REC-138

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurlet 10/16/68.

Relet requests authority to suggest to

[REDACTED]

that two black nationalist extremists, former students, be arrested for trespassing the next time they are observed on the campus. Relet noted that [REDACTED] has seen these individuals on the campus and that they are trespassing.

Since [REDACTED] already knows the status of the former students and that they are trespassing, it would not appear necessary to suggest they be arrested. The Bureau feels that such an arrest could well make martyrs of the two individuals, possibly provoking student demonstrations.

You should alert established sources to determine the reason for their campus visits since black nationalist activities may be involved. Knowledge of the purpose of the visits might suggest other counterintelligence action and this should be submitted to the Bureau for approval.

TJD:ra
(4)

MAILED 24
OCT 28 1968
COMM-FBI

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

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TJV
129

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - T. E. Bishop
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, Detroit (100-34655)

10/21/68

Director, FBI (100-443006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
[REDACTED]

ReBulet 10/9/68.

Referenced letter requested counterintelligence recommendations to expose [REDACTED]

Since [REDACTED] is [REDACTED] in Detroit and is continuing to publish black nationalist extremist propaganda in [REDACTED] his former position and present activities should be brought to the attention of the public and responsible authorities.

Detroit should send an anonymous letter setting out the facts regarding [REDACTED] and enclosing appropriate copies of both the [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] to "Combat," a new publication designed to expose communists, revolutionaries, and black nationalist extremists. "Combat" is published twice monthly by Communications Distribution, Incorporated, Box 182, Murray Hill Station, New York, New York 10016.

For the information of Detroit, "Combat" is a National Review, Incorporated, publication. "National Review" is the conservative magazine published by William F. Buckley, Jr.

Detroit should submit other counterintelligence recommendations as requested in referenced letter, and furnish the Bureau a copy of the anonymous letter sent for the completion of Bureau files. This letter should not be sent if Detroit has a better suggestion to neutralize [REDACTED]

TJD:mkl/fsh
(6)

REC-40

6 OCT 21 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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

9-8-68

1968 TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten notes and signatures at bottom right, including "130" and "TJD".

Letter to SAC, Detroit
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
[REDACTED]

NOTE:

[REDACTED] printed highly inflammatory and obscene articles, including articles on guerrilla warfare and how to make a bomb. He has been named [REDACTED] with a budget of \$100,000 a year. He continues to publish a black nationalist extremist line using the drawing of a black panther on the masthead of the paper. The 9/27/68 issue of [REDACTED] has a front page headline, "Free Huey! The Sky's the Limit," which is a slogan used by the extremist Black Panther Party.

Publication of [REDACTED] background, [REDACTED] of both the "Inner City Voice" and "The South End" and the extremists' position he is advancing in a college newspaper would serve to neutralize him. Since "Combat" is specifically designed to expose black nationalist extremists, communists, and other revolutionaries, it is likely they would use this material. Furnishing the material by anonymous letter would protect the Bureau's interest.

SAC, Baltimore

10/21/68

Director, FBI

1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS
(BUDED: 11/7/68)

Chamber of Commerce
Black Nationalist

In connection with the Bureau's continuing efforts to counter violence on the part of black extremists, it appears that there may be some way in which the Chamber of Commerce (and perhaps other socially conscious organizations) can make a positive constructive contribution to society in solving this problem and thereby be of assistance to the FBI and law enforcement generally.

Each recipient must submit a letter to reach the Bureau by 11/7/68 setting forth its observations as to how the Chamber of Commerce (national and state) can make a worthwhile contribution within the law enforcement context through its associations and activities among citizens, both black and white, and through businesses in ghetto areas or otherwise. In substance, how can the facilities and good will of such an organization make its contribution in this field?

EX-110 REC-78 100-44-2111

- 2 - Charlotte
- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Detroit
- 2 - Jackson
- 2 - Los Angeles

- 2 - New York
- 2 - Pittsburgh
- 2 - Richmond
- 2 - San Francisco
- 2 - Washington Field

OCT 21 1968

Jan

NOTE:

In connection with the overall responsibilities, we are exploring the possibility of utilizing such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce in a positive fashion.

JCI:fhd (24)

OCT 24 1968

WMS

132

OCT 13 1968
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Rishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

ALL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/18/68

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-34655)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Bureau letter to Philadelphia, dated 10/11/68,
regarding captioned matter.

In referenced communication the Bureau advised that [redacted] said that the Black Panther Party was being used by the New Left and because of that, the Panthers cannot be trusted.

In connection with this, it is felt that the Bureau's suggestion of spreading a story that the Black Panther Party's cooperation with the Peace and Freedom Party was purchased by the Peace and Freedom Party would be of counterintelligence value. In addition, it is believed that this story should reflect that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's candidacy under the Peace and Freedom Party is of no value whatsoever to the "Black Revolution" and is simply furthering the cause of a "white" New Left organization, suggesting that the Black Panther Party was playing into the hands of and being used by whites of the Peace and Freedom Party. It is believed this could be accomplished most effectively if letters containing the proposed story and bearing [redacted] signature were mailed nationwide from Philadelphia to numerous black militant leaders and figures throughout the country.

If so approved, each concerned field division should submit to Philadelphia their selection of names and addresses of black militant figures to receive the letter.

REC 54

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - Philadelphia (157-2871) (Info.) (RM)
 - 2 - Detroit
- DMJ/mcm
(5)

14 OCT 21 1968

1-806 (H)



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

133

SAC, Philadelphia

10/21/68

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurairtel 10/10/68 captioned "Rally to Free Huey Newton, Federal Building, Ninth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., Saturday, 9/28/68, Racial Matters."

Referenced airtel enclosed a letterhead memorandum with Black Panther Party publications included. Pages 6 and 7 are two separate items of Black Panther literature. If possible, furnish the Bureau ten copies of these two items with Bureau markings removed and in as legible a form as is possible.

Reference is made to Philadelphia airtel captioned ~~_____~~ Robbery of Sportsman's Paradise Store, Ambler, Pa., 9/16/68." Referenced airtel enclosed letterhead memorandum which included items found in the possession of the subjects. If possible, Philadelphia should furnish the Bureau ten copies, with Bureau markings removed and as legible as possible, of the following items: ~~_____~~ the statement by Mao Tse-Tung, the statement ~~_____~~ the questionnaire on page 53, the document "What Is A Revolutionary Nationalist?" starting at page 56, and the document entitled "The World Black Revolution," starting at page 66.

Handle as expeditiously as possible.

TJD:djb
(4)

110
REB-1

NOTE:

These documents will be of value in the counterintelligence program since they show the revolutionary nature of material being circulated among black nationalists.

19 OCT 21 1968

MAILED 22
OCT 21 1968
COMM-FBI

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

40 OCT 21 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

134

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442006)

DATE: 10/11/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1222)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISM - BLACK GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK ISLAMIC PARTY)
(BUDED 10/16/68)

Re Bureau letter dated 9/30/68.

Although it was rumored that the Black Panther Party (BPP) was involved in a disturbance during the latter part of August and the first part of September, 1968, that resulted in the closing of the Washington, D.C. (DCC) Office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), it has not been confirmed through investigation or through WFO sources that the BPP was in any way involved.

Although STANLEY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC and currently, Prime Minister of the BPP recently stated that he could organize a BPP in the WDC area if he so desired, no information has been received by WFO to indicate that he has in fact organized a BPP chapter in this area, or that he is trying to do so.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised representative of the BPP that the WFO desired to support the BPP, but that since it was determined that there was no local chapter of the BPP in the WDC area, they had sent to Oakland, California for BPP buttons, literature, etc.

- 2 - Bureau
 - 1 - Los Angeles (Info)(RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco (Info)(RM)
 - 2 - WFO
- (1- 100-45995)(RM)

RM:typ
(6)

100
REC-15

OCT 14 1968

REC'D INT. SECT.



[REDACTED] in this area and advised representative [REDACTED] that he is not in receipt of any information concerning the opening of a BPP chapter in the WDC area. He stated that if such an organization were being formed in this area, he would be aware of it.

Other WFO sources who are familiar with the racial situation in the WDC area have furnished substantially the same information.

From all information to date in possession of WFO, it would appear that BPP activity in the WDC area is virtually non-existent at this time. Because of the connection of CARMICHAEL with the BPP, it is likely that if the BPP became active in the WDC area, CARMICHAEL would probably be involved on a leadership level. In view of this, it is believed that a successful counterintelligence program against the BPP in the WDC area would necessarily center on CARMICHAEL. A successful counterintelligence program against CARMICHAEL would be effective against the BPP even though no active BPP chapter exists in WDC.

Since the closing of the WDC SNCC office in August, 1967, [REDACTED] reported that the militant former members of SNCC have expressed the desire for some place where they could be able to receive messages, telephone calls and have small meetings. Source and [REDACTED] former staff member of WDC SNCC have discussed the possibility of opening an Afro Information Center to serve this purpose. [REDACTED] has indicated that CARMICHAEL has expressed interest and approval of the idea of the center, and would cooperate in setting up such a center. Source is of the opinion that CARMICHAEL would utilize the services of this center if he were to try and setup a BPP chapter in the WDC area.

In view of the above, [REDACTED] would be immediately aware of any BPP activity in this area and would be in position to advise of BPP movements.

Concerning the counterintelligence program against established BPP groups, it should be noted that members of such organizations generally view with great displeasure any indication that the leaders are profiting financially from their involvement with the movement. In view of this, consideration should be given to the idea of planting rumors that various leaders have large bank accounts in banks outside of the area where the BPP is active. In addition, dummy deposit slips, checking account statements or bank deposit books could be planted by sources.

It might also be effective to spread a rumor through appropriate media, that STANLEY CARRIBONAL, Prime Minister of the PP, who has been ousted from SNCC, is seeking to become "The" national figurehead for the BPP and take charge of all BPP activities. Also, that in view of his notoriety and backing, he feels he can easily attain his objective and further his reputation as a leader of the Black people. Further, that this is, of course, all for his own personal gain and that this is obvious from the life he is living now and the way in which he used SNCC to fulfill his own wants in the past.

WFO will continue to remain alert for any information indicating the formation of a BPP chapter in the WDC area and will further consider possible counterintelligence measures against the BPP.

SAC, WFO (157-1292)

10-22-68

Director, FBI (100-448006) 375
REC-15

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance Folder
- 1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10-14-68.

The Bureau desires you to expand upon comments contained in relet pertaining to the possible establishment of an Afro Information Center in Washington, D. C., which center could serve as a mailing address, message center and meeting place for those engaged in black extremism. The possibility that such a center could be utilized by Stokely Carmichael as a base for his activities is of particular interest to the Bureau.

[REDACTED] you could considerably increase your coverage of black extremist activities on the part of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and other extremist groups in the Washington, D. C., area. Experience has shown that Afro-American cultural-type bookstores often serve as a meeting place for black extremists and as a nucleus for their activities.

Explore the possibility of [REDACTED] such a center under the patronage of Stokely Carmichael. Obtain the views of [REDACTED] concerning the feasibility of such an operation and [REDACTED]

Keep in mind that the success of such a venture would wholly depend upon the [REDACTED] which could serve as a focal point for black extremists.

Specifically comment upon the value you believe such an operation could produce.

Make specific recommendations concerning the foregoing. Take no action in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 5
OCT 22 1968
COMM-FBI

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

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

See [Handwritten signature] 138

Letter to SAC, WFO
Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE:

In relet WFO advises that former militant members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) have expressed the desire for some place where they would be able to receive messages, take phone calls and have small meetings.

[REDACTED] Carmichael has expressed an interest in and approval of the idea of such a center and stated that he would cooperate in setting it up. [REDACTED] was of the opinion that Carmichael would utilize the services of such a center if he establishes a BPP Chapter in the District of Columbia. WFO did not make any specific recommendations in this regard and it is being instructed to explore the potential in this situation and make recommendations to the Bureau.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: October 10, 1968

FROM : Mr. G. C. Moore *GM*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

PURPOSE:

To recommend attached item be given news media source on confidential basis as counterintelligence measure to help neutralize extremist Black Panthers and foster split between them and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

BACKGROUND:

There is a feud between the two most prominent black nationalist extremist groups, The Black Panthers and SNCC. Attached item notes that the feud is being continued by SNCC circulating the statement that:

"According to zoologists, the main difference between a panther and other large cats is that the panther has the smallest head."

This is biologically true. Publicity to this effect might help neutralize Black Panther recruiting efforts.

ACTION:

That attached item, captioned "Panther Pinheads," be furnished a cooperative news media source by the Crime Records Division on a confidential basis. We will be alert for other ways to exploit this item.

Enclosure
100-448006

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

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

*Handled
H.H.C. 10/10/68*

6 OCT 23 1968

610 (100-448006)

140

PANTHER PINHEADS

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panthers, two black nationalist extremist groups, are still feuding. Stokely Carmichael has gone over to the Panthers and the Panthers seem to be upstaging the older SNCC group.

Now SNCC is retaliating by circulating, sub rosa, this little item:

"According to zoologists, the main difference between a panther and other large cats is that the panther has the smallest head."

In short, the Panthers are pinheads!

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 _____

MAIL ROOM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO:
FROM:
SUBJECT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/22/68

SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReSFlet, 10/10/68.

Referenced letter requested NY comments concerning the possibility of having a "brother" from Brooklyn anonymously warn ELDRIDGE CLEAVER that the brethren in NY are planning to eliminate him.

The NYO has prepared the following letter which will be anonymously mailed to CLEAVER on plain white stationery, and in a plain white envelope, both purchased outside. The letter will be postmarked from Brooklyn, NY.

Dear Black Brother Eldridge Cleaver,

I am a panther in Brooklyn. Do you know there is talk in this area against you. Some of these Black Cats are planning to kill you because they think you are uptight with the Man. I don't dare sign this letter for fear of my own life.

Soul Brother

Bureau authority is requested for NY to send above letter to CLEAVER. SF is requested to advise NY where letter should be sent. At what address would CLEAVER most likely receive mail of this type.

13100

- (2) Bureau (RM)
- 2- San Francisco (RM) (RAM)
- 1- New York

JJD:tr
(5)

17 OCT 23 1968

REC 13

RACIAL INT. SECT.



98 NOV 4 1968

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

142

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/23/68

FROM : G. C. Moore *gc*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(WHITNEY YOUNG)

gc

This is to recommend we advise established source on confidential basis that no information has been received that Whitney Young, head of the Urban League, is involved in black nationalist extremist activities.

The Pittsburgh Office has an established source at the Mellon Foundation, a charitable trust in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. We previously used the source in a highly successful counterintelligence operation to prevent a \$150,000 grant from going to a black nationalist extremist group.

The source has now inquired whether the Bureau has any derogatory information regarding Whitney Young, head of the Urban League, a moderate civil rights group. The Urban League has applied for a \$600,000 grant from the Mellon Foundation. New York has advised Young is a liaison source and very friendly toward the Bureau.

Thus it is recommended we advise the source, on a confidential basis, that no information has been received that Young is involved in extremist activity. If this grant goes to a moderate group such as the Urban League, the moderate group's influence will be boosted in the Negro community to the detriment of extremist groups.

ACTION:

That attached letter be sent Pittsburgh giving that office authority to advise the established source on a confidential basis that no information has been received that Young is involved in extremist activities.

Enclosure
00-448006

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

1 - [Redacted]
1 - [Redacted]
TJD: [Redacted]

EX 103
REC-34
gc

5-12-68
H

100-448006-358
OCT 24 1968
143

- 1 - Mr. J. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, Pittsburgh (100-15780)

10/24/68

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -
 (WHITNEY YOUNG)

Reurlet 10/9/68 captioned [REDACTED]

Authority is granted to advise your established source on a confidential basis that no information has been received that Whitney Young is involved in black nationalist extremist activities. Insure your source understands his relationship with the Bureau must be kept confidential.

The Bureau appreciates the contribution you have made in developing this counterintelligence source. You should be alert to the possibility of expanding this operation through any contacts your source has with other foundations. Possibly your source could be used to insure black nationalist extremist groups in other cities are not funded by charitable foundations.

TJD:mms
 (8)

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 10/23/68, captioned as above, and prepared by TJD:mms.

REC-34

OCT 24 1968

FX 109

Rede

MAILED 7
 OCT 24 1968
 COMM-FBI

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

58 OCT 29 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[Handwritten initials]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/23/68

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBulet 9/30/68.

San Diego has not furnished to the Bureau an answer to referenced letter because of certain conditions in San Diego which are known to the Bureau.

Counterintelligence measures have been taken against Black Nationalist Hate Groups in San Diego which are known to the Bureau. Bureau authority for these measures was obtained by telephone.

San Diego will submit plans for counterintelligence action to the Bureau for approval at an early date.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - San Diego

EMP:klb
(4)

X 100

REC 37

3411

OCT 25 1968

[Handwritten signature]
RECEIVED OCT 25 1968

59 NOV 7 1968

146

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 10/24/68

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE - BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBulet, 10/21/68.

It is felt that the Chamber of Commerce, both national and local can use their office to sponsor music festivals, amateur hours, boxing events, other sporting events and musical plays in the ghetto areas. These programs would be held outdoors especially during the summer months. Various well-known Negroes in sports and the arts should also be invited to attend. The costs of such a program can be shared by business establishments in the area. The Chamber of Commerce can supervise the collection of monies for the project and lineup the event and talent necessary to make the programs successful.

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (#43)

JJD:ljm
(3)

REC 13

OCT 25 1968

311



149

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-531)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
BUDED: 10/14/68

Rebulet to San Francisco dated 9/30/68.

The Black Panther Party [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In June, 1966 [REDACTED] was

[REDACTED] the [REDACTED] Police Department [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Waltham, Mass.

The thefts were admitted when he was found in possession of some of the articles. Restitution was made and he received a suspended sentence only when he claimed to be going up for induction as ordered by his Selective Service Board. This was a flagrant lie which apparently the court and police did not check out.

Actually he was interviewed by FBI Agents in Dec., 1964 for failure to report for induction and indicated he had no intention of serving in the U. S. Army. He was tried in U. S. District Court, Ga., early in 1965, entered a plea of nolo contendere and was fined \$500. He is classified 4F. He was also arrested in Jackson County, Illinois, for stealing a typewriter from Southern Illinois University in Oct., 1964, was fined and placed on probation.

[REDACTED]

It is believed that an article portraying [REDACTED] in an unfavorable light by exposing this information concerning him might embarrass [REDACTED] and show the BPP to be led by disreputable persons.

REC-12

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Boston
JFN:maj
(3)

17 OCT 19 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



BS 157-531

[REDACTED]

would undoubtedly be willing to prepare such an article and see to its publishing in local papers. Inference might be made in the article that the information was obtained from within the BPP from someone interested in ousting [REDACTED] as head of the BPP and replacing him.

The BPP is relatively new in the Boston area and further methods of disrupting the group will be explored as additional information is gathered on its leaders and members.

SAC, Boston (157-531)

October 25, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) - *REF-12*

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Field Guidance Folder
- 1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/14/68.

Prior to authorizing your suggested counter-intelligence action against [REDACTED] consideration should be given to interviewing him with the end in mind of developing him as a probationary racial informant.

In this regard, submit to the Bureau your recommendation for interview under [REDACTED] case caption.

If [REDACTED] proves uncooperative upon interview, further consideration will be given to authorizing counterintelligence action against him as recommended by you in relet.

Do not interview [REDACTED] or initiate counter-intelligence action against him without first obtaining Bureau authority to do so.

WDH:mfs/ekw
 (8)

NOTE: In relet Boston recommends furnishing to a friendly newspaper source, on a confidential basis, derogatory information concerning [REDACTED] Massachusetts.

[REDACTED] is a background which indicates he could be of tremendous value to the Bureau as a racial informant. He has an extensive arrest record and in [REDACTED]

Prior to authorizing counterintelligence measures against [REDACTED] it is believed we should explore his potential as an informant.

MAILED 9
 OCT 25 1968
 COMM-FBI

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

OCT 31 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten initials/signature

150

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 10/25/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau airtel 3/4/68; and Chicago letter
7/2/68.

Set forth below is the periodic progress letter
required; concerning captioned matter, as requested in
referenced Bureau airtel under captions as instructed.

1. Operations Under Consideration

Subsequent to the above referenced Chicago
communication, this office has had several counterintelligence
operations under consideration. A review of the income
tax returns of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has been completed,
having been earlier designated by Chicago as a primary
counterintelligence target. It was determined, however,
through this review that this individual appears to have
submitted accurate income tax returns for the past several
years and the anticipated counterintelligence approach on
this basis was judged to be inappropriate.

Several additional counterintelligence approaches
to the NOI have subsequently be considered, in reference to
NOI units in San Antonio and Phoenix; however, for reasons
set forth in Chicago communications of October 4, 1968 and
October 16, 1968, under the above caption, such activities
as considered were deemed to be inadvisable.

2- Bureau (RM)
1- Chicago
JCS:cae
(3)

EX 119
REC 26

NOV 1 15 03 PM 1968

REC'D



CG 157-2209

In relation to the NOI specifically, Chicago continually monitors closely the activities of this group with the end in view of developing effective counterintelligence techniques directed at either the organization or its leadership. In the event an opportunity arises where a productive counterintelligence measure appears in order, Chicago will immediately submit specifics of such approach for the Bureau's approval.

Reference has been made in the above referred to Chicago communication to the state and local Gun Ownership and Registration Ordinances which appear to render such possession or ownership on the part of black nationalists a vulnerable area in the event information exists that they are in possession of firearms illegally. Chicago is in the process of initiating a file review concerning such selected cases, the results of this review to be utilized in a close check of the records of both state and local law enforcement and regulatory agencies. The records of these agencies have only just recently been determined as having been placed in order for an effective review along these lines to be made.

Many of these militants are known in the past to have been in possession of weapons and where information can be developed reflecting that they are currently in possession of firearms, or are suspected of being in possession of firearms, appropriate liaison will be exploited to utilize these statutes to the extent possible against the militants in question. Such a program will be submitted to the Bureau for approval, prior to any specific such action being taken by Chicago.

CG 157-2209

Chicago continues to closely follow the activities of [redacted] referred to in referenced letter of July 2, 1968, as a primary counterintelligence target. He was recently turned down for military service and consequently will continue to be active locally. He is the [redacted]

[redacted] and most recently has indicated his conversion to or formation of a local branch of the Black Panther Party, headquartered in Oakland, California. This is a very recent development and the extent of the organization of this group in terms of membership and possible influence locally is as yet difficult to establish. This situation was referred to at some length in a Chicago communication under the above caption, October 14, 1968, and the situation is relatively unchanged from that time.

In addition, however, a Chicago racial source close to [redacted] has advised that he has recently expressed a desire to "take over" the remains of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), this group having been expelled from National CORE in early October, 1968. This expulsion came about as a result of a September, 1968, walkout on the part of the Chicago Chapter from the National CORE Convention held in St. Louis, Missouri.

[redacted] and the head of the local CORE group, [redacted] have never been friendly and [redacted] had stated his desire to remove [redacted] from the leadership of this group and place it under the Black Panther Party banner, meaning by this under his own leadership. To complicate this situation somewhat, however, this former CORE group, under the leadership of [redacted] has only recently organized itself into a new black organization calling itself Black Liberation Alliance, formed at the national meeting held over the weekend of October 18-20, 1968, at Columbus, Ohio. [redacted] did not attend this affair and the position he will take as a result of this development is not yet clear. It is believed, however, that this situation,

CG 157-2209

due in large measures to the friction among personalities involved, offers some opportunity for exploitation under a counterintelligence approach. At present, the situation appears to be too formative and nebulous for a specific technique to be intelligently developed.

In short regarding the above situation, within a period of little more than a month, the Chicago CORE Chapter, together with a rather limited number of adherents in other cities, has moved from a CORE group in good standing to a new and somewhat organized black group. It would appear that the early stages of the development of this group would offer a good opportunity to exhibit its effectiveness and as soon as Chicago can analyze the situation and develop what appears an effective approach, a specific recommendation for a counterintelligence action will be submitted for Bureau approval.

and [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] was also referred to in referenced Chicago letter as a likely counterintelligence target. An analysis of his most recent activities would reflect that he is at present in a position where he might well be vulnerable to a well thought out counterintelligence approach. He has, until very recently, engaged in no significant local militant activities; however, within the past month has emerged as a principal "adult advisor" to several individuals and black youth groups instrumental in the organization and implementation of black student boycotts and unrest generally within the Chicago Public School System. [REDACTED] operates principally out of the [REDACTED] Chicago's south side and appears to have been a substantial influence on this movement which has been of significant success in terms of its effect on schools in Chicago's ghetto community. In consideration of counterintelligence approaches to [REDACTED]

CG 157-2209

attention will be devoted to his travel to Czechoslovakia during 1968, as well as his summer of 1968 travel to Japan where he reportedly was in contact with communist orientated student and youth groups. During 1968 it was also determined that [redacted] in the past has advised his local draft board of [redacted] activities on his part; which activities have served as the basis for his exclusion from military service. It appears possible that the above as well as additional past activities on his part might well be utilized in possibly compromising him and to some extent the black school boycott movement with which he is to some extent involved. Again, prior to the inception of any counterintelligence activities, Chicago will submit a specific recommendation to the Bureau for its approval.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

No counterintelligence operations are currently in progress in this field in Chicago; however, as the information set forth previously would reflect, Chicago anticipates that very shortly recommendations to initiate such operations will be forthcoming.

3. Tangible Results

No tangible results have as yet been forthcoming since the inception of this program in the black nationalist field.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Information reflecting on this captioned subject matter has been referred to in large measure under the first item above. In short, however, the most significant developments locally would appear to be represented in the expulsion of Chicago CORE from the national group with the development of a new black nationalist organization involving these former members of CORE; development of a local Chapter of the Black Panther Party and a possible rivalry between this group and the leader of the new black organization referred to previously;

CG 157-2209

the emergence of the high school age black student groups at the present as the most violent and possibly militant black groups active locally. Attempts to develop an effective counterintelligence approach locally are consequently being directed at these areas of development.

The Chicago black nationalist scene generally continues to be a fragmented one, characterized by a number of small and relatively ineffective groups and individuals, none of whom have indicated a willingness or ability to work together or to polarize these to some extent competitive groups into a united front-type organization or grouping. Chicago feels that through an effective and well thought out counterintelligence approach, it may be possible to develop programs which will in some measure contribute to the continuation of this situation and prevent the emergence locally of a group or individual who may serve as a unifying force within the black nationalist grouping. Chicago will remain continually alert to explore and exploit every avenue for possible counterintelligence activities directed at the black nationalist field which appears to hold potential for accomplishing this end. Any such development or technique will be immediately made available to the Bureau for its consideration and approval prior to inception by Chicago.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/21/68

Airtel

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

To: SAC, Miami (157-2514)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY - SEATTLE)

Seattle Division has advised that KIRO-TV in Seattle is interested in doing a program exposing the Black Panther Party similar to the program done by WCKT-TV, Miami, Florida. Seattle Division has inquired whether WCKT-TV would be willing to have KIRO-TV view their program.

Miami contact your source at WCKT-TV regarding this. For information, KIRO-TV is a CBS affiliate, while WCKT-TV is an NDC affiliate. If your source would prefer, the Bureau can forward its copy of this program to Seattle for viewing. Handle as expeditiously as possible.

Seattle will be advised separately concerning its counterintelligence recommendation.

- Seattle

REC-71

100-448006-344

TJD:djb
 (8)

OCT 29 1968

NOTE:

We assisted WCKT-TV on the show exposing black nationalists. Seattle has recommended assisting KIRO-TV on a similar show and asked whether KIRO-TV could see the first film. We are handling the Seattle recommendation separately as to assisting KIRO-TV. Sources at both stations are established and have previously been used successfully in counterintelligence operations.

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

98 NOV 1 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten notes and signatures:
 [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
 157

MAILED 24
 OCT 21 1968
 COMM-FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/14/68

FROM :

SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

(BUDED 10/14/68)

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco dated 9/30/68.

In Chicago at present, a group of about ten young Negro militants have banded together to call themselves the Black Panther Party. To date there activity has consisted of the election of officers. There is no indication that this group has any ties or connections with the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California.

There is every indication that older civil rights activists in the Chicago area have been attempting to use the name Black Panther Party in sponsoring meetings and fund raising events. It is apparent that such utilization is an effort to capitalize on the current wave of national publicity that is being received by the Black Panther Party of Oakland, California.

In light of the recent evolution of a Black Panther Party in the Chicago area there has been insufficient experience with the habits and activities of the individuals involved to determine an appropriate course of action which could have any significance as it would pertain to captioned matter. A lack of developing activity has precluded an intelligent appraisal of the trend development of this group and its members.

2- Bureau (RM)
1- Chicago
JPM:cae
(3)

REC-35

15 OCT 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

EXP. PROC.

*See Chicago
10-27-68
ADU:1255 - San Francisco*



158

CG 157-2209

It is foreseen that future developments concerning the local Black Panther Party and its members will permit a more in-depth approach to counterintelligence pertaining to the Black Panther Party and its members in this area.

Chicago is continually concerned as to the development of possible counterintelligence action as it may pertain to captioned matter.

SAC, Chicago (157-2209)

October 25, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) *445*

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

REC-35

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/14/68.

For the information of San Francisco, relet discloses that a group of approximately ten young Negro militants have banded together in the Chicago area and call themselves the Black Panther Party. There is no indication that this group has any ties or connections with the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland, California. It appears the Chicago group is interested in using the name of the BPP for fund raising events and publicity. If leaders of the BPP in Oakland were aware that a group of militants in Chicago is capitalizing on the BPP name and exploiting BPP national recognition, it is likely they would take action to neutralize the Chicago group and disrupt its activities. This is particularly true if it appeared that the Chicago group was draining financial donations from the Oakland group. Such disruption of the Chicago group by the BPP would inure to the benefit of the Chicago Division by neutralizing and possibly disbanding a local extremist organization.

MAILED 4
OCT 25 1968
COMM-FBI

Chicago and San Francisco consider a counter-intelligence measure whereby the BPP headquarters in Oakland, California, will be in receipt of information that financial donations emanating from the Chicago, Illinois, area for the BPP in Oakland are being diverted to the BPP in Chicago.

2 - San Francisco (157-601)

WDN:mfs/ekw
(8)

Handwritten signatures and initials

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Chicago
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006 - 11

NOTE:

The above instructions are being submitted to Chicago and San Francisco as a means of obtaining additional counterintelligence suggestions aimed at disrupting an incipient black extremist organization in Chicago.

October 28, 1968

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, Newark
New York
San Francisco
WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

By return airtel each office of origin should furnish photographs of Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Eldridge Cleaver, Huey Newton, and LeKoi Jones. Furnish the best photographs available and as many as possible up to a dozen.

If negatives are available, these should be furnished; however, no effort should be made to procure negatives since time is of the essence in this matter. Large photographs with easily recognizable faces are preferred.

TJD:ekw

(10)

MAILED 9
OCT 28 1968
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Above photographs required for preparation of a counterintelligence visual aid and a selection of photographs is needed so that appropriate choice can be made.

REC-35

19 OCT 28 1968

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

[Handwritten signature]
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten initials]
TJD

162

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/29/68

[Handwritten initials]

SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Charlotte letter to the Bureau dated 9/24/68.

The Bureau is requested to take under consideration and to approve, if deemed advisable, the following counter-intelligence action to be undertaken in the Charlotte Division:

IN RE [REDACTED]

This individual is on the Agitator Index of the Charlotte Division and [REDACTED]

Subject in April of this year organized a group of approximately [REDACTED]

He has continued some degree of agitation in Negro high schools throughout the area and has claimed to be associated with the NAACP and the SCLC.

This individual is well known to local authorities as an alcoholic, and information has been received indicating that he may transport and use personally non-tax paid whisky.

Investigation has also reflected that this subject has lost his driver's license on two occasions, once while driving intoxicated and once for driving while his driver's license was under revocation.

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Charlotte
GCK:ejc
(4)

REC 6

15 OCT 30 1968



CE 157-6109

Through informants and local police department activities, Charlotte feels that an occasion may arise in the future to know the occasion when [REDACTED] will have non-tax paid whisky in his automobile or otherwise in his possession, and Charlotte feels that such information properly handled could result in this individual being removed as a source of agitation in the Eastern North Carolina area.

A conviction for possession of non-tax paid whisky or driving while intoxicated, second offense, should result in the immediate loss of his driver's license for probably a year, which would tend to curtail this individual's travel ability, and possession of non-tax paid whisky could result in an active jail sentence, which would remove him completely from the scene of operation.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

The Bureau is requested to consider and approve, if deemed advisable, the furnishing to the appropriate local and State authorities information concerning this individual having in his possession non-tax paid whisky, or while driving under the influence, which it is anticipated would result in his arrest and possibly receiving an active jail sentence.

IN RE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This individual is on the Agitator Index of the Charlotte Division and this individual [REDACTED] and operates primarily [REDACTED] at the present time. As the Bureau is aware, this individual has been a source of considerable agitation and interference in Hyde County of the operation of the public school system. He is [REDACTED] schools, and this matter has been presented in detail to the Bureau in [REDACTED] captioned "Desegregation of Hyde County, N.C., Schools, Public Education, CRA-64 (RM) - ARL", Bureau [REDACTED]

Through [REDACTED] [REDACTED] is allegedly carrying on an illicit affair with a [REDACTED]

The [REDACTED] allegedly [REDACTED] and it is felt that this information can be utilized very effectively and possibly result in criminal charges being brought against [REDACTED]. It is contemplated that such information relating to [REDACTED] as his contributing to the delinquency of a minor, as well as possible adultery charges, would severely discredit him and might possibly result in his loss of position with SCLC.

In addition to the above, [REDACTED] is known to drive at excessive rates of speed in his travels from one location to another, and it is felt that through proper liaison with the N. C. Highway Patrol, [REDACTED] can more closely be observed in his travels, which will result in his arrest for traffic violations relating to speed.

According to information from [REDACTED] [REDACTED] has had some criticism from SCLC leaders concerning his school boycott operations in Hyde County, N. C. ✓

It is felt that the successful handling of either the first or second operations listed above could likely result in charges or possible conviction and an active jail sentence, which would remove [REDACTED] from the area as an agitator, and at the same time, further discredit him personally and the [REDACTED] area. This could lead to his further difficulty with national leaders of the SCLC.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU:

The Bureau is requested to consider and approve, if deemed advisable, the furnishing of information to the proper authorities concerning [REDACTED] and the close

165

CE 157-6109

observation of his [REDACTED] by N. C. Highway Patrol, both of which operations are calculated to remove [REDACTED] from the scene of his disruption tactics, and to discredit him, and to possibly have him [REDACTED]

Charlotte will take no action concerning the above counterintelligence operations pending Bureau approval.

SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

November 7, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 247

REC-123

1 [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurlet 10/29/68.

Belet requested authority to advise appropriate authorities concerning possible violations of local laws by Agitator Index subjects. Bureau authority is not required for this type of action. Although advising local authorities may result in arrest and neutralization of subjects' activities, this is not strictly counterintelligence. It is incumbent on you to advise local authorities of violations of local laws by subjects under investigation, providing sources are protected.

TJD:ekw
(4)

NOTE:

Charlotte received information one subject,

[REDACTED]
appropriate taxes have not been paid. A second subject,

[REDACTED]
Since these matters are violations of local laws, they should be brought to the attention of local authorities.

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

MAILED
NOV - 3 1968
COMM - FBI

file

2 11 1
167

54 NOV 14 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/12/68

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-19705)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 10/14/68)

Handwritten notes:
10/12/68
10/14/68

REC-35
OCT 16 1968
PROC.

The following suggestions are submitted for consideration for use in Counterintelligence Activity against the Black Panther Party on a Divisional and National level:

Have established sources in news media publish factual information which would tend to embarrass leaders or members, such as, association with the criminal element or expensive mode of living.

Furnish local law enforcement agencies through anonymous telephone calls or through trusted sources regarding violations of local laws members of the Party may be involved in, and insure appropriate publicity is given if arrests are made.

Interview a leader or member with in sight of other members and thereafter through established sources circulate the rumor the person interviewed is an informant.

Use anonymous telephone calls to leaders or members with the view of sewing seeds of distrust about another leader or member.

2-Bureau
1-Albany
EFN:lal
(3)

REC-35

OCT 13 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



NOV 5 1968

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

168

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN *11-18*

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *gcm*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- DATE: October 28, 1968

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
In. Room	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

Authority requested to send attached letter to those field divisions having Black Panther Party (BPP) activity, instructing that each office submit the names and addresses of prominent Negroes to whom reproduced copies of a New York City newspaper article can be mailed anonymously.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] disclosed that [REDACTED] her leadership role in a civil rights organization. Upon hearing of the threats made against [REDACTED] in the article, a prominent New York Negro leader suggested the formation of a black man's club to stand up to the Panthers and extremists.

The New York Division suggests this article be anonymously mailed to responsible Negroes in areas where the BPP is active. We concur that this is an effective counter-intelligence move against the BPP and in no way can be traced to the Bureau as the source.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached letter, in accordance with the above, be approved. The New York division will be instructed, upon receipt of the names and addresses of prominent Negroes, to anonymously mail to them a copy of the article.

100-448006

Enclosure *sent 10-28-68*

WDN:ekw
(8)

REC-23

OK W.C.S.

5- [unclear]

10-28-68

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/9/68

FROM : SAC, CHANA (157-27) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - PROGRAM
BLACK PANTHER PARTY - (BPP)
RACIAL INTOLERANCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 10/14/68)

*TOM
P. H.
Peters*

The following suggestions regarding proposed counterintelligence activities against the BPP (BPP) in the CHANA area require your approval:

1. Acceptable contacts with the BPP leadership be contacted and informed of the lack of and revolutionary and criminal nature of the BPP. This will provide the establishment of an informed Negro leadership in the community which can "spread the gospel" concerning the true nature of the BPP and of the same time appreciate the value of the BPP's objectives. It is suggested that the BPP leadership be contacted in the CHANA area.

2. Contact appropriate financial sources such as federal, county and city agencies funding ghetto projects, and advise of the revolutionary nature of the BPP in order to dry up its sources of funds.

3. Utilize established sources, including informants, security informants, liaison sources, and other informants, to start a campaign of critical-type propaganda within the ghetto area itself concerning the wild and dangerous nature of the BPP leadership and program.

In connection with the above suggestions it is suggested to be kept in mind that the BPP is advocating a racial war which eventually might involve all whites and all Negroes.

REF-24

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
- 1 - Omaha
- (2 - 157-427)
- (1 - 157-403)
- (1 - 157-427)

GDW:clw
(3)

OCT 9 1968

OCT 13 1968

J. J. [Signature]

RECEIVED OCT 13 1968



5010-108-01

OM 157-272

Leaders of the Negro community considered for contact in connection with Item 1 would be chosen on a very selective basis and SAC authority secured prior to contact with each individual.

It is felt that the above suggestions might be implemented by other field offices, particularly those having relatively conservative leadership in a Negro community where radical groups in the past have encountered difficulty in gaining support and as a result have been short-lived.

It should be noted that the Omaha Police Department has instituted an harassment campaign against BPP members by stopping vehicles registered to them in individual at every opportunity. This activity has become of great concern to those members involved. In addition, this campaign has resulted in the identification of additional persons associated with the BPP movement and its leadership.

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1968
FBI - OMAHA

1 - Field Guidance Folder
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, Omaha (157-272)

10-23-68

REC-34
Director, FBI (100-448006)

**COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)**

EX-102

Reurlet 10-8-68.

Proposals for counterintelligence measures against the Black Panther Party (BPP), as contained in relet, have merit and are worthy of more detailed consideration. The Bureau desires that you make specific recommendations to implement your suggestions. In this regard you should be guided by the following.

In those instances where you desire to furnish information from your files concerning background, revolutionary and criminal data of the BPP to individuals outside the Bureau, you must fully identify the proposed recipient of the information and furnish pertinent information concerning him. This information should include an indices review, statement concerning past cooperation with the Bureau and reason you believe he will not breach Bureau confidence. Furthermore, the specific information contained in your files, and the source of that information, which you propose to utilize in this regard, must be submitted to the Bureau for review prior to its dissemination outside the Bureau.

The utilization of your sources and informants to spread gossip in the ghetto area concerning BPP leaders and members must be done on a selective basis so as to preclude tracing the origin of the gossip to the FBI. This is an effective but risky maneuver and you must insure that your informants are not compromised. Prior to undertaking such maneuvers, you must identify the informants you intend to use in this program and the rumors they will spread. Spell out tangible results you expect to obtain from spreading the rumor or rumors you recommend.

You are again reminded that no action should be taken on any specific proposal without prior Bureau authority.

WDN:rel
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MAILED 21
OCT 23 1968
COMM-FBI

Handwritten initials and number 172

Letter to SAC, Omaha
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

NOTE:

By letter 10-8-68 all offices involved in BPP investigation were directed to submit recommendations to the Bureau concerning counterintelligence against the BPP. In its reply, Omaha made three recommendations, one of which was to furnish derogatory information concerning the BPP to responsible Negro leaders. The second was to furnish the same information to governmental agencies funding the BPP and the third was to have sources and informants start gossip in the ghetto area concerning the extremist nature of the BPP. Although these recommendations have merit, they are so broad and nonspecific that authority is not being granted at this time to implement them. Omaha is being instructed to submit specific recommendations after which an independent decision can be made at the Bureau as to whether or not they should be authorized.

F B I

Date: 10/26/68

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

Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15780) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(RALPH ABERNATHY)
(SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE)

The Pittsburgh "Point," a weekly newspaper dated 10/24/68, contains an article which indicates that Dr. RALPH ABERNATHY will speak at a mass rally at Central Baptist Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., on 11/2/68, as part of a drive by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to educate Black communities concerning the three major presidential candidates. B

The Congressional Record dated 5/6/68, on ^{June 19,} Page 113389, contains an article which indicates that the 6th 1965⁷ edition of the "Herald," 407 Butler Street, Anderson, S. C., South Carolina's oldest Negro newspaper, contains the testimony of a 15 year old female member of ABERNATHY's church. The testimony relates to a filthy and perverted sex scandal between ABERNATHY and the girl according to the Congressional Record. It is believed that if information relating to this sordid episode on the part of ABERNATHY were made public in Pittsburgh, his effectiveness would be curtailed.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Columbia (RM)
2-Pittsburgh

MC:psa
(6)

REC 46

22 OCT 29 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

357
11/1/68
INT. SECT.

174

EG ID-15780

Request of Bureau:

The Bureau is requested to authorize Columbia to obtain two copies of the 5th 1965⁴ issue of the Anderson, South Carolina, "Herald" if available. These papers should be mailed as follows:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A note should be included with each issue to read as follows:

"This paper has news about the man who is speaking at your church." It should be mailed from Anderson, South Carolina.

To be effective, these papers should reach the addressee prior to 11/2/68. The Bureau, therefore, is requested to give expeditious attention to this request.

No action should be taken in this matter without Bureau authority.

October 30, 1968

Airtel

1
1



~~RECORDED~~ To: SAC, Pittsburgh (100-15780)

ad
EC 46
~~RECORDED~~ From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 381

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(RALPH ABERNATHY)
(SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE)

RePGairtel 10/26/68.

Enclosed for Pittsburgh are three Xerox copies of page H 3389 of the Congressional Record, 5/6/68. One copy is enclosed for Columbia for information.

It is felt that the mailing of these copies of the Congressional Record from Pittsburgh to the people suggested in referenced airtel would be more effective than a mailing of the Herald newspaper from South Carolina. There would be less chance the information would be discounted as a Klan trick if the information was received from Pittsburgh in a way to indicate a member of the local community sent it. Also the same page in the Herald contains an article condemning Martin Luther King, Jr., and accusing him of traveling to Puerto Rico with a young girl. If the paper were used, this information on King would only serve to "muddy the water," and make less effective the information on Abernathy.

Enclosures - 3
1 - Columbia (Enclosure)

CEG:ekw
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAILED 5
OCT 30 1968
COMM-FBI

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

[Handwritten signature/initials]

[Handwritten initials and date]
196

Airtel to SAC, Pittsburgh
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; RALPH ABERNATHY
100-448006

For your information the edition of the Herald was dated 6/19/64, not 6/19/65 as mentioned in the Congressional Record.

NOTE:

Ralph Abernathy, President of the SCLC, is to speak at a Pittsburgh Church on 11/2/68 to educate the black community on the elections. Pittsburgh suggested that the Herald, reportedly a South Carolina newspaper, be sent to the minister and Chairman of Deacons of the Church prior to Abernathy's appearance. The paper contains an article about a sex scandal involving Abernathy and a 15-year-old girl. The Congressional Record also contains information about this scandal.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/29/68

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of flyer entitled "Black People Choose!"

1. Background

The Black Liberators [redacted] and the Zulu 1200 [redacted] are two of the foremost Black Militant groups in the St. Louis area. The Zulu 1200's have been in existence since 1/68, and are far less militant than the Liberators who originated in latter summer 1968. A degree of friction between the two exists which can be exploited although the two groups do have similar aims and share some dual members. As of this writing, the Liberators, a pseudo-military group who emulate the Black Panthers, appear to garner most of the newspaper publicity locally and are recruiting at a faster rate than the Zulu's.

2. Explanation of Flyer

The enclosed flyer was prepared by the St. Louis Division and its tenor and vocabulary were carefully chosen to give the impression it was written and reproduced by local Black Militants. It is purposely slanted to give the impression that the Zulu's may have had a key role in its preparation although this is not stated. Intentional errors of typing and spelling in the flyer were inserted to add to its "authenticity".

Most of the information in the flyer is relatively true; at least most of the Zulu 1200's have expressed similar complaints. However, the flyer does emphasize and exaggerate the differences of the two groups in degrading the Liberators.

The flyer is designed to spread dissension and increase friction between the two groups as well as hamper

3 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
2 - St. Louis
JAF/ral
(5)

REC 43

23 OCT 31 1968



[Handwritten initials and number 178]

L 157-5818

Liberator recruiting efforts among the local Negroes. It is designed to put all militants in a position of having to take a stand on the flyer, i.e. the Zulu's are or are not trying to "back-stab" the Liberators with its distribution. Although the Liberators will logically be very distressed with the appearance of the flyer, it is possible that the Zulu's might not deny that they produced it. In any case, it is felt that the flyer will stir up enough controversy among the militants that just deciding who really produced it, and how to deal with the situation, can be expected to result in time-consuming efforts which will detract from the time and energy the militants ordinarily spend on plotting, recruiting, and fund-raising.

3. Recommendation

St. Louis Division proposes to produce 300 copies of this flyer locally exactly as they appear in the enclosure. These were reproduced on the office duplicating machine, which is not significant from a security standpoint since all of the militant groups in this area have access to similar duplicating machines in churches, colleges, and places of business, and in fact, most of their own literature is produced in this manner.

Flyers will be mailed anonymously in ordinary, inexpensive envelopes which will be purchased from downtown five-and-ten stores. Ordinary stamps will be used and disguised handwriting will address the envelopes which will have no return address although they will be mailed at various mail boxes downtown.

St. Louis proposes to send the flyer to known Black Liberators, other Black Nationalists, offices and officers of various Negro groups; this will include the St. Louis, Missouri and East St. Louis, Illinois area. Copies will not be sent to Zulu 1200 members, so when inquiries are made of their office and leaders, their denial of its existence will serve to increase suspicion that they produced it.

St. Louis, through its racial informants and sources, will be able to determine the effect of this flyer in its proposed intent.

L 157-5818

Bureau authority is requested to initiate this counterintelligence project as delineated above.

BLACK PEOPLE

Choose!



1. Run by Blacks. for Blacks, with Blacks.
2. Members are Blacks born & raised in St. Louis who know our people and needs.
3. Are loyal to and are working for St. Louis Black People.
4. Help only the Black Youth Of St. Louis.
5. Provide for all of the oppressed Blacks in St. Louis.
6. Are Black. Strong and Proud. Ask nothing from white honkies.
7. Support & Upgrade our Black African culture in every way.
8. Dress as Proud Black Africans who respect all Black men & women.

1. Run by white honkie ministers like Harless, Mathews and Witte.
2. Members are Chuck Koen and other Illinois Negroes who don't give a damn.
3. Are loyal to California Panthers, New York SNCC and who knows what the hell else.
4. Work with the white college honkies.
5. Let Joe Thomas rot in honkie jail for two weeks after his bond money was raised.
6. Cry in honkie federal court that police are harrasing them.
7. Hang around St. Stevens Church and let the honkies give them.
8. Dress like honkie truck drivers and motersycle cats.

BLACK POWER

100-114 8 11-35 181

ROUTE ENVELOPE

SAC, St. Louis (157-5818)

November 6, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006) - ^{REC-138}

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK LIBERATORS)

Reurlet 10/29/68.

Authority is granted to anonymously mail up to 300 copies of the flyer enclosed with relet to members of the Black Liberators, other known black nationalists, and other individuals and organizations sympathetic to the Black Liberators. Use commercially purchased stationery and take the usual precautions to insure this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Advise the Bureau of the results of this operation and be alert for logical follow-up action.

TJD:ekw
(5)

NOTE: The Black Liberators are a black nationalist extremist group in St. Louis. Members of this group have attacked police officers and have threatened to engage in widespread sniping attacks. The group is semi-militant in nature and emulates the Black Panther Party. The Zulu 1200s are a black nationalist group in St. Louis which is less militant than the Black Liberators. St. Louis has composed a flyer comparing the two groups which would appear to be the work of the Zulu 1200s. Mailing this flyer anonymously to members of the Black Liberators, other black nationalists and their sympathizers, would create friction between

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

MAILED 21
NOV 6 1968
COMM-FBI

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

John G. ...
wcjs

NOV 11 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

TJD

Letter to SAC, St. Louis

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; (BLACK LIBERATORS)

100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

the two groups and hamper Liberator recruiting efforts among local Negroes. St. Louis feels, and we concur, that this flyer will create enough friction to lessen the time and energy extremists have available to spend on recruiting, fund-raising, and plotting violence.

Mailing these flyers anonymously will protect the Bureau's interests and St. Louis points out that the flyers can be produced on office equipment similar to that available to local black nationalists groups. The flyers will be mailed anonymously in commercially purchased envelopes.

SAC, Atlanta

October 30, 1968

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP'S
RACIAL MATTERS
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

The Bureau is considering a counterintelligence operation designed to (1) cause friction between the extremist Black Panther Party (BPP) and the extremist Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and, (2) ridicule and help neutralize the BPP to its followers and in the ghetto generally. This operation would consist of circulation of the slogan: "According to zoologists, the main difference between a panther and other large cats is that the panther has the smallest head."

Thus, the "Panthers are pinheads." Circulation of this slogan would be attributed to SNCC. Possible methods of distribution of this slogan include printing of cards with the slogan and clandestine distribution by Agents or selected trusted informants. Another method would be through publication of the slogan in the news media through cooperative news media sources.

REC 49

353

Each office is requested to advise the Bureau of the following:

(1) Whether this technique would affect BPP-SNCC relations in your division.

EX 109

OCT 30 1968

MAILED 24
OCT 30 1968
COMM-FBI

- 2 - Boston
- 2 - Cincinnati
- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Los Angeles
- 2 - Newark
- 2 - New York
- 2 - San Francisco
- 2 - Seattle

TJP:eky (23)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

hlc

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

184

Letter to SAC, Atlanta

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

(2) Whether this slogan would decrease BPP recruiting.

(3) Whether you have news media sources who might be willing to publish an item to the effect that SNCC is circulating this slogan in a campaign against the BPP.

(4) Whether you have an informant in SNCC who might be able to persuade SNCC to circulate this slogan itself if a published item was furnished the informant.

(5) Suggestions for methods by which trusted informants and/or Agents could circulate this slogan.

No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/29/68

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3214)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
[REDACTED]

Re Bureau letters to Detroit, dated 10/9/68 and 10/21/68.

Attached for the Bureau is a copy of a letter written on commercially purchased paper and mailed to "Combat" Communications Distribution, Inc., Box 182, Murray Hill Station, New York, New York 10016, regarding the Bureau's suggestion contained on referenced letter dated 10/21/68.

With regards to suggestions contained on referenced Bureau letter, dated 10/9/68, Detroit requests Bureau authority to mail a letter written on commercially purchased paper with enclosures of pertinent editions of "The South End" and "Inner City Voice" to Governor GEORGE ROMNEY, Capitol Building, Lansing, Michigan; the Department of Education, Higher Education Bureau, Financial Aids, Lansing, Michigan; and to the Board of Trustees at Wayne State University. This letter, anonymously written by a concerned Detroit businessman, will read as follows:

"Dear Sir:

"I write as a concerned Detroit businessman and father of two Wayne State University students concerning the nature of the Wayne State University school newspaper, 'The South End'. Contrary to my usual and preferred way of doing business, I find it necessary to withhold my name and the names of my sons since the group of persons engaged in the publication

1-624 110
2 - Bureau (Enc.-1) (RM)
2 - Detroit
DHL/mcm
(4)

REC-12



186

"of 'The South End' have reportedly retaliated against outspoken students in the past in order to insure the continued publication of their paper.

"I am enclosing several copies of 'The South End' which have been carried home by my sons. Also enclosed is an edition of a past black revolutionary paper, the 'Inner City Voice', made available by a fellow merchant in the Detroit area.

"A cursory glance at both of these publications shows that they were both [redacted] by a man named [redacted], whom my sons identified as a student at Wayne State University.

"Through an inquiry of a friend in Lansing, Michigan, I have discovered that 'The South End' is supported financially by Wayne State University in an amount in excess of \$50,000.00 per year. I find it difficult to believe that taxpayers' dollars allotted for the operation of an educational institution are used to further the purposes of communist revolutionary propaganda as found in 'The South End'. I also find it difficult to believe that a state supported student newspaper such as 'The South End' can express the philosophies and viewpoints of what must be an extreme minority of students at Wayne State University, instead of the majority.

"I believe that taxpayers in Michigan deserve the right to know that their taxes are being used to support such a publication and it will be my intentions to inform them of this through contacts with various news media if the content of 'The South End' doesn't reverse itself in the near future. A copy of this letter is also being forwarded to Governor George Romney of Michigan (Department of Education, Higher Education Bureau); (Board of Trustees, Wayne State University).

DE 157-3214

"Sincerely Yours,

"A concerned parent"

Further, Bureau authority is requested to mail an anonymous letter, typed on commercially purchased paper, to [REDACTED] from the Archdiocesan Development Fund (ADF) to the Association of Black Students for the establishment of the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute of Black Studies. Enclosed will be a W.E.B. Du Bois pamphlet written by the Catholic War Veterans which was made available by the Bureau in referenced letter, dated 10/9/68. This letter will read as follows:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

"As a Catholic and Wayne State University student I was recently disturbed to read in Wayne State University's school newspaper, 'The South End', that the Association of Black Students at Wayne State University had received a grant of \$34,000.00 from the Archdiocesan Development Fund for the purpose of establishing a W.E.B. Du Bois Institute of Black Studies at Wayne State University.

"In support of the Church's stand for human dignity and equalization of rights for all people, I believe the grant has been mis-directed to a group of students who have other goals in mind; these goals being similar to those espoused by the man whose name was used in naming the institute.

"I am enclosing a pamphlet entitled 'The W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America' published by the Catholic War Veterans, which clearly explains the W.E.B. Du Bois philosophy. It is a known fact that members of the Association of

"Black Students at Wayne State University have been connected with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and are known to be black revolutionaries dedicated to the overthrow of our Government and not to the elimination of racism.

"The W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America pamphlet published by the Catholic War Veterans and the Archdiocesan Development Fund grant to form a W.E.B. Du Bois Institute appears to be a contradiction which suggests to me that the Archdiocesan Development Fund was unaware of the communist nature of the Association of Black Students and W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America. I would hope that there is time for the Archdiocesan Development Fund to further investigate the Association of Black Students and the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute before granting \$34,000.00 to further the cause of the communist revolution.

"Sincerely Yours,

"A concerned Catholic student"

No counterintelligence action will be taken without Bureau authority.

October 29, 1968

Editor
Combat
Communications Distribution, Inc.
Box 182
Murray Hill Station
New York, New York 10016

Dear Sir:

I write as an interested and concerned student from Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, concerning a group of black revolutionaries, in particular a man named [REDACTED] who are utilizing Wayne State University's official school newspaper, "The South End", to further their goals of revolution as taught by Ernesto Che Guevara and Mao Tse Tung.

I am enclosing one edition of an underground black militant newspaper called the "Inner City Voice" and several editions of Wayne State University's school newspaper, "The South End", all of which were edited by Kenneth John Watson, a Wayne State University student.

I believe it is apparent from articles contained in these papers that Watson, although using the guise of a black nationalist, is in actuality a communist revolutionary.

While I think it is detrimental that Watson is spreading communist revolutionary propaganda, I think it is appalling that his medium of communication, "The South End", is financed by Wayne State University, a Michigan state-supported school.

I believe that Watson's position and the fact that "The South End" is supported by taxpayers money should be brought to the attention of the American public and responsible authorities.

Sincerely,

A Concerned Student

F

311

190

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

SAC, Detroit (157-3214)

11/19/68

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 354

REC-126

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

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

[redacted]

Reurlet 10/29/68.

Authority is granted to mail the anonymous letters set out in rolet. Take the usual precautions to insure this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise the Bureau of any results.

As a further technique in this matter Detroit should submit a recommendation to alert appropriate advertisers in the "South End" to the extremist nature of this newspaper.

TJD:lan
(6)

NOTE:

MAILED 7
NOV 19 1968
COMM-FBI

The [redacted] is the student newspaper at Wayne State University. It is supported by school funds and this is a state-supported university. This newspaper has a black extremist viewpoint and is self-described as "revolutionary." It is sympathetic to the Black Panther Party, and carries as its slogan: "The year of the heroic guerrilla." We previously alerted a publication to the nature of this newspaper. Now a Detroit newspaper has published an expose of the "South End" and it is appropriate to send the anonymous letters being approved. These are supposedly from a concerned parent and a concerned student and will be directed to state and university authorities responsible for funding this newspaper, including Governor Romney of Michigan.

A letter is also being sent to the Archbishop of Detroit concerning a Catholic group funding W.E.B. Du Bois Institute of Black Studies. This letter points out the Communist nature of the W.E.B Du Bois Clubs of America and the revolutionary nature of this institute. Since these letters are anonymous there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau and they may help cut off funds being used for black extremist propaganda.

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

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Bafter

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/23/68

WAG
RB

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

ReBulet to Washington Field Office 7/1/68.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL who is married to MIRIAM MAKEBA, an affluent Negro singer, has been criticized because of his recent aquisition of wealth and his restricted activities in the Black Nationalist Movement. It is suggested that information be released through sources in the Washington, D.C., news media, that CARMICHAEL because of his present status and position in society in Washington D.C., indicates that he is no longer supporting the Black Activists and is only giving token support to these people.

In addition it has been rumored that he is just using his wife, MIRIAM MAKEBA's funds and wealth to satisfy his own desires. He is utilizing his wife as he did the Black Nationalist Movement, to enhance his ego and his notoriety in the Black Community. It has been rumored by sources in Los Angeles that CARMICHAEL has several girl friends in different parts of the United States and has carried on illicit escapades with many of these women.

It is suggested that a letter be written anonymously to CARMICHAEL's spouse indicating that her husband is using her and her funds to travel to different parts of the country under the guise of assisting the Black Activists to carry on these escapades.

EX 110 REC 5/00-448006-3

CARMICHAEL has been criticized in the past for not supporting HUEY P. HEWTON, a leader in the Black Panther Party who has been confined in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, for shooting a policeman, as CARMICHAEL's position being prime minister of Black Panther Party would deem necessary. Information concerning CARMICHAEL indicates his unwillingness to assist and support NEWTON because of CARMICHAEL's recent aquisition of wealth and position, and due to his wife's position in the entertainment world. This information should be rumored by sources in Black Nationalists Groups or through sources in the news media in order to discredit CARMICHAEL in the Black Panther Party and the Black Nationalist Movement.

② - Bureau (RM) 1-806 940

RACIAL INT. SECT.

192

47-1
11/5/68; TJP:mmd

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

AC, WFO (157-1292)

11/15/68

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 253
REC-122

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

ReBulet to WFO 7/1/68.

In response to Bureau request, Los Angeles Division suggested that to help neutralize Stokely Carmichael, black extremist, a letter be written anonymously to Carmichael's wife indicating that Stokely Carmichael is using her and her funds to travel to different parts of the country in connection with his illicit escapades with his girl friends. The letter would suggest Carmichael's black nationalist activities around the country are mostly a cover for his romantic activities.

WFO is requested to comment on this suggestion and, if viewed favorable, should submit a draft of a letter and specific recommendations for Bureau approval. Consider how information received [REDACTED] be used in this regard. Refer to your letter 10/9/68 under [REDACTED] caption.

1 - Los Angeles (157-1751)

TJD:mms
(5)

NOTE:

Referenced letter solicited overall suggestions to neutralize Carmichael from several different offices.

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

MAILED 20
NOV 15 1968
COMM-FBI

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

EXD 193

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 10/30/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

As the Bureau is aware ELDRIDGE CLEAVER just completed a speaking tour of some NY educational institutions and received several thousand dollars in payment by these institutions for his appearances. To the best knowledge of our sources, CLEAVER kept all this money for himself and did not turn any of it over to the NY organization of the BPP.

Therefore, in order to further discord between CLEAVER and the NY BPP group, the NYO has prepared the following letter which should be mailed from the Los Angeles area to [REDACTED] His address is as follows:

[REDACTED]

It is requested that the Los Angeles Office prepare the following letter on plain white paper and mail in a white envelope (both purchased outside the office) and send it to [REDACTED]

Bureau authority is hereby requested for LA to prepare and send the following letter to [REDACTED]

- 2- Bureau (RM)
 - 2- Los Angeles (AM) (RM)
 - 2- San Francisco (AM) (RM)
 - 1- New York
- JJD:tf
(7)

10 OCT 31 1968

194



NY 100-161140

Los Angeles, California
Date

Dear Black Brother [REDACTED]

My black brothers in San Francisco told me that Eldridge Cleaver is laughing his fool head off about how he screwed you so called smart New York cats out of the several thousand dollars he collected making speeches at Columbia University and other New York Colleges.

He should have given you cats half of what he collected while he was in your territory - but don't feel too bad for he screwed us too when he came to LA. Next time he comes here and runs out without paying us I hope he breaks his leg.

Eldridge Cleaver is all for Eldridge Cleaver.

Soul Brother.

SAC, Los Angeles (157-1751)

11/15/68

REC-123

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 356

1
1
1



COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

JW

ReNYlet 10/30/68.

Los Angeles is requested to prepare the letter to [redacted] outlined in relet on cheap commercially purchased paper. The letter should be hand printed.

New York is requested to advise the Bureau and Los Angeles of tangible results obtained from the above counterintelligence action.

2 - New York (100-161140)

WDN:lis/ra (8)

NOTE:

In relet, New York advises that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, of the Black Panther Party (BPP), completed a speaking tour at some New York educational institutions for which he received several thousand dollars. New York has concluded that Cleaver pocketed this money and did not share the proceeds with the New York City BPP. New York recommends that an anonymous letter be mailed to [redacted] head of the New York BPP, from an alleged [redacted] Los Angeles BPP member. The anonymous letter advised [redacted] that Cleaver is bragging that he defrauded the New York BPP out of money. The sending of this letter is authorized inasmuch as it is likely to cause further discord between Cleaver and the New York BPP.

MAILED 24
NOV 14 1968
COMM-FBI

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

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W

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W
pk

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

196

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/30/68

RKM/BH

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

[REDACTED]

Re Jackson let to Bureau, 8/27/68; Jackson RUC report of [REDACTED] captioned [REDACTED], aka; RM - SNCC", dated 10/24/68.

Enclosed for background of New York are Xeroxed copies of Jackson let to Bureau, 8/1/68; Bureau let to Jackson, 8/21/68; and Jackson let to Bureau, 8/27/68.

I. Tangible Results of "Misdirected Letter" Mailed to [REDACTED] A.M., 8/27/68, from Canton, Mississippi:

[REDACTED] has advised that during the last few days in August, 1968, [REDACTED] (target of letter) and his [REDACTED] girl friend [REDACTED] began packing all their goods in a U-Haul trailer [REDACTED], residence; [REDACTED] old source he and [REDACTED] will be leaving Miss. permanently as they were both very upset with their interview by the FBI recently as they did not know the FBI even knew they were in Miss. Additionally, they felt they could not continue living in Miss., as [REDACTED] is pregnant, expecting a baby within two months; since [REDACTED], this could present problems in Miss. Source advised that [REDACTED] departed Jackson by air on the late afternoon of 8/27/68, en route to New York.

*100-448006-100
11/15/68, Tolson memo*

- 1 - 806 941
- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (Info) (RM)
- 2 - New York, (Encs. 3) (RM)
- 2 - Jackson
- TF/clm (7)

REC-28
EX 110

357
NOV 13 1968

RACIAL



[redacted] advised [redacted]
[redacted]
New York, by communication dated 10/17/68, verified that [redacted] are residing together at their new residence [redacted]

[redacted] recently advised that [redacted] on 9/2/68, closed down his [redacted] as this venture had been a total financial loss. [redacted] left the Jackson area a few days thereafter and source believed he traveled to the New York or New Jersey area to visit old friends of his from the Civil Rights era in Mississippi.

A strong possibility exists that [redacted] went to New York or New Jersey to consult with SNCC leaders re [redacted] possibly being an informant of some law enforcement agency in Miss., based on [redacted] receiving "misdirected letter".

II. Logical Follow-up Action:

As [redacted] and during recent two-day visit to Canada gave his address to Immigration authorities as [redacted] New York, [redacted] the following follow-up action is recommended:

A. Place long-distance phone call from pay phone at Canton, Miss., to SNCC New York office phone (phone YU9-1313) and ask for [redacted] if he is there, discontinue the phone call; if he is not there, leave a message for him to "call CHARLIE at Canton, Miss. - he knows the number - tell him it's important."

B. One week later, have a phone call made to the same New York SNCC office number from a local New York City pay phone [redacted] and if he

W 100-980

is there, discontinue the call; if he is not there, leave the message for him as follows: "Tell him to get in touch with CHARLIE's friend in New York as set up last week."

III. Objective of Follow-up:

Previously mentioned calls to New York SNCC office will possibly be discussed by receiving party with SNCC leaders there who may have heard about "misdirected letter" received by [REDACTED], these calls will further indicate that [REDACTED] is still receiving contacts from a "CHARLIE" at Canton, Miss., (the "sender" of "misdirected letter").

The second call will further indicate that [REDACTED] returned the call of the previous week and "CHARLIE" has set up a New York contact for him, further implicating him as an informant of some law enforcement agency.

Even if the receiving party of above two calls at New York SNCC office is not familiar with the "misdirected letter", received by [REDACTED] regarding [REDACTED] and does not discuss the call with anyone who is familiar with the letter, these calls will still tend by their nature to indicate [REDACTED] is "doing something secretive" and possibly can be discredited as an informant for someone.

IV. Recommendation:

It is recommended that the Bureau approve enactment of the above two phone call measures, one to be made from Mississippi, one to be made from New York, to be effected by Jackson and New York Divisions at the earliest possible date.

Information copy of this letter is forwarded to the Atlanta Division as OO in SNCC.

ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

1

SAC, Jackson (100-980)

11/15/68

REC-123

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 311

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -
(ROBERT EARL FLETCHER, JR.)

Reurlet 10/30/68.

Jackson and New York are authorized to make anonymous telephone calls set out in relet. These should be made from pay telephones to insure they cannot be traced.

Advise the Bureau of the results of these calls. Jackson should advise New York when the first call has been made so that New York can make the second call.

- 1 - Atlanta
- 2 - New York

TJD:mms
(7)

NOTE:

[redacted] is the [redacted] for the black extremist [redacted]

We previously authorized an anonymous letter which was sent an associate implying [redacted] is a police informant. [redacted] and his paramour, who is pregnant, fled Jackson, Mississippi, after they were interviewed by the FBI. The recipient of the anonymous letter traveled to New York after receiving the letter, possibly to consult with SNCC leaders regarding Fletcher.

[redacted] now recommends, and we concur, the letter be followed up with an anonymous call to the SNCC office in New York from Jackson attempting to locate [redacted]. The caller will be identified as "Charlie" who is the same individual that wrote the letter. This call will be followed by a second call in a similar nature from New York. The calls will imply that a law enforcement agency is attempting to contact [redacted] and arrangements have been made for him to be contacted in New York. Since these calls are anonymous, there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

MAILED 20
NOV 15 1968
COMM-FBI

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

NOV 22 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten initials and numbers: 'a', '200', and other scribbles.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 11/1/68

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to Philadelphia 10/11/68.

Newark feels that counterintelligence of the BPP based on statements by ██████████ to the effect that the BPP is being used by the New Left should be in cartoon or similar pictorial form.

It is believed that this format would be more effective than oral or other techniques.

EX 110
REC-31

1-806 (H)
2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Newark
AGC:aas -
(3)

RECEIVED



201

F B I

Date: 10/23/68

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (157-2514)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY - SEATTLE)

Re Bureau airtel to Miami, 10/21/68.

[REDACTED] that there was no objection to KIRO-TV in Seattle reviewing programs previously prepared by WCKT-TV relating to hate type organizations and groups. [REDACTED] stated, however, that parts of their film should [REDACTED] be used by KIRO-TV in preparing its program.

[REDACTED] stated that since they now have only one copy of the program, it would not be available for the Miami Office to forward to Seattle for viewing.

The Bureau is, therefore, requested to forward its copy of the program in question to Seattle for viewing by KIRO-TV.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - Seattle (Info) (RM)
 - 1 - Miami
- ICP:jth
(5)

REC-64

EX 110

OCT 25 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

56 NOV 12 1968

202

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 11/1/68

Handwritten initials

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)
(100-55520)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
RM - BPP

Handwritten notes:
info }
P. H. H. H.
W. W. W.

The New York Office with its letter 10/18/68, enclosed a clipping from the "Columbia Spectator," dated 10/15/68, official newspaper of the undergraduate students at Columbia. This article indicated students were disappointed with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party (BPP), after hearing him speak and expressed doubts about his leadership qualities.

New York suggested that an attempt be made to compile other news articles similar to this one which would be derogatory to CLEAVER, and they be sent to BPP Headquarters in an effort to hurt his image there.

This suggestion has merit and the receiving offices are requested to furnish any such articles which appear as a result of CLEAVER speaking in their territories. Particularly useful would be reactions of New Left oriented audiences and articles containing any criticism of CLEAVER by black students or organizations.

1-20694D

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Albany (RM)
- 1 - Buffalo (RM)
- 1 - Denver (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-161140)(RM)
- 1 - Omaha (RM)
- 1 - Portland (RM)
- 1 - Sacramento (RM)
- 1 - San Diego (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-601)
(1 - 100-55520)(Cleaver)

REC-9

18 NOV 6 1968

Handwritten signature/initials

APC/jr
(15)

51 NOV 1 1968

203

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DeLoach	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Bishop	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Casper	<input type="checkbox"/>
Callahan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conrad	<input type="checkbox"/>
Felt	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gale	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holmes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 1, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CONSIDERATION OF "AMERICANISM AWARD" FOR NEW OLYMPIC HEAVYWEIGHT BOXING CHAMPION, GEORGE EDWARD FOREMAN (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE - RACIAL MATTERS)

This recommends that contact be made with the Freedom's Foundation for the purpose of obtaining an award for Foreman. Memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, October 29, 1968, attached, approved by the Director, set out details concerning this recommendation. It was set forth in above memorandum that contact should be made with the Freedom's Foundation after Foreman's background was determined. This background investigation revealed the following:

George Edward Foreman, born January 10, 1949, Marshall, Texas, with residences at 4802 Lyons Avenue and 1617 Simpson Street, Houston, Texas, graduated from elementary school in Houston and attended the E. O. Smith Junior High School at Houston from January, 1962, until March, 1965, when he dropped out. He was employed by Wald Transfer and Storage Company, Houston, Texas, during 1965, exact dates not indicated. He joined the Job Corps, Grant's Pass, Oregon, in August, 1965, and remained there until February, 1966, when he transferred to the Job Corps Center at Camp Parks, Pleasanton, California, where he completed electronics training in May, 1967, and received a high school equivalency diploma. After a period of time at home in Houston, he was employed by the Job Corps at Camp Parks as an avocation assistant on November 7, 1967, where his employment continues at present. Bureau indices negative.

[REDACTED]

He is described as quiet, personable, and highly regarded by Job Corps personnel. He received the first "Job Corps Award of Achievement" at Corps Headquarters, Washington, D. C., on October 31, 1968.

ACTION: If approved, that contact be made with appropriate officials of the Freedom's Foundation for the purpose of obtaining an "Americanism Award" for George Edward Foreman.

Enclosure

JVW:mk1 (7)

NOV 18 1968

NOV 8 1968

Handwritten signatures and initials, including a large signature that appears to be "J. Edgar Hoover" and the number "204".

**FREEDOMS FOUNDATION
AT VALLEY FORGE
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania**

Your nomination of _____

GEORGE EDWARD FOREMAN

In the current National and School Awards Program has been received. It will be presented to the distinguished Awards Jury for review when it convenes at Valley Forge in the fall.

The Jury's awards selections will be publicly announced on George Washington's Birthday, February 22nd.

205

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RA

Memorandum

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

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

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 29, 1968

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CONSIDERATION OF "AMERICANISM AWARD" FOR NEW OLYMPIC HEAVYWEIGHT BOXING CHAMPION, GEORGE FOREMAN (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE - RACIAL MATTERS)

#264-69

A Negro, George Foreman, gave every American an emotional lift when immediately after defeating Inoas Chepulis of the Soviet Union for the Olympic heavyweight boxing championship in Mexico City on October 27, 1968, he showed the world that he was proud to be an American by waving a small American flag as he circled the ring publicly thanking all who had helped him reach this pinnacle of success. He also proudly sang the national anthem at the award ceremonies which were viewed on nationwide television. This was in sharp contrast with the earlier despicable black power-black gloved demonstration of Tommie Smith and John Carlos on the Olympic victory stand and the anti-Vietnam stand of Cassius Clay.

[REDACTED] have come up with an idea which appears to have merit in recommending a justly deserved award for George Foreman, as a counterintelligence technique to refute attempts of the black nationalists to degrade the image of the United States.

In this connection, an award by the American Legion, either nationally or in California, where Foreman resides, the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, or any other national organization, such as the Chamber of Commerce, would be in order. Attached are two newspaper articles regarding Foreman, a rehabilitated junior high school dropout now associated with the Job Corps. Bureau files contain no identifiable information regarding him.

ACTION: If you approve, this suggestion will be brought to the attention of appropriate officials of the American Legion, Freedom Foundation, or the Chamber of Commerce.

Enclosures - 2

JVM:mkl (7)

REC 54

22 NOV 6 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Freedom's Foundation should handle after checking background.

D

Listed in [unclear] for STATISTICAL [unclear]

Vertical stamp on right edge

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____

U.S. Boxing Winner: Road to Glory Beckons



United Press International

George Foreman throwing a left at Inos Chepulis of the Soviet Union during the heavyweight final Saturday night.

By JOSEPH M. SHEEHAN
 Special to The New York Times

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 27—A United States boxing team described by Robert (Pappy) Gault, its coach, as "the best team ever to represent America" exulted today at last night's record bag of seven medals, including a silver medal for Albert Robinson after an appeal today.

Robinson, of Oakland, Calif., was controversially disqualified, for alleged butting, by a Soviet referee named George Zybalov in the featherweight title match.

The American boxer was given a second-place certificate but the silver medal that normally goes to a runner-up was withheld.

It was a double blow to Robinson. When the bout was stopped midway in the second round, he had a substantial lead over Antonio Roldan, his Mexican foe, and seemed well on the way to scoring a knockout. Even some of the intensely loyal and patriotic Mexicans booed the ruling.

Robinson accepted the crushing decision with smiling good sportsmanship and said afterward, "I have nothing to say. The referee said it all."

3-Hour Meeting Held

But American officials did not let the matter rest. They filed an immediate appeal to the International Boxing Federation and called for a study of the films of the bout.

The Federation, the international ruling body in amateur boxing, met for three hours today to consider the appeal. The appeal was upheld and Robinson, a Navy man stationed at the Alameda (Calif.) Naval Air Station, was given the silver medal.

"I was especially angry because Robbie was winning the fight, easily," Gault said.

"The boy was robbed of the chance of participating in the awards ceremony, but we'll hold our own. History of the 1968 Olympics would've shown there was no silver medal awarded; now Albert Robinson will be given that recognition."

The American boxers were

pretty much the big hit of a show that aroused wild excitement in a near-capacity crowd of about 18,000 in the Mexico City Arena.

George Foreman, of Pleasanton, Calif., who brought the United States its fourth heavyweight title in the last term Olympics, and Ronald Harris, of Canton, Ohio, who captured the lightweight crown, were perhaps the most impressive victors on the 11-bout program.

Foreman Shows Power

With left jabs that packed trip-hammer power reminiscent of Joe Louis and jolting right crosses, the 6-foot-3½-inch, 218-pound Foreman scored a technical knockout over Jonas Chepulis, an experienced Soviet boxer, who had won his three preceding bouts by knockouts.

A nifty southpaw with lightning moves and a stinging punch, the 20-year-old Harris scored a unanimous decision over Josef Grudzien, a well-seasoned Pole who had won the gold medal at Tokyo in 1964 and is a three-time European titleholder.

Foreman, who had won the hearts of the crowd, not only by his performance but also by presenting to his conquered rival a bunch of roses he had received and by holding aloft an American flag during the victory ceremony, displayed Cassius Clay propensities in a postfight news conference.

At his teammates' urging, the extroverted 19-year-old recited a poem of his own composition:

Many a man has fell and stumbled
 when he met big George in that square jungle.

He parried inquiries as to when he would turn pro, saying with a smile, "I don't quite know. I might want to play some basketball first."

Expert opinion is that Foreman is a bright pro prospect but needs considerably more seasoning, before being ready to meet top-drawer opponents.

- The Washington Post _____
- Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Evening Star (Washington) _____
- The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
- Daily News (New York) _____
- Sunday News (New York) _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- The Sun (Baltimore) _____
- The Worker _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Date 10-28-68 _____

ENCLOSURE

208

George Foreman

The newly crowned Olympic heavyweight boxing champion is a sturdily built, handsome, 19-year-old Negro youth who combines within his 6-foot-3½-inch, 218-pound frame one part bruising slugger, one part whimsical poet and one part dedicated social worker. George Foreman,

who won his gold medal by scoring a technical knockout over Ionas Chepulis of the Soviet Union in

the second round of their bout, admits his next goal is likely to be a quest for the professional championship. Like Olympic gold-medalists Floyd Patterson, Cassius Clay and Joe Frazier, he hopes to go from Olympic glory to professional gold.

He also insists, however, that his interests in life transcend punching a fellow human being around a squared ring.

"Every guy should have the right to learn," he said recently. "If I had known someone like myself in 1964, I'd be a better person today."

Fifth of 7 Children

Foreman, who was born the fifth of seven children of a construction worker on Jan. 10, 1949, in Houston, dropped out of junior high school. He did not drop out because of bad marks, he says now. "Because of bad everything," is the full explanation.

In 1965, he joined the Job Corps and was sent to a conservation center in Grants Pass, Ore.

"I preserved the forest and the trees," he says.

But he also learned brick-laying, carpentry and electronics, and achieved the equivalent of a high school diploma. After fruitlessly trying to find work in Houston, he returned to the Job Corps as an instructor in February, 1967, and started boxing.

"I was always interested in boxing, but before last year my fights were outside the ring," he concedes.



Associated Press
His interests transcend punching fellow human.

His progress in the last 20 months has been remarkable. His Olympic triumph was his 22d in 25 bouts, 14 by knockouts.

Robert (Pappy) Gault, the coach of the United States team, says, "He's every bit as far along as Joe Frazier was in 1964."

Cus D'Amato, the former manager of Patterson, is skeptical. "He's got promise, but he's not ready for the pros. He needs seasoning."

Whether or not he turns professional, Foreman intends to continue his Job Corps work in Pleasanton, Calif.

"I still feel I shouldn't have dropped out of school, and I want to help these kids from making that same mistake," he said recently.

Like Clay, Foreman enjoys the composition poetry that describes, in awesome terms, the brilliance and finality of his boxing talents:

*"George is nimble and George is quick.
Watch me, folks, 'cause I can really stick."*

He has also composed a tribute to his left jab, which is one of the sturdiest since the days of Joe Louis:

*"I can move to your right,
Stick all night.
Move to your left,
Cause your death."*

He said after defeating his Soviet foe at Mexico City that he had carried him a little bit.

"My mother was watching on television and she doesn't want me to hurt anyone," he explained.

He also proved an apt exponent of the sportsmanship that Olympic champions are supposed to epitomize. He passed a bouquet of roses from his teammates on to the man he defeated.

And, after circling the ring with a small American flag in his hand, he lavished praise on the teammates who had helped him and taught him in training.

"If I did well, I have them to thank," he said.

1/10/68

1/10/68 209

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 11/6/68

CWB/jr

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

of

Re New York letter 10/22/68, and Buphone call 11/4/68.

Referenced letter suggested that an anonymous letter be sent to CLEAVER, and requested the proper address to which it should be directed.

CLEAVER is a national officer of the Black Panther Party (BPP), and while he doubtless receives mail at Black Panther Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California, a better known address would be P. O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California, which has appeared in practically all issues of "The Black Panther."

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-161140)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

WAC/jr
(5)

REC 23

14 NOV 21 1968

Detail
RACIAL INT. SECT.
10

105

5011

210

FBI

Date: 10/31/68

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBuairtel 10/28/68.

Enclosed herewith are 14 photographs and 2 negatives
of STOKELY CARMICHAEL per Bureau request.

Handwritten: 1A114 [Signature]

Handwritten: 1-800 (14) with all encl. REC 14

18 NOV 3 1968

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 16)
- 2 - WFO
- (1 - 100-43503) (CARMICHAEL)

WHL:jmh
(5)

C. U. [Signature]

Handwritten: 5-TR

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Handwritten: gll

November 7, 1968

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, Detroit
Cleveland
Los Angeles

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
[REDACTED]

ReLAtel 11/5/68 captioned "Republic of New Africa."

Retel notes that [REDACTED] will probably become the leader of the [REDACTED] in Cleveland unless, according to [REDACTED] his romantic association with a white female becomes known to his following. Since [REDACTED] is a violence-prone individual, the Bureau would be interested in capitalizing on this situation to neutralize him.

Los Angeles should furnish any further details regarding this situation known to the source by return airtel to the Bureau, Detroit, and Cleveland. Suggestions for capitalizing on this situation should be submitted by each office after receipt of Los Angeles airtel.

MAILED 2
NOV 7 1968
COMM-FBI

TJD:ekw
(10)

REC-15

20 NOV 7 1968

Tolson _____
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Conrad _____
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Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

61 NOV 14 1968 MAIL ROOM TYPE UNIT

212

FBI

Date: 10/29/68

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

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

hlm

W. J. ... (Francis) ... 2/11/68

ReBulet 10/21/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of the following from Philadelphia airtel captioned [redacted], Robbery of Sportsmen's Paradise Store, Ambler, Pa., 9/16/68":

(1) Statement by MAO Tse-tung. (Also enclosed for the Bureau is the original of this document).

(2) Pamphlet "Calling All Black People" by MAX STANFORD.

(3) Questionnaire entitled "National Black Power Organizing Meeting." (Also enclosed is a copy of the original document. This has not been Xeroxed because of writing on this document. It is being forwarded to the Bureau in the event they want to obtain samples of the paper.)

(4) Document "What is a Revolutionary Nationalist?" (Also enclosed is one copy of the original document which the Bureau may wish to use as a sample of the paper used).

3 - Bureau (100-448006) (Enc. 64) (RM) 806-14
1 - Philadelphia (157-2371)

EMC/JBK
(6)

Enclosure

all retained
ALASS
Re D...

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ Per _____

213

PA 157-2371

(5) Document entitled "The World Black Revolution."

(6) From Philadelphia airtel dated 10/10/68, captioned "Rally to Free HUEY NEWTON, Federal Building, 9th and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., Saturday, 9/28/68, RM," are enclosed ten copies of the entire pamphlet that was passed out. This is a four-page pamphlet which was printed by "American Whites for the Defense of HUEY P. NEWTON." (Also enclosed is one copy of the original pamphlet).

Philadelphia is of the opinion that if information from the above pamphlets, especially that relating to HUEY NEWTON, is furnished in the right manner, it can show that NEWTON and the Black Panthers are tied up with whites. If this were printed in the newspaper by a columnist, the Black Panthers would then have to either drop their connections with the whites or admit they are not an all-black organization.

ROUTE ENVELOPE

1-
1-



SAC, Philadelphia (157-2371)

11/7/68

REC 5

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 364

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurairtel 10/29/68, which noted that Black Panther Party (BPP) association with white groups should be exploited under the counterintelligence program.

Philadelphia is requested to furnish specific recommendations in this regard including a draft of a proposed news article, information concerning the news sources to which the draft would be furnished, and any other suggestions for exploiting this situation.

TJD:jms
(5)

NOTE:

Philadelphia noted in forwarding material relating to white people soliciting defense funds for BPP leader Huey Newton that exposure of this relationship of the BPP to white groups would help neutralize the BPP by showing it is not an all black organization.

MAILED 9
NOV 6 1968
COMM-FBI

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

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

JCR

MI
TJO

Walt

2/5

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

SAC, New York

11/8/68

Director, FBI (100-448006)

**COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STOKELY CARMICHAEL)**

The Bureau would be interested in counterintelligence operations to neutralize Stokely Carmichael in the eyes of black nationalist extremists and to neutralize Stokely Carmichael's influence in ghetto areas. Since Stokely Carmichael is married to Miriam Makeba, the African singer, it might be possible to allege that Stokely Carmichael married her to gain a meal ticket. Alleging that Stokely Carmichael is a gigolo might lower his stature in the eyes of the black community, since many Negroes are urging that Negro males assert their manhood and their African heritage.

Each office should be alert for any information that might be used in this regard, specifically during Stokely Carmichael and Miriam Makeba's travels. New York and WFO should undertake discreet inquiries to determine Miriam Makeba's income and whether she pays bills incurred by their travels. New York and WFO should also attempt to monitor Miriam Makeba's checking accounts in this regard.

Any information developed should be submitted under this caption, along with specific recommendations for counterintelligence operations.

MAILED 7
NOV 8 1968
COMM-FBI

- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Los Angeles
- 1 - San Francisco
- 1 - WFO

EX 110

REC 44

100-448006-367

TJD:jma/rel
(15)

NOV 8 1968

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

wc

TJD 2/16

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-9-56) -

DATE: 10/23/68

FROM : SAC, NORFOLK (157-464)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
RACIAL MATTERS
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
NATION OF ISLAM

Enclosed herewith are two copies of an anonymous letter which the Norfolk Division desires to send to Nation of Islam (NOI) Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois. The letter will contain the noted typographical errors and misspelled words. It will be sent in an envelope addressed to [REDACTED] at the indicated address. The greeting at the outset of the letter is a standard Muslim greeting.

The informant has advised that it is common knowledge in Muhammad's Mosque of Islam (MMI) Tidewater Area, Norfolk, Virginia, that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was born out of wedlock

[REDACTED] supposedly married [REDACTED]. The child resembles [REDACTED]

The birth record on [REDACTED] lists [REDACTED] as the mother but the father is unidentified.

The name of [REDACTED] is included on the Security Index. The name of [REDACTED] is also included on the Security Index. The name of [REDACTED] has been recommended for inclusion on the Security Index. [REDACTED] mentioned below, is also included on the Security Index.

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 2)(RM)
- 1-Norfolk
- HAW:gfh
- (3)

ENCLOSURE

REC 44 100 3

1 OCT 25 1968

[Handwritten signature]

0000000000

157-464
2-06
770
11-11



NF 157-464

According to the informant, several members of the Tidewater Mosque have been suspended by [REDACTED] because of immorality. In so doing, many of the Mosque members, and particularly several MGT members, [REDACTED] is being a hypocrite. [REDACTED] is supposedly aware of [REDACTED] affair with [REDACTED] and is "covering" for him. [REDACTED], an [REDACTED] came to Norfolk about two years ago and inquired into certain allegations of immorality. It is not definitely known if [REDACTED] is aware of [REDACTED] relationship with [REDACTED] but it is presumed that he might know.

[REDACTED] has also advised that there is a small group holding NOI meetings in a private residence in Portsmouth, Virginia, and they refuse to go to the Tidewater Mosque because of their differences with [REDACTED] one of the differences being their knowledge of [REDACTED] affair with [REDACTED]

It is felt that if the letter is sent, it would serve as a disruptive tactic in the Mosque. It might result in an NOI investigation and even action against [REDACTED] and possibly [REDACTED]

It is recommended that the Bureau approve our sending the letter. We would mail it from Suffolk, Virginia, a neutral area where there are no known active NOI members. Because [REDACTED] is serving in a leadership capacity, they are considered prime targets under this program. Although [REDACTED] is not considered such a target at this time, she is nevertheless serving in a leadership capacity and her husband, [REDACTED]. This letter in no way will jeopardize the identity of [REDACTED] or any other informants operated by the Norfolk Division.

Any positive results forthcoming from this letter will be furnished to the Bureau.

Muhammad's Mosque No. 2
5333-35 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

AS-SALAAM-ALAIKUM

In the name of Allah, The Beneficent, The Most Merciful, all Holy Praises are due to Allah. We forever thank Allah for giving us a Leader and Teacher in the person of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

Dear Holy Apostle:

We are devoted brothers and sisters in the Norfolk Mosque and send you greetings in the name of Almighty God Allah. We write you now because of our discust over a situation in the Mosque.

We listen to our brother [REDACTED], who gives us your life giving words, and who insists on the highest standards of morals. But he is a hypocrite and an unbeliever. It is common knowledge that [REDACTED] is the father of an ilagitimate child born to [REDACTED]. The child was born [REDACTED], and since that time she has [REDACTED].

Some of our members have been put out of the Mosque because of their morals. Why hasn't [REDACTED] been disciplined for this.

[REDACTED] from New York knows, but has done nothing. We suspect [REDACTED] is covering up for [REDACTED]. Why is this? O beloved messenger please send someone to us the Mosque find out about this.

We are afraid to give you are names as Captain Sam has threatened to harm any one who would write direct to the messenger. Please help us.

ENCLOSURE

219

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

S/C, Norfolk

November 7 1968

100 REC 47
Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2 68

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(NATION OF ISLAM)

Reurlet 10/23/68.

Authority is granted to mail anonymous letter enclosed with relet. Use commercially-purchased stationery and take other precautions to insure this letter cannot be traced to the Bureau.

The Bureau feels the wording in your proposed letter should be altered to remove the more difficult words in this letter. The greeting should stay the same, since it is obviously copied from the standard greeting used in the Nation of Islam (NOI) letters. Line two of the first paragraph should spell "greetings" correctly. Line three, substitute "a bad" for "our discust over a." In paragraph two, line three, delete "hypocrite and an." Line five, delete "illegitimate."

MAILED 24
NOV 7 - 1968
COMM-FBI

Since this letter is allegedly coming from an NOI member, it probably should be handwritten. Advise the Bureau of any results of this counterintelligence action.

For the information of Chicago, Norfolk is sending an anonymous letter to NOI headquarters accusing [REDACTED] of hypocrisy in that the Minister has suspended several members for immorality but the [REDACTED]

2 - Chicago

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

JD:lrb/ekw
(8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

[Handwritten signatures and initials]
11/20

98 NOV 15 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, Norfolk
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; (NATION OF ISLAM)
100-448006

himself is the father of an illegitimate child. This fact is well known to local NOI members. This letter will be directed to [REDACTED] since a [REDACTED]

NOTE:

The anonymous letter is written in typical NOI style, including the NOI greeting. Since the letter is anonymous, there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

Informing NOI headquarters that the local NOI minister is the father of an illegitimate child may well cause the NOI to investigate the local minister and perhaps remove him. The removal and replacement of an NOI minister usually results in a loss of membership in the local group.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 11/6/68

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
BLACK EXTREMISTS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Director's letter to Baltimore, 10/21/68.

Pursuant to Bureau request, the following observations are set forth:

The Chamber of Commerce, both national and state, appears to be in an excellent position to publicize the success of both Negro and integrated businesses in each community thereby refuting the claim of Black Nationalists as to lack of participation by the Negro community into business affairs of the community. Through established sources within the Chamber of Commerce, information could be furnished on a confidential basis concerning the activities of Black Nationalists, business dealings, and other pertinent data which they could bring to the attention of their members. This would appear to assist in adverse publicity being disseminated and lower the financial capabilities of Black Extremists.

NOV 10 1968
REC 32

(3) - Bureau (AM)
2 - Charlotte
THG:dh
(5)

NOV 13 1968

Nixon
NOV 13 1968

54 NOV 20 1968



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

222

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 11/6/68

Boyer

af

ReBuairtel 3/4/68.

As the Bureau has previously been advised, the SNCC held its annual staff and Central Committee meetings in Atlanta in June, 1968. Information received regarding these meetings reflects that nothing of an improvement in the operation and/or administration of the organization was accomplished. One of the policies advanced was to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice-chairmanships. The primary purpose of this change was to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual. It does not appear that any material progress of the organization has resulted from the adoption of this policy, as the SNCC office in Chicago has closed, activities of the Washington, D.C. SNCC office have been curtailed and at present it is questionable just how much longer the New York Office of SNCC can continue to function due to dissension among the personnel and an acute shortage of funds.

The national headquarters in Atlanta has completely lost the support of

and [REDACTED]
These individuals are known to have disassociated themselves from SNCC and are presently employed in private industry. In spite of their apparent disillusionment with the policies of SNCC, they are believed to continue the exponents of the Black Power theory.

1-9,06 THD
2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta
SUC:jlh
(4)

REC-22
NOV 11 1968

NOV 13 15 11:13 AM '68

51 NOV 18 1968

Boyer
RACIAL
Int'l.



223

AT 100-7182

As for the national headquarters of SNCC at 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, sources advise that this office continues to operate as such but in an extremely limited capacity. This office appears to have been sort of a "clearing house" for such splinter groups as the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (which has now folded) and the Black Student Alliance (at Atlanta University) and the Harambee Sisters.

SNCC, Atlanta, does not appear to be focusing its efforts in any one particular direction, and until it does establish some program to actively support, it does not appear an effective counterintelligence program can be established without adversely affecting coverage presently being afforded this organization by the Atlanta Office.

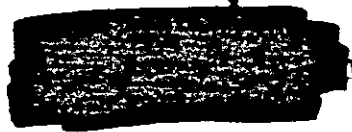
On 10/28-30/68, SNCC reportedly held a Central Committee meeting in Baltimore, Maryland. The decisions, if any, reached at this meeting are not yet fully known.

Atlanta is following the matter of development of counterintelligence measures closely and will continue to evaluate situations so as to take advantage of opportunities as they develop.

10-31-68

Airtel

1 -
1 -
1 -



To: SAC, Detroit

From: Director, FBI (100-448008)

COUNTERTERRORISM PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)
BUDED 11-18-68

ReDEairtel and LHM 10-24-68 captioned "Republic of New Africa."

Referenced LHM notes that members of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) feel that [redacted] is using the membership to obtain money for his personal use. The Bureau feels this situation should be exploited to neutralize the RNA.

One of the most effective ways to neutralize black nationalist extremist groups is to show the membership that their leaders are interested in personal profit. Detroit should consider this situation and submit counterintelligence recommendations by November 18, 1968.

No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority. Detroit should submit any and all recommendations no matter how unique. Consider the possibility of circulating flyers allegedly from dissident RNA members urging the formation of a new organization excluding [redacted] or flyers merely attacking [redacted]. Publicity in the news media regarding this situation might help disrupt the RNA. Another technique might be the use of informants or anonymous letters to the leadership of RNA urging that [redacted] be made president of the RNA, thus showing that [redacted] has support of his own that is a threat to other RNA leaders.

MAILED 5
OCT 30 1968
COMM-FBI

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

T.D:sd - (6)

REC 53

NOV 8

Handwritten signature/initials

Handwritten number 12825

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 11/4/68

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

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192)(P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED: 11/15/68)

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco 10/29/68.

The following is a list of names, along with appropriate addresses, for responsible Negro businessmen within the San Diego Division. All of the below listed addresses are located in San Diego, California, Zip Code 92113.

The New York Division, in accordance with referenced communication, is requested to send each of these individuals the article mentioned in referenced communication in such a manner that the mailing is not traceable to the FBI.



REC-19

C. C. Bishop

W. H. ...
NOV 15 1968
FBI - SAN DIEGO

- ③ - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - San Diego

RLB:bef

51 NOV 15 1968

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

226

F B I

Date: 10/30/68

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurairtel, 10/28/68.

BROWN. Enclosed herewith are 10 photographs of H. RAP

(3- Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
1- New York

JJD:tf
(5)
1- Supv. #43

REC-19

100-448006-31

Employed: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

227

FBI

Date: 10/30/68

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

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)
 RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Buairtel to Newark, 10/28/68.

Transmitted herewith are the following:

14 8 x 10 glossy prints containing photographs of BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

These individuals are identified on the backs of these photographs, which also reflect the date the photographs were taken.

8 copies of newspaper photographs of HUEY NEWTON.

8 photographs of HUEY NEWTON taken from "The Black Panther," 10/20/68 and 10/26/68.

More shots of HUEY NEWTON are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau at earliest date. No other photographs of HUEY NEWTON are available due to his extended period of incarceration.

1-206 940 with all encl

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 30) (AM-RU)
- 1 - San Francisco

RNB/jr
(4)

J.C. - Bishop

REC-19

100-448006-31

NOV 1 1968

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

228

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input type="checkbox"/>
Casper	<input type="checkbox"/>
Callahan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conrad	<input type="checkbox"/>
Felt	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gale	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holmes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/5/68

FROM : G. C. Moore *gcm*

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Authority requested to send attached teletype to Los Angeles authorizing counterintelligence actions which will capitalize upon a power struggle existing between the Los Angeles Black Panther Party (LABPP) and US, both of which are black extremist organizations.

On 11/2/68, BPP received information indicating US members intended to assassinate Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, BPP, at a rally scheduled at Los Angeles on 11/3/68. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the Security Squad (LASS) members, had been identified as [REDACTED] an US infiltrator and that BPP headquarters had instructed that Watts should be killed.

During BPP rally, US members including one [REDACTED] were ordered to leave the rally site by LASS members and did so. US capitulation on this occasion prompted BPP members to decide to kill [REDACTED] and then take over US organization. Members of LASS, including source, were given orders to eliminate [REDACTED]

Los Angeles Division has contacted the Los Angeles Police Department regarding threats on [REDACTED] life. Source has been instructed not to participate in acts of violence.

Attached teletype instructs Los Angeles Division to contact both [REDACTED], advise them of threats against their lives and to solicit [REDACTED]. Los Angeles also advised to reiterate instructions to informant not to engage in any acts of violence and to keep the Bureau and appropriate local and federal authorities informed of all developments. Los Angeles also instructed to submit counterintelligence recommendations. 11/4/68

RECOMMENDATION:

BEC 26

That attached teletype be approved in accordance with the above.

55-1000-1000
WDN:rel (7)

29