Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100590001-2

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P-ANDERSON, Jack
CIA 7.02 FBI
CIA 4.01 Domestic Spying
ORG: Black Panthers

ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE B-11

THE WASHINGTON POST
17 April 1978

Jack Anderson

Hoover, Bugging and Deniability

Apparently the old television series, "Mission Impossible," was all too accurate about the practice of government leaders ordering unlawful missions and disowning their underlings if caught.

There is reason to believe, for example, that past presidents knew more than the record discloses about the dirty doings of the Central Intelligence Agency. Now we have obtained secret evidence that the late J. Edgar Hoover played the same game.

Some of his former officials face prosecution for illegal break-ins, "black bag jobs" and buggings that the powerful FBI chief may have secretly ordered. The evidence indicates he carefully covered his own tracks to avoid personal embarrassment if his agents were caught.

On the record, Hoover placed in the official files memos and orders ostentatiously taking a firm stand against unlawful tactics. On Jan. 6, 1967, he notified two of his top aides that he would not approve requests for illegal planting of listening devices on private premises.

"I have previously indicated that I do not intend to approve any such requests in the future," he declared, "and, consequently, no such recommendation should be submitted for approval of such matters. This practice, which includes also surreptitious entrances of any kind, will not meet with my approval in the future."

Obviously, this was intended to persuade future historians that Hoover scrupulously obeyed the laws he was supposed to enforce. Any evidence to the contrary naturally would not be left lying around. But this much is known:

• Under pressure from then-president Richard M. Nixon to disrupt left-wing extremists, the FBI continued its criminal trespassing and eavesdropping until Hoover's death in 1972.

• Virtually nothing went on in the close-knit FBI that escaped Hoover's notice. Even veteran colleagues feared to take any major action without his being informed. Almost every paper clip had to be accounted for.

• The late William C. Sullivan, a member of Hoover's inner sanctum, told a federal grand jury that in 1970 he relayed instructions from the FBI director to field agents that they should employ "any means necessary" to bring the extremist groups to book. He said Hoover cautiously avoided directly mentioning wiretapping, electronic listening and other forbidden acts. But Sullivan said, within the context of the discussion, the tacit approval was so clear "it needed no interpretation from me." Sullivan resigned in 1972 in a bitter break with Hoover and died recently in a hunting accident.

• Although interdepartmental documents attest to Hoover's disavowal of unlawful practices, an intriguing internal report was circulated after Hoover met with then-CIA chief Richard M. Helms and other intelligence officials. The memo admitted that the FBI was conducting "microphone surveillance" of 13 extremists, including the home of Black Panther leader Huey Newton. It is virtually impossible to plant a microphone in someone's home without trespassing.

• After Hoover's death, the Justice Department disclosed to a closed-door Senate investigation that 14 "subversive targets were the subject of at least 238 entries" by the FBI continuing until April 1968. This would have been more than a year after Hoover's final disavowal. Our sources are emphatic that none of these would have been initiated without Hoover's sanction.

• When the Watergate gang came up with a proposal to crack down on Nixon's political enemies by violating their basic rights, Hoover was credited with opposing the nefarious campaign. But a memo to then-attorney General John N. Mitchell from the FBI chief pledged cooperation. "Despite my clearcut and specific opposition," Hoover wrote, "the FBI is prepared to implement the instructions of the White House at your direction. Of course, we would continue to seek your specific authorization, where appropriate, to utilize the various sensitive investigative techniques involved in individual cases."

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THE NEW YORK TIMES
17 March 1978

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 1-16

25X1

C.I.A. Reportedly Recruited Blacks For Surveillance of Panther Party

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

The Central Intelligence Agency recruited American blacks in the late 1960's and early 1970's to spy on members of the Black Panther Party both in the United States and in Africa, according to former high-level officials of the agency who have first-hand knowledge of the operations.

Details of these clandestine activities were considered among the agency's most sensitive and closely-held information, the sources said, partly because of fears that disclosures about the program would arouse public accusations of racism in the intelligence agency.

Only in the most oblique references did any of the inquiries in recent years into C.I.A. activities ever uncover the program of black spying.

At least some specific information about the C.I.A.'s spying was provided to the 1975 Rockefeller Commission and later to the Senate intelligence committee in their inquiries into illegal C.I.A. activities, but those investigating groups did not include any specific mention of the recruitment and use of American blacks in their subsequent public reports.

The activities of the black agents ranged from the following and photographing of suspected Black Panther Party members in the United States to the infiltration of Panther groups in Africa. One agent managed to gain access to the personal overseas living quarters of Eldridge Cleaver, the Panther leader who set up a headquarters in Algeria in the late 1960's.

In its final report, the Rockefeller Commission, a panel appointed by President Ford to investigate charges of C.I.A. abuses, concluded that the agency's spying in this country exceeded its authority. The overseas efforts to link the Black Panther operations to foreign influence theoretically was proper, the commisson said, although much of the material in the C.I.A.'s files "was not directly related to the question of the existence of foreign connections."

The Rockefeller Commission subsequently recommended that the C.I.A. be directed not to perform "what are essentially internal security tasks," in the United States or elsewhere.

The Senate intelligence committee, which will soon begin public hearings into the proposed new charter for the intelligence community, has recommended that the C.I.A. be compelled to obtain a warrant before conducting any wiretaps or surveillance of American citizens living abroad.

C.I.A. officials have said repeatedly that the goal of the agency's domestic spying program was to determine whether antiwar activists and black extremists were being financed and directed by Communist governments. Agency officials have declined to discuss the programs further.

One longtime C.I.A. operative with direct knowledge of the spying said, however, that there was an additional goal in the case of the Black Panthers living abroad: to "neutralize" them; "to try and get them in trouble with local authorities wherever they could." Just how successful the C.I.A. was in those alleged activities could not be determined.

In his memoirs, "Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA," some of whose details were published Tuesday in The New York Times, William E. Colby, former Director of Central Intelligence, acknowledges that he was unable to learn all there was to know about the C.I.A.'s domestic spying operations.

One man who had first-hand knowledge of the operation said, "If they had gotten exposed, then it would have been the C.I.A. versus the Black Panthers and all black Americans—they've had a lot of Americans against them. The agency would have been exposed, open to attack."

"For all my efforts," Mr. Colby wrote, "I found it impossible to do much about righting whatever was wrong" with the domestic spying programs. "Its supersecrecy and extreme compartmentation," he added, "kept me very much on its periphery."

In his memoir, Mr. Colby did not mention the spying by blacks on the Black Panther Party.

In interviews over the last two months, former staff investigators for the Rockefeller commission and the Senate committee were asked why their final reports did not discuss the use of black Americans. The former staff members disagreed widely over who had been told what—including raising questions about the efficacy and thoroughness of the investigations.

C.I.A.'s spying on blacks. Most staff members, however, firmly denied that there had been such spying.

"If that's the case, I'm astonished," one investigator for the Rockefeller Commission said when informed of the use of American blacks. "If it were so, it's something I didn't know about and I'd have to say I'd feel I'd been deceived."

A Senator who took a leading role in the committee's C.I.A. investigation also said he knew of the use of blacks domestically. But he said, "I think you're pretty accurate in saying that we were not told of the use of American blacks overseas, I never heard anything."

A former high-level C.I.A. official who was directly involved in the Senate investigation said he was not surprised to learn that some senior Senate officials did not know of the use of black agents.

'An Adversary Proceeding'

"They didn't ask," the former C.I.A. official said. "We treated the Senate inquiry as an adversary proceeding. It wasn't a show and tell program. Had they asked, we would have dug out the answers."

"There must be a dozen comparable situations going on," he said. "The fact is, no one asked."

"I think it's important for the public to understand that this was an adversary proceeding," he said. "It was up to the committee to ask. They were running the investigation."

"And that's why the Hill is such a poor place to resolve these issues. The Senate intelligence committee was very divided. Its chairman [Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho] was running for President and the minority and majority staffs were divided and playing games."

Two Major Programs

The Times's sources said that the C.I.A. conducted at least two major programs involving the use of American blacks when the Panthers, organized by young blacks in the mid-'60s, were publicly advocating revolutionary change.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES
2 July 1977

Cleaver, Eldridge
orgl Black Panther
CIA 101 Helms, Richa

Cleaver Sues Ex-Federal Officials for 45 Million

Ex-Panther Leader, Wife Claim Hoover, Mitchell, Others Conspired to Deprive Them of Civil Rights

SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—Claiming they were the target of a conspiracy, former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver and his wife, Kathleen, filed a $4.5 million damage suit Friday against a host of former government officials.

The civil rights action names as defendants former Special FBI Agent Charles Bates, the estate of the late FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, two FBI agents, former U.S. Attys. Gen. John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst, former CIA Director Richard Helms and former Postmaster General Winton Blount.

The suit alleges the defendants conspired over the past decade with other state, federal and local law enforcement officials to deprive the Cleavers of their civil rights.

The Cleavers told a news conference that the conspiracy was intended to destroy them politically and socially. Cleaver said it involved "the perversion, twisting and deforming of these law enforcement agencies."

"I have to credit the destruction of the Black Panther Party to the FBI and CIA," he said, "and in cahoots also were local law enforcement agencies."

According to the suit, the conspiracy strived to break up the Black Panthers through a false letter writing campaign.

It alleges "literally scores of letters" were written anonymously or under false pennames in the early 1970s by the defendants and sent to party members and newspapers "containing statements designed and intended to create dissension within the Black Panther Party and to cause a split within the party and the expulsion of Eldridge Cleaver from the party."

The suit claims the conspiracy also sought to block Cleaver's 1968 bid for the U.S. Presidency through "force, intimidation and threat" and that it also interfered with his wife's congressional campaign.

The complaint also alleges that Cleaver's right to a fair trial was jeopardized by the conspiracy. He is charged with three counts of attempted murder and three counts of assault stemming from a 1968 shoot-out between Oakland police and Black Panther members.

Cleaver jumped bail in 1968. He voluntarily returned to the United States in November, 1975, after living in Algeria and France. He is free on $100,000 bail.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES
28 June 1977

Trumbull, Robert
Org. Black Panthers
Newton, Huey P.
CIA 205, 1 FOIA

Newton Plans to Resume Control of Black Panthers

By ROBERT TRUMBULL
Special to The New York Times

BRAMPTON, Ontario, June 27—Huey P. Newton, preparing to face murder charges in California after three years as a fugitive in Cuba, declared today that he planned to resume the leadership of the Black Panther Party and to expand the movement's social programs throughout the United State.s

Mr. Newton, 35 years old, said that he was returning voluntarily because the "changing political climate" in the United States might bring him a fair trial on the charges that he insists are false.

In an interview in a county jtil in this town near Toronto, where he is being held in deportation proceedings, Mr. Newton said that if he regained control of the Black Panthers, the organization would "push very hard for full employment" and would widen the scope day-care projects, protection of the aged against mugging and other community programs run by the Panthers.

Arrested Upon Arrival

Mr. Newton was arrested by the Canadian immigration authorities as an undesirable alien upon his arrival Saturday night from Havana on a regular Air Canada A hearing by a one-man immigration court on his plea for permission to remain in Canada up to 10 days while on his way to the United States is to be resumed Wednesday morning.

Mr. Newton said that the Canadians had denied him entry by citing a 1964 assault conviction in the United States that was later reversed in the courts. Canada's action has been "confusing," he said, and he added that the Canadian authorities did not detain him when he spent three days here in 1970 on his way to China.

One of Mr. Newton's attorneys showed letters today from high officials of the United States Justice Department stating that a Federal charge of fleeing to avoid prosecution against Mr. Newton had been dropped.

The letters also assured Mr. Newton that no attempt would be made to extradite him if he interrupted his journey home in another country to confer with a lawyer.

Accompanied by wife

Mr. Newton was accompanied by his wife, Gwen, 27; by Fred J. Hiestand of California, Mr. Newton's counsel in the deportation proceedings, and by Paul Copeland, an associate of Mr. Hiestand.

Mr. Newton said that he had been encouraged to return to his homeland by new evidence that he said would show that the murder charge against him had been part of a conspiracy by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The election of Lionel J. Wilson as the first black Mayor of his hometown, Oakland, Calif., "in a hundred years since Oakland's founding" was another factor in his decision, he said. And he added that other political gains by blacks had influenced his decision.

But he declared that he had "no illusions" that the Carter Administration was a "fair and just" one, and he said that "big business still runs the United States Government."

Expects to Lead Panthers

"Revelations about the C.I.A. through the Freedom of Information Act" and through Congressional investigations of United States intelligence policies have made Americans "more aware of police conspiracies, and because of this I depend upon the people's consciousness to give me a fair trial or see to it that I get one," Mr. Newton said.

Turning to the affairs of the Black Panthers, the organization's former chairman said: "I'm looking forward to going back and reassuming my position as leader of the Black Panther Party." But he also praised the accomplishments of Black Panther social programs under the leadership of Elaine Brown.

Mr. Newton recalled his time in Cuba with enthusiasm. He said that he had been welcomed with a "grand tour" of all the provinces. After a period as a guest of the Cuban Government, he said, he worked in a truck repair factory, taught social studies at the University of Havana and lived "like other Cubans" on an average income of $250 a month. He said that he had not met Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

[illegible] English and their two children attended the "extraordinary" Cuban public schools, he said.

"I was most impressed by the full em-

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THE WASHINGTON POST
25 June 1977

Personnel, Martin
Newton, Huey
ORG: Black Panth
(origin under Martin)

Huey Newton to Return To U.S. to Face Charges

By Lionel Martin
Special to The Washington Post

HAVANA, June 24—Black Panther Party founder Huey P. Newton said today that he plans to return immediately to face what he calls false charges of murder and assault in California.

Newton, 35, who became a symbol of the angry, gun-carrying black militant in the 1960s, has been living in Cuba since he jumped bail in 1974.

The unrepentant Black Panther Party leader said the U.S. Justice Department had informed him that it would allow him to spend 10 days conferring with his attorneys in Canada or another third country without trying to extradite him.

Newton said, however, that the Canadian government had notified him today that he would be detained on arrival and sent to the United States. Newton said he plans nevertheless to fly to Canada Saturday night.

"I'm going back and my bow is bent," he said. "I'm going back to the United States to fight false criminal charges." He said in an interview that his attorney has filed a $100 million damages suit in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., for the U.S. government's alleged conspiracy against the Black Panther Party.

[A Justice Department official said in Washington that Newton had written to Attorney General Griffin Bell about two months ago to say he would be willing to surrender if arrangements could made to have the single outstanding federal charge of "unlawful flight to avoid prosecution" dropped. After negotiations with the Criminal Division such an agreement was reached, the official said. He said he knew of no deal for Newton to be allowed to stay in Canada first. California authorities were not immediately available for comment.]

[A Canadian embassy spokesman in Washington said that Newton's lawyers had been advised that he would not be permitted to get off the airplane if he arrived in Canada. The spokesman indicated that Newton had intended to arrive in Canada Sunday. Canadian authorities said they knew nothing of an offer to let Newton operate without hindrance for 10 days before any extradition proceedings.]

Newton served 23 months in jail for the murder of an Oakland, Calif., policeman, but the conviction was overturned on appeal. He was released in 1970 and spent the next four years working with the Black Panthers.

He helped to shift the party's emphasis from a gun-toting, leather-jacketed "off-the-pigs" approach to community-improvement programs.

In 1974, Newton was charged with assault and murder in connection with two new incidents in Oakland. He denied his guilt and failed to show up for a court appearance, forfeiting $42,000 bail.

Newton arrived in Cuba a few months later, and has lived there since. He said that when he arrived in Cuba he saw little chance of defending himself successfully against the charges against him in the United States.

Asked what had happened during his three years in Cuba to change his mind, Newton mentioned Watergate and the public revelations about abuses by the CIA and the FBI.

"Armed with this information, I go back in order to do battle," he said. "We have new information. The political climate has changed." He paused, then added, "Somewhat."

"A change of administrations does not mean an end to the system of exploitation which I oppose," Newton said. "But there is now a more congenial atmosphere for the kind of court battle that we are going to fight. After all these revelations of recent years, the people are prepared to believe the kind of conspiracies that the government has inflicted on us."

Newton's case is being handled by attorneys Sheldon Otis, Paul Harris, Dennis Roberts and Fred Hiestand, all of San Francisco.

They are basing part of the case on the report of the U. S. Senate Intelligence Committee, which contains a chapter entitled "The FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party." It describes the activities of COINTELPRO, the FBI's counterintelligence effort against radical groups.

Newton says he is not going back repentantly, renouncing his revolutionary ideas as Eldridge Cleaver did. Nor will he try to maintain a low profile, as Robert Williams did. He is still a Black Panther and believes in the future of his party. His ideas have matured, he says, but have not changed essentially. He is still a revolutionary. He still believes that fundamental transformations are needed in the United States.

Hiestand, one of Newton's lawyers, who was also interviewed in Havana, says the defense has an affidavit from one of the chief counsels of the Senate Select Committee to the effect that only the tip of the iceberg is showing in the committee report on the alleged government conspiracy against the Panthers.

Under Federal law, both parties are entitled to "discovery"—to get documents from the other party that have a bearing on the case or to get sworn statements through the questioning of witnesses.

Hiestand said that the case was argued in late May and that the court denied a government motion to dismiss the case. It ordered the parties to complete their "discovery" by September 1977.

The Black Panther lawyers say they have served their first requests for documents from the Justice Department, the FBI, the CIA, the Treasury Department, the Internal Revenue Service, the U.S. postal authorities and the Departments of the Army and Air Force.

"The trick," said Hiestand, "is to use the information gathered from our case against the government to show

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CIA 5.03.2

O ~~Orgy Black~~ Panthers

LONG BEACH, CAL.
PRESS-TELEGRAM

E - 99,520
S - 137,564
MAY 13 1977.

Black Panthers reply

In response to the news article appearing in your paper of Monday, May 2, "Angry Panthers of '70 mellow," we have written this letter with the intent of correcting the most obvious misrepresentations.

To begin with the headline: Since the inception of the Black Panther Party, the news media has been quick to depict Panthers as angry, violent, militant and racist. Now, angry could apply to the Panthers in the sense that black and other poor people are angry that only a small percent of the population controls and uses the vast resources of this country and the world. But that is not the context it is used in the news article.

Then, too, how can anyone call a people violent who merely demand that black and other poor and oppressed peoples obtain control over their lives and communities? And that's just what the Black Panther Party was and still is all about! When we look at the brutal murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark (leading members of the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party) and see that the raiding police officers shot 99 bullets into the apartment and that only one bullet possibly came from anyone inside the apartment, we ask, who's violent?

It has been well documented that the FBI and CIA have used various newspapers and magazines to discredit and disrupt organizations such as the Black Panther Party. It is a fact that the FBI and CIA circulate libelous statements and the news media then announces or prints them without any investigation into the actual truth of the statements. At the very least, this represents irresponsible journalism.

This article also stated that "most of the militants have turned mild and the roles of many leading characters have reversed." Let us say that the tactics of the Black Panther Party have changed with the changing times, but the objective is still the same: people of the community controlling the community institutions in which they live.

The entire article is full of distortions of the truth. Ms. Ericka Huggins never admitted to boiling water used to torture comrade Alex Rackley and was not convicted of this, as the article encourages one to believe. Ms. Huggins still is, in fact, a leading member of the Black Panther Party. She is also a member of the Alameda County Board of Education and the director of the Oakland Community School (a model community school that is attempting to show what good quality education is all about). Her present role, contrary to the article's portrayal, is not a new role, but the same old role of all "true" Black Panther Party members: serving the needs of black and other oppressed peoples.

It is also interesting to note that this same article mentioned former vice president Agnew's attack against Kingman Brewster's statement questioning the possibility of "fair trials" for "black revolutionaries" in the U.S. Anyone in their right mind knows that black revolutionaries, black people in general and other poor people do not receive fair trials in the U.S. The few examples that may be cited by the FBI and CIA were the result of organizing mass public pressure and are merely drops in the bucket when we witness the number of black and other poor people unjustly convicted and railroaded into this country's jails and prisons.

Moreover, Bobby Seale did leave the Black Panther Party; however, he was not the central figure in that trial although the media attempted to make him one. The central figure was the Black Panther Party and the trial was just another attempt to discredit and destroy the Black Panther Party as a viable political organization in this country. Charges were not only dismissed against Bobby Seale, but the whole case was dismissed. In the future, we hope that your newspaper will be less eager to print news articles so obviously one-sided and which may have really been circulated, purposely, by the CIA and FBI!

BOB B. DUREN
Coordinator, Black Panter party
Southern California Chapter,
Los Angeles

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
15 DECEMBER 1976

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ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE 8

Black Panther Party

Black Panther Party files suit against federal agencies

Special to the Guardian Washington

The Black Panther Party (BPP) filed a $100 million lawsuit Dec. 1 against federal government agencies and officials for alleged civil rights violations, including murders, against the party and its members. Federal agencies named include the FBI, CIA, Internal Revenue Service, Treasury Department, Army Intelligence and the U.S. Postal Service.

At a press conference in the Longworth House Office Building, BPP chairperson Elaine Brown said: "Through this lawsuit we intend to bring an end to a long national nightmare, exposing that the most extreme and violent actions were employed by high government officials against citizens of this nation."

The suit was filed on behalf of families of party members who have been killed because of government action as well as on behalf of the party.

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WASHINGTON POST

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~~ORG: Black Panther~~ Party
CIA/Bush, George

High U.S. Officials Named In Panthers' $100 Million Suit

United Press International

The Black Panther Party filed a $100 million class action suit yesterday against nearly two dozen present or former high federal officials, charging them with actions since 1967 to destroy the party and its members.

At a news conference, Black Panther Chairman Elaine Brown said the suit was filed in the hope it would end nine years of government harassment of the party.

"Through this lawsuit we intend to bring an end to a long, national nightmare, exposing that the most extreme and violent actions were employed by high government officials against citizens of this nation," she said.

"We hope the Carter administration will live up to its campaign promises to provide sunshine" in the government and disclose what has been happening since 1967, she said.

The suit, filed in behalf of the party and families of party members alleged to have been killed because of government action, named present and former officials of the FBI, Central Intelligence Agency, Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Army and U.S. Postal Service.

Among those named as defendants in the suit: FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley and a predecessor, J. Edgar Hoover; CIA Director George Bush and two former directors; Attorney General Edward H. Levi; former Attorney General John Mitchell; Robert Mardian, a former assistant attorney general and a Watergate figure; the current commissioner and former commissioners of the Internal Revenue Service; former Army Secretary Howard H. Callaway; Harold R. Aaron, assistant chief of staff for Army intelligence; Postmaster General Benjamin F. Bailar and Winton M. Blount, one of his predecessors, and Treasury Secretary William E. Simon and two of his officials.

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NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
2 DECEMBER 1976

Orig. Black Panther Party, Alex

Black Panthers Sue FBI And the CIA for Break-ins

Washington (News Bureau)—The Black Panthers sued the FBI and CIA yesterday for $100 million, claiming that the government had systematically violated the rights of members through murder, break-ins and surveillance.

The suit for damages, filed in U.S. District Court here, is the second major attempt to hold government agencies responsible for illegal investigative practices. The government has admitted a widespread campaign of bugging and break-ins against the Socialist Workers Party although there have been no arrests of party members in 36 years.

Elaine Brown, chairman of the Black Panthers, a once-militant organization that came under close FBI scrutiny in the 1960's, gave no new examples of FBI attacks on the party. But she repeated Panther charges that an FBI informant had participated in the planning that led to a police shoot-out with Black Panther leader Fred Hamptin, who was slain in Chicago.

Ms. Brown also contended that the murderer of another Black Panther, Alex Rackley, had been aided by an unidentified CIA employe. There have been no indictments of any FBI of CIA employes in connection with the killings of eight Black Panthers.

She charged that the FBI continues to break into Black Panther offices even though FBI officials have said that the domestic intelligence break-in campaign ended several years ago. She said that there have been 15 burglaries of Panther offices in Oakland, Calif. this year.

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CIA OPERATIONS CENTER

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ORG Black Panther Party

Date: 1 Dec 76
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PANTHERS

BY RALPH DANNHEISSER*

WASHINGTON, DEC 1, REUTER - THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY TODAY FILED A 100 MILLION DOLLAR SUIT CHARGING GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WITH CONSPIRING TO DESTROY THE PARTY AND HAVE ITS LEADERS ASSASSINATED.

THE SUIT, FILED IN THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT HERE, CLAIMS THAT PRESENT AND FORMER TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CARRIED ON A 10-YEAR-LONG VENDETTA AGAINST THE BLACK MILITANT GROUP -- WHICH REACHED ITS PEAK OF POWER AND MILITANCY IN THE LATE 1960S.

IT CHARGES THAT THE OFFICIALS CAUSED THE ASSASSINATION OF PANTHER LEADERS AND BURGLARIZING AND BUGGING PLAINTIFFS' OFFICES AND HOMES. HARASSMENT WAS STILL CONTINUING, IT ADDED.

NAMED IN THE SUIT ARE ATTORNEY-GENERAL EDWARD LEVI AND ONE OF HIS PREDECESSORS JOHN MITCHELL, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI) DIRECTOR CLARENCE KELLEY, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA) DIRECTOR GEORGE BUSH AND HIS PREDECESSORS WILLIAM COLBY AND RICHARD HELMS.

THE ESTATE OF THE LATE FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, TOP OFFICIALS OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE, THE POST OFFICE AND FORMER SECRETARY OF THE ARMY HOWARD CALLOWAY ARE ALSO NAMED IN THE ACTION.*

MORF 1615

***R637

R A4953)2CYNZYRZSA

PANTHERS 2 WASHINGTON

PARTY HEAD ELAINE BROWN TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY THAT THE SUIT WOULD PROVE, BEYOND DOUBT, THAT "AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, THE FEDERAL POLICE, INCLUDING THE FBI AND THE CIA, CONSPIRED TO KILL AND DID KILL" AT LEAST EIGHT PARTY MEMBERS.

THE PANTHER MOVEMENT, FORMED IN 1966 BY HUEY NEWTON, DESCRIBES ITSELF AS AN ASSOCIATION OF BLACK AND POOR PERSONS COMMITTED TO IMPROVING THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION.

DURING THE 1960S THE PARTY [illegible] CONCERN FOR FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

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Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100590001-2

NEW YORK TIMES
29 MARCH 1975
Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100590001-2

P-WEINSTEIN, Henry
Black Panthers

Defense Affidavit Accuses Authorities In Six Deaths at San Quentin in 1971

By HENRY WEINSTEIN
Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, March 28 —An affidavitt filed with the alifornia Supreme Court says nat various law-enforcement gencies had advance knowledge of and participated in an scape attempt at San Quentin rison on Aug. 21, 1971, in hich George Jackson, the lack revolutionary writer, and ve other persons were killed.

The document also contends nat various law-enforcement gencies had been aware of a onspiracy to gidnap a judge nd other persons at the Marin ounty Courthouse, near here, n August, 1970, and use the ostages to barter for Mr. ackson's freedom. This incient, which the document says e agencies allowed to occur, d to the deaths of a judge, vo prison inmates and George ackson's younger brother, onathan, who led the kidnapng attempt.

The affidavit was filed by rank J. Cox, Chief Deputy ublic Defender of Marin Coun-, on behalf of David Johnon, one of six defendants harged with murder as a reult of the August, 1971, prison cident. Their trial began this eek.

Motion For Files

The affidavit supported a otion by Mr. Cox to obtain l the files on the 1971 escape ase and related matters, such s the 1970 courthouse indent, that various police gencies hold. He contends that ocuments held by the Criminal onspiracy Section of the Los ngeles Police Department, by e Criminal Intelligence and entification unit of the Calirnia Attorney General's offies; by the Federal Bureau of vestigation, the Central Intelgence Agency and the Nation-Security Agency will prove at there was a conspiracy involve Mr. Jackson in an mpossible escape attempt."

Mr. Cox contends that Mr. hnson, who is 28 years old, d nothing to do with this nspiracy and that the docments are essential to his fense. Mr. Johnson and the her defendants are charged ith five counts of murder, nspiracy to escape by force, nspiracy to possess firearms, d conspiracy to kidnap as ell as various counts of asult.

Mr. Cox's position is that what occurred before Aug. 21, 1971, is critical to the case and that he has not been able to obtain the necessary information through normal investigative channels. But Marin Superior Court Judge Henry Broderick denied his motion to obtain the files held by the agencies.

Filed under seal in Marin County Superior Court, the affidavit became public this week when Mr. Cox appealed Judge Broderick's denial first to the state Court of Appeal and then the California Supreme Court.

One of Mr. Cox's sources for the allegations in his affidavit is Louis E. Tackwood, who has said that as a double agent for the os Angeles Police Department he infiltrated militant groups. Mr. Tackwood described these activities in a book called "The Glass House Tapes."

Mr. Cox said that he had a statement from Mr. Tackwood that he was present in the criminal Conspiracy Section headquarters of the Los Angeles Police Department the day after the San Quentin incident, and that he was told by Officer Robert Sherritt "that the police had known for months of the breakout plan."

Edward Davis, Los Angeles police chief, said through a spokesman today that this contention is "baloney."

Mr. Cox said that he obtained other information from confidential sources "of human credibility" and from an official report on the case by a state cirminologist named Louis Maucieri.

The affidavit focuses on the activities of five persaons:

Melvin Smith, formerly an agent of the os Angeles Police Department Criminal Conspiracy Section who infiltrated the Black Panther party in os Angeles;

James E. Carr, a prison friend of Mr. Jackson and of Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther leader who was slain in April, 1972;

Robert Sherritt and Donald Mahoney, os Angeles Police Department officers, and

Steven M. Bingham, a radical lawyer who did legal work for Mr. Carr and who allegedly smuggled a gun to Mr. Jackson before the August, 1971, escape attempt.

Gun Smuggled In

A Marin County grand jury charged more than three years age that Mr. Bingham smuggled a gun to Mr. Jackson inside a tape recorder.

After Mr. Bingham left the prison visiting room, according to the authorities, Mr. Jackson returned to the maximum securiyt wing with the gun hidden in a wig. When he was stopped there bya suspicious guard, the authorities said, Mr. Jackson overpowered the guard and freed all the inmates in the cellblock. A short time later, after three guards and two inmate trusties had been killed, Mr. Jackson was himself killed while trying to escape across the prison yard, according to the authorities.

Mr. Cox's affidavit asserts that an inoperable gun and simple putty resembling plastic explosive were smuggled to Mr. Jackson. This occurred through a conspiracy of law enforcement officials, the affidavit says, after they learned of a possible escape attempt.

Mr. Cox asserts that in January, 1971, the police found on Mr. Carr a letter written by Mr. Jackson in which he referred to escape plans and the smuggling of a gun and explosives. The affidavit said that the police did not arrest Mr. Carr when they found the letter, but did arrest him a few months later on another matter and forced him to cooperate with the authorities by feigning participation in the plot to free Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Carr was shot to death in San Jose on April 6, 1972. In an autobiography based on tape recordings, which will be issued in May Dell Publishing Company, Mr. Carr expressed a feeling of great loss at hearing of Mr. Jackson's death.

Woman's Alleged Role

According to Mr. Cox's affidavit, the central incident in the law enforcement conspiracy was the arrival of a woman who identified herself as Vanita Anderson at the prison at the same time as Mr. Bingham on Aug. 21, 1971. That is verified by prison logs.

The affidavit says that when the woman was denied permission to see Mr. Jackson, she gave to Mr. Bingham, at a guard's suggestion, the tape recorder that he took in to the prisoner.

Mr. Cox said the officials knew that the woman was not Vanita Anderson, and that this woman or Mr. Bingham "could be tricked into making available to Jackson" the "dummy weapons."

Miss Anderson, who reportedly lives in Houston, has never been indicted in connection with the case or subpoenaed to testify before the grand jury.

Mr. Bingham disappeared on Aug. 21, 1971. He was located in Canada last summer and was interviewed by a New York Times reporter there, but would not affirm or deny allegation about the San Quentin incident.

When asked out the allegations in the affidavit a spokesman at the California Department of Corrections said, "We have no knowledge of anything like that." A spokesman at the California Attorney General's office said the assertions in the affidavit were "absurd."

Mr. Cox's affidavit says that he wants C.I.A. records because he "has information that the C.I.A. was investigating the suspected smuggling of explosives, arms and money to the Black Panther party" by the People's Republic of China. Mr. Jackson was the head of the San Quentin chapter of the Panthers at the time of his death. No one at the C.I.A. was immediately available for comment on this charge.

COX, FRANK J.

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WASHINGTONIAN
FEBRUARY 1975

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25X1

JAMES ANGLETON: The Spy Forced in from the Cold

One summer evening several years ago, five men stood casting for trout in a secluded Midwestern river. Four were Americans; all practiced anglers. The fifth was a Russian, obviously an amateur. His line kept snagging on boughs, yet he enjoyed himself hugely, standing rubber-booted in the swirling water and nipping vodka from a flask.

The host was James Angleton, who recently resigned after 31 years as chief of counter-espionage for the Central Intelligence Agency. The Russian was a high official of the KGB (Soviet secret service), who had defected to the US. The others were CIA.

In such tranquil spots Angleton, a keen student of human psychology, often has reaped his richest rewards. Defectors are fearful of pursuit and assassination, torn by conflicting loyalties. Angleton, a soft-spoken yet firm man, spends months helping them unwind, winning their confidence—and eventually extracting valuable information. It was through defectors that he uncovered such top-grade British KGB spies as Kim Philby and George Blake.

"Jim's forte is patience," said a veteran colleague. "I've seen him in a river at dusk, the rain coming down, casting slowly hour after hour, trying different flies until the trout strikes. He outwits and outwaits them—as he does with spies."

A few weeks ago Angleton and his three top deputies—representing among them 120 years of combined counter-espionage experience—were forced out following *New York Times* charges that the CIA had staged "massive" and "illegal" intelligence operations against American anti-war dissidents during the early Nixon years. More than 10,000 files on Americans were compiled, the paper claimed. Angleton's counter-espionage branch was singled out as the culprit.

Angleton has steadfastly denied that his relatively small staff had any reason—let alone the manpower—for the time-consuming, onerous task of running surveillance on Americans inside the US. Under the law, he has told friends, only the FBI has the authority and the resources for such work. "He could have cared less about the kids protesting the Vietnam war," one CIA watcher said.

However the CIA, in accordance with its statutory responsibilities, did keep an eye abroad on dissident groups, such as the Black Panthers, who were tracked from Algiers to Moscow to North Korea, where they took demolitions training before filtering back into the US and going underground. Such Americans were reported to the FBI, Angleton has insisted.

As to the charge of compiling 10,000 files, CIA colleagues have pointed out that the agency has automatic access to all FBI files—more than 100 million—and would have voluminous files on all Americans who have ever had contacts abroad with enemy or friendly intelligence services.

The identification of Angleton's unit in the original *New York Times* story of December 22 had the earmarks of authoritative guidance from highly placed sources within the CIA. Since then, however, the *Times* appears to have shifted the focus of its charges to another CIA unit—the Domestic Operations Division—with which Angleton and the counter-espionage staff have no connection.

There are grounds for believing that Angleton's dismissal caps 18 months of growing tension between him and new CIA director William E. Colby. Colby's CIA career has been spent primarily in covert labor activities and in the Far East. He has told his staff that he must devote 95 percent of his time to briefing the White House, Congress, and the news media. He is said to have little time for or interest in the complexities of counter-espionage.

Congress, in creating the CIA in 1947, specifically barred it from "police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers or internal-security functions." These were reserved for the FBI. But at the same time, with characteristic imprecision, Congress ordered the CIA to "protect" intelligence sources and [illegible] National Security Council's request additional services of "common concern" and "such other functions and duties" as the NSC might require. The gray areas here are obvious.

Since spies and other subversives are travelling increasingly in and out of the US, the system works only when CIA-FBI liaison is good. For 20 years Angleton worked closely with his friend Sam Papich, the FBI liaison officer. But in 1969 the late J. Edgar Hoover, incensed that President Lyndon B. Johnson had failed to defend him from charges by Senator Edward V. Long of Missouri that the FBI was tapping his phone, preemptorily ended virtually all FBI liaison—not only with the CIA but with all other US intelligence agencies.

"It was a disgrace," said a knowledgeable intelligence source. "Nixon found out about it on taking office but he didn't dare tangle with Hoover, who was popular in the country and on the Hill. Besides, Nixon was more uptight about anti-war militants and rioters in the cities than about foreign spies."

Angleton, the eye of the current storm, is a most unlikely spy-catcher. Six feet tall, stooped, his thick, grizzled hair parted almost in the middle, he gazes out through his bifocals with the courtly, faintly quizzical charm of a New England professor. He dresses conservatively. His voice is quiet, meticulous, but assumes a faint rasp when he's angry.

His character is one of sharp contrasts. Children and animals seem to instinctively love him, but by profession he had to be suspicious of the adult world around him. He was obsessed with the KGB and with preventing any penetration of the CIA by a "mole"—the spy who works his way into an intelligence agency, as described so vividly by John le Carré in the best-selling novel, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*.

He has lunch nearly every day at La Niçoise in Georgetown, preferring fish, particularly fresh flounder, accompanied by a bottle of French wine. Once as a practical joke, someone at the restaurant put a microphone in the flowers on his table. Angleton almost immediately noticed it, looked at his companion with a finger to his lips, and removed the vase.

For years he has moved in an aura of discreet mystery, an enigmatic character even to his CIA colleagues, though his staff swear by him. His wife Cecilie, grown son, and two daughters long have been accustomed to his frequent, unexplained absences. He claims that for years they thought he worked "somewhere high in the Post Office."

As befits one in his curious trade he often works when others sleep. Not infrequently he will drop in on a friend at ten at night, sitting until two AM, chain-smoking, sipping bourbon and water, now and then rubbing a hand over his forehead and eyes, chatting tirelessly, his mind fully alert. He is discretion personified, turning away awkward questions with an elliptical answer. Even at two AM he sometimes will phone an intelligence contact and, in murmured tones, announce his impending arrival.

For weeks he will disappear, then arrive at the home of friends, bearing a magnificent cattleya orchid raised in his own greenhouse in suburban Virginia, or a bit of semi-precious stone he has been polishing, or an intricate trout fly he has made.

Now 57, Angleton got into the spy-catching business by accident. His father, a wealthy executive who ran National Cash Register operations in Italy, joined the OSS during World War II and recommended his son. Young Angleton, with a Yale degree and two years at the Harvard Business School, had just enlisted. He was interviewed, recruited, and after special counter-espionage training in England was sent to Italy in 1943, where he rose to the rank of major in charge of counter-espionage.

It was in Italy after the war that he first met the Jewish underground leaders who then were helping fellow Jews escape Europe for British-ruled Palestine. Their friendship flourished. For the past 20 years Angleton has been the CIA official with whom successive Israeli leaders have preferred to deal. Given the current Middle East situation, these contacts have given him immense responsibility—and also have caused jealousies within the US government. Some observers feel Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and CIA Director Colby have decided to gather liaison with Israeli intelligence into their own hands.

Angleton's critics accuse him of having built a virtually unassailable empire-within-an-empire. There is some truth to this. As steward of the nation's innermost secrets—even the White House tends to leave counter-espionage to career professionals—Angleton has had great authority with all US security agencies. Another charge often [illegible] hostility to the Communist world, a man who sees spies under every bed.

He makes no secret in his quiet, professional way that he regards *détente* as a risky gamble and the Sino-Soviet split of 1960 as a

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE
2 SEP 1971

P-Wiedrich, Bob
Skolnick, Sherman
Hanrahan, Edward V.
Org: Black Panthers

Tower Ticker

by Bob Wiedrich

The Local Scene: Self-styled legal researcher Sherman Skolnick is using the phone to record messages for public consumption that border on the irrational. Labeling this latest gimmick Hot Line News, Skolnick delivers charges under the cloak of chairman of a Citizens Committee to Clean Up The Courts. A few days ago, he alleged that police Sgt. Daniel Groth, leader of State's Atty. Edward V. Hanrahan's ill-starred Black Panther raid, was in reality a CIA agent, a piece of news that came as somewhat of a shock to the beleaguered Groth.

Then yesterday, Skolnick recorded a tirade against Judge Philip Romiti of Criminal Court, charging that he wouldn't trust Romiti with "a second hand post card." Romiti, as you know, has been assigned to hear charges that Hanrahan, Groth, and 12 other law enforcement men conspired to obstruct justice in the aftermath of the raid. With all the hue and cry about prejudicial pre-trial publicity that usually attends such controversial cases, perhaps someone in authority should move to plug the shotgun Skolnick uses to level his wild charges.

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ENCOUNTER
MAY 1970
Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100590001-2

P-Feaver, George
P-Epstein, Edward Jay
Garry, Charles
Org 1 Black Panthers
Orig. under Feaver

George Feaver

The Panther's Road to Suicide

A Black Tragedy

Black spirits and white,
Red spirits and grey,
Mingle, mingle, mingle,
You that mingle may.

STAGE DIRECTION
DAVENANT'S VERSION (1655) OF Macbeth.

I FIRST CAME FACE TO FACE with Black Power when I bumped into Stokely Carmichael in the lobby of the Regency Hyatt House in Atlanta, Georgia, on the day of Martin Luther King's funeral. It was 9 April, 1968.

At that time of year, Atlantans normally indulge their civic pride in a regionally famous Dogwood Festival, when residents of Buckhead, Sandy Springs, and Druid Hills show off their carefully pressed lawns, resplendent with late spring flowers, azalea bushes and Atlanta's inimitable dogwood trees, to motorists who come from miles around to cruise the hilly, hardwood-lined streets of the northern suburbs, following markers that route them past the choicest homes. But this April, the assassin's bullet which violently cut Dr King down as he stood on the balcony of his motel in Memphis had taken the spirit out of the annual Springtime ritual. As we drove into town from the airport, racing along Interstate 85 past the magnificent new sports stadium and the tall buildings of the burgeoning business district, the city was stilled. Streets which would later be crowded with thousands of mourners were deserted as we turned off the Thruway, and into Peachtree Street.

IN the last year or two, British publishers have gone out of their way to see to it that our book-shelves bulge with Black Power literature. We have had everything from the required texts of Cleaver and Seale to "Die Nigger Die!", "Picking up the Gun", and "Look Out, Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama!" Alas, there is scarcely a balanced or objective or critical study among them. We have accordingly asked Professor George Feaver, a young Canadian scholar who is now living in London, to try and draw up a balance sheet of all these pamphlets and manifestos. Professor Feaver has contributed the study of Black Power to the volume which Maurice Cranston has edited on "The New Left" (Bodley Head, London, and the Library Press, New York); he usually teaches political science at Emory University in the U.S.A.

Atlanta's main thoroughfare is several worlds removed from the description of it given by Margaret Mitchell in *Gone With the Wind*. Nowadays, rapidly proliferating office blocks anchor the southern end of Peachtree Street, and at the northern extremity of its downtown stretch, a wind-swept urban canyon has been created by the flanking white towers of the Peachtree Center, which are joined together above the dusty, mid-city pavements by a narrow pedestrian walkway. The Regency Hyatt House, across the road from the Merchandise Mart, is the most striking unit of the Center. It is a Gardens-of-Balthazar hotel, a huge, hollowed-out square space the four sides of which, soaring twenty-five storeys skyward, make up the rooms. Long vines hang from flower-boxes suspended from interior balconies, and translucent elevators, shaped like amusement park rocketships and affixed to the outside of a single, massive concrete cylinder, climb upwards to the plastic-domed roof, stopping at intervals for the separate floors. Then, they continue on through an opening in the roof, bursting out upon a breathtaking panorama of the city below, before terminating at a revolving lounge which is visible for miles as a blue flying saucer seeming to hover on thin air above the hotel.

The lobby of the Regency Hyatt was packed tight as I entered. Newsmen and camera crews, young activists and civil rights leaders, the famous faces of black entertainers and athletes, politicians, professors and clerics, some doubtless there because they had to be, and others whose saddened features suggested (as I overheard one visibly moved Negro say) they had come because they wanted to walk the last stretch with Dr King. Most jostled together aimlessly, putting in time until the start of the funeral march; others in small groups engaged in subdued conversation. I made my way to the registration desk, catching snatches of small talk as I went: "You'd better believe all hell's gonna break loose in the cities. . . ." Coretta and the children. Mayor Allen's cool. Freedom Now. "Did you hear old Lester's handed up down at the Capitol with the state troopers?" "Can't you get a drink anywhere in this town today?"

continued

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P-Epstein, Edward Jay
Garry, Charles
Org: Black Panthers

PORTLAND, ORE.
OREGON JOURNAL

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MAR 11 1971

Rhetoric No Substitute For Facts

A good many misfortunes have befallen the Black Panther party of late, including internal dissension and a failure to win the confidence of black people.

The latest misfortune was the exposure on national television of Charles Garry, chief counsel for the Panthers whose widely quoted misstatement about an alleged FBI-police conspiracy against the Panthers had at one time gained them considerable sympathy from white liberals.

Garry was a guest of David Frost, along with writer Edward Jay Epstein, whose critical examination of Garry's charges was the subject of an article in New Yorker magazine.

The essence of Garry's indictment was that 28 Panthers had been "murdered" by the police as part of a national plot engineered by the FBI, with the CIA tossed in for good measure.

Epstein found that only 19 Panthers had died violently and that only 10 of the deaths involved police action. In the case of only two had the police initiated the action. One of the Panthers had been shot by his wife, when he was beating her, and another by a grocer, to thwart a robbery.

As devasting as the exposure of Garry's fabrication was his obvious unconcern for facts and his attempt to cover with unconvincing rhetoric.

Epstein, as attested by Frost, has a background of great concern for black people, and part of his whole case in the uneven "debate" was his belief that blacks need better friends than Garry, including people who at least have respect for facts and truth.

Most blacks long ago discovered that the violence and the rhetoric of the Panthers are not the way for them.

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CHICAGO DEFENDER
6 DEC 1970

Orig: Jerry
Orig: Black Panther
Cleaver, Eldridge
Orig. LeBlanc

Waiting for Huey

If you want to see Black Panther leader Huey Newton, you'll have to clear it with Panther headquarters. Just go thru that gate there, past the big dogs and reinforced doors, step around the sandbags and wait near the sign that says, "Death to the Fascist Pigs."

By Jerry LeBlanc

ONE NIGHT in October, 1967, police stopped a car being driven by Huey Newton. Shots were fired and two policemen fell, one dying and one wounded. Newton, who fled from the scene with a bullet in his stomach, was placed on trial and convicted in what seemed to be an open-and-shut case—murder.

When crowds picketed and chanted, "Free Huey Newton," it seemed insane that even his own supporters could believe him innocent of the crime. On what possible grounds should he go free? Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael expressed the view: "Brother Huey may or may not have wiped out that honkie, but at least it shows a progression. At least we're not getting executed for what we say; we're getting executed for what we do!"

But then last summer the California Supreme Court reversed the guilty verdict, and Newton went free on $50,000 bail.

Newton recently recalled a trip to the East. "I was in Brooklyn a couple of weeks ago—they don't stop me from going anywhere—and when I walked by these buildings, to me it looked like the blitz, or Hiroshima. The fronts were crumbled out, and you could look in and see people trying to live in this rubble. I saw kids with sores all over them and you know that if their parents don't get them off the streets after dark, the rats will get them. When I see this kind of housing, and the malnutrition of children, amid all the affluence of middle-class America, that's why I consider the actions of the ruling class and their agents, the police, as an aggression against the people. A man has a right, obligation and duty to do everything in his power to defend himself against aggression of that sort."

It is not advisable for whites to stand outside Panther headquarters trying to take photos.

Does that mean the opening shots have already been fired in the People's War? He bared his teeth again and there was a glint in his eye. He shook his head and pointed. "Thou sayest it."

To get to see Huey Newton was as difficult as getting to visit Castro in his mountain hideaway during the days when Batista still ruled Cuba. It involved negotiations on the local level, thru the Black Panther headquarters in Oakland, and thru lawyers in New York City. Once the arrangements are clearly understood, you can take the first step by visiting Panther national headquarters in Oakland.

In the ghetto around headquarters, knots of men clustered in front of the rundown liquor stores with cans of beer in their hands or pints of wine in their pockets. They sat in sagging automobiles at curbside or congregated on porches, stairways and at the entrances to dilapidated residences. The headquarters had been a private home before the Panther takeover. A proud wood sign out front designated the headquarters, and there [illegible] of being mistaken for policemen—a word the Panthers never use—could enter the front gate with the assurance that the windows and wouldn't be harmed. Whites do not enter unless escorted, announced or well-known and welcome. It is not a good idea for whites to take pictures of the outside, not even from the public sidewalks, or to exhibit any undue interest in the place.

On entering, one sees why. In anticipation of attack, the Panthers were in a constant state of alert. A communication hookup linked the outside to the inside and the door was not opened until the person was identified and the nature of business established. Behind the double-door entrance there was a second, sliding door of well-braced two-by-fours, with steel-bracketed bolts running across at bottom, top and center. Sandbags were stacked nearby. The need for such fortification has been demonstrated in numerous little wars, or raids, at Black Panther centers in many cities, among them Los Angeles, New Orleans, Portland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Toledo.

At the desk in the main office, an attractive "sister," Sharon Williams, busied herself at the telephone, calling number after number on a list. Her conversation was animated and good-humored. "Right on," she said again and again. "Power to the people."

The bulletin board and stacks of [illegible] cause after cause. Free breakfast for school children. Educational meetings. Free the Soledad brothers. Information.

continued

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3

WASHINGTON POST 10 NOV 1970

P-Anderson, Jack
Newton, Huey
Orgl Black Panthers

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Army Spy-Proofs Office of Top Medic

By Jack Anderson

In the struggle for status on the Potomac, it's the little things that count.

The clues to a general's importance, for instance, can be found in his office. Is it large enough, say, for a battalion to pass in review? Does it contain a kingsize desk? A flag stand? A sofa suitable for taking naps? How deep do you sink in the rug? Is there a trim of woodwork around the walls? Enter a Pentagon office with this executive paneling, and you are dealing with a man of consequence.

But the most prized status symbol is a spy-proof conference room. Any general worth his stars likes to feel his conversations are so momentous that the Kremlin would stop at nothing to eavesdrop.

The latest to demand a "security room" of his own is Lt. Gen. Hal Jennings, the Army Surgeon General. Of course, he deals with medical, not security matters. Still, he feels he is as entitled as the next three-star general to protect his conferences from Soviet snooping.

The Army obligingly is preparing to spend $12,000 to spy-proof his medical conference room. General Jennings will now be able to discuss the menace of the tsetse fly with new assurance that the Kremlin won't be able to overhear him.

The requirements of national security would seem to be satisfied, however, by soundproofing the walls and perhaps installing an alarm system. But this, apparently, would be too simple for a man of Jennings' standing.

He not only had ordered major electrical work, but he wants new film equipment and display boards brought in. Adequate air conditioning, of course, will have to be re-installed. After the $12,000 has been spent, Jennings should have just as plush a "security room" as any general on his floor.

Footnote: After this column began checking on the project, a spokesman called to say that the bidding was being reviewed and the plans might be altered to cut below the $12,000 figure.

Black Panthers

The Black Panthers have offered to send "troops" to Vietnam to help the Viet Cong gun down American boys.

The Central Intelligence Agency has picked up a letter that Huey Newton, founder of the Black Panthers, sent to the Viet Cong. This column has seen a copy.

"In the spirit of international revolutionary solidarity," wrote Newton, "the Black Panther Party hereby offers . . . an undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against American imperialism.

"It is appropriate for the Black Panther Party to take this action at this time in recognition of the fact that your struggle is also our struggle, for we recognize that our common enemy is U.S. imperialism which is the leader of international bourgeois domination.

"There is no fascist or reactionary government in the world today that could stand without the support of U.S. imperialism. Therefore, our problem is international, and we offer these troops in recognition of the necessity for international alliance to deal with the problem.

"Such alliance will advance the struggle toward the final act of dealing with American imperialism."

POW Abuses

The International Red cross has confirmed our reports about brutality, torture and inhuman conditions in South Vietnam's prisoner of war camps. The Saigon authorities, it should be added, are trying to halt the abuses.

Secret reports from Red Cross inspectors in South Vietnam cite details similar to those we published last August. We told how prisoners were tortured at interrogation centers and abused in prison camps.

At Tam Ky prison, for example, we reported that 50 to 100 prisoners were herded into crowded rooms with nothing but concrete platforms to sleep on. Since there were too many people to lie down, most prisoners had to sit or stand all night.

"All the torturing," we alleged, "was done in the interrogation center across the street. There was the usual electrical shock, beatings, sticking with pins, burning with cigarettes and, at times, water torture."

We also quoted Dr. Marjorie Nelson, who treated tortured prisoners at Quank Ngai prison. She swore: "Prisoners told me of being tortured by electricity . . . of being forced to drink concoctons containing powered lime . . . of of being tied up and suspended by ropes often upside down from the rafters for hours . . In August of 1969, I examined a woman seven months pregnant, who had been beaten badly the previous week."

American public safety advisers, who worked with Vietnamese officials in these prisons, generally have sought to prevent abuses. But at least one former adviser, Jack L. Sanders, was himself "met with rejection and anger and told to either return to Vietnam or resign" when he tried to report prison conditions to the Office of Public Safety Administration in Washington.

The presence of American advisers in these camps gives the North Vietnamese an excuse to mistreat American prisoners in their custody.

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P-de Gramont, Sanche
Parke
CIA4-Brazil
Orgl Black Panthers
Cleaver, Eldridge
Orig-under
de Gramont

NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE
NOVEMBER 16, 1970

There is no U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Algeria but there is a chargé d'affaires. Then there is Eldridge Cleaver.

Our Other Man In Algiers

By SANCHE de GRAMONT

ALGIERS.

THE counselor of the Chinese Embassy, a short, square man named Wei Pao Chang with a thick mop of straight iron-gray hair, said he was sorry to arrive late at the reception. He had been to the airport to see off Algerian President Houari Boumediene, Mauretania-bound for a meeting with other African leaders. The reception was in a handsome villa with a garden in the hill suburb of El Biar. Two shining bronze plaques on the columns of the entrance gate showed a crouching panther and said: Black Panther Party—International Section.

The counselor of the Chinese Embassy briskly waved a fan the same color as his anthracite-gray Mao suit and made diplomatic small talk with the Black Panther ambassador to Algiers, Eldridge Cleaver, who towered above him. Cleaver and the half dozen other Panthers on hand wore a kind of uniform, too, short-sleeved blue shirts with shoulder straps and black slacks.

Wei Pao Chang said something in Chinese to his translator, who repeated it in French to Elaine Klein, an attractive American-born girl who works for the Algerian Ministry of Information, who put it from French into English for Cleaver, who gave his reply in English to Miss Klein, who put it in French for the Chinese translator, who gave Cleaver's reply in Chinese to Wei Pao Chang, who smiled.

SANCHE de GRAMONT lives in Tangier and frequently contributes to this Magazine. His novel, "Lives to Give," will be published next spring.

"We are glad you could come," Cleaver said.

Wei Pao Chang asked Cleaver about his recent trip to Asia with 11 members of antiwar groups from the United States. "How much time did you spend in Peking?" he asked.

"We do not wish to say," Cleaver replied, "because it might be written that we did not spend enough time to gain a correct impression, but we feel we did gain an impression."

"What did you see?"

"We saw the Red Guards, the university and a fantastic ballet performed by the women's section of the Red Guards."

"We are enemies to the death with the American government," said Wei Pao Chang, "because of its support of the puppet regime in Formosa, but we have great sympathy for the American people. We hope you will overcome the American monopolies."

"Right on," Cleaver said.

IN the United States, the Black Panthers are viewed in official quarters as a menace to society. They are harassed by police, and shot in battles with them. Many of their leaders are in jail or out on bail. Cleaver himself went into political exile in November, 1968, rather than go back to jail when his parole was lifted after he was involved in an alleged shootout with the Oakland, Calif., police.

But in Algiers, the Panthers are respected as one of approximately a dozen liberation movements accredited by the Algerian Government and provided with assistance and support in their task of overthrowing the governments in power in their respective countries. "This," as Cleaver pointed out when he announced the opening of his new headquarters in mid-September, "is the first time in the struggle of the black people in America that they have established representation abroad."

The reception, attended by members of African and Asian embassies and high-ranking Algerian officials, marked an abrupt change of status for Cleaver, who in his year and a half of Algerian exile had many occasions to feel neglected. He and his wife, Kathleen, were given a drab, unheated apartment in the tacky suburb of Pointe Pescade. Cleaver was warned not to attrac too much attention to himself.

Now, in their new quarters, Cleaver and his friends are the only Americans recognized by the Algerians, who broke off diplomatic relations with the United States several years ago. There is still a skeleton staff under a chargé d'affaires working out of what was once the American Embassy, but they now call themselves the American Affairs section of the Swiss Embassy. Last Thanksgiving, Cleaver attended a reception at the residence that houses the American Ambassador, when there is one, and said of the lovely Moorish villa: "Nice house you've got here. MY house." In a sense he was right.

Now that the Panthers have a house, they plan to maintain close contact with other liberation movements. They will provide a haven for American black exiles. They will organize the recruitment of black G.I.

Continued

"Black Panther ambassador to Algiers" is the way Cleaver, who went there after fleeing the U.S. in 1968, thinks of himself, and here he entertains the counselor of the Chinese Embassy, Wei Pao Chang (in Mao suit), at a reception opening the Panther headquarters. The woman at left is an Algerian Government official for the occasion. The photograph on wall is of Panther leader Huey Newton.

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THE NEW HAVEN REGISTER
22 AUG 1970

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Penders, Mark
Newton, Huey P.
CIA 4.03 Sams, George
Orgl Black Panthers

Newton Hints At 'Measures' If Panther Is Found Guilty

By MARK PENDERS
Register Staff Reporter

Huey P. Newton, co-founder of the Black Panther Party and currently its minister of defense, said Friday if justice is not done in the Lonnie McLucas trial, "the party will take appropriate measures."

McLucas, he declared flatly, is not guilty.

Elaborating on his statement, Newton asserted "We will not publicize our maneuvers, especially if the maneuvers happen to be military ones."

The 28-year-old revolutionist, who spoke in a moderate tone of voice no matter how impassioned his meaning, held a press conference early Friday afternoon in the offices of the New Haven Council of Churches at Church and Wall Streets.

Newton walked to the site after spending three hours in the courtroom where fellow Panther McLucas was on trial. Strolling on Church Street following the luncheon recess in the trial, he attracted a string of admirers and a covey of cameramen.

As Newton's party made its way down the street, Harold Mulvey, presiding judge in the McLucas trial, exited from a side-door in the County Courthouse and, barely avoiding the revolutionary entourage, crossed Church Street in the middle of the block to go to his lunch at the Quinnipiack Club.

Admired Kidnaping

Newton expressed admiration Friday for the three black men who were slain by California authorities recently after engineering an escape from a courthouse in Marin County, California.

A judge of the California Superior Court, presiding over the trial of one of the three, was used as a hostage and was killed by a shotgun blast in the head from his captors.

In regard to the incident, Newton said, "Think of it, take note of it -- and draw your own conclusions."

He asserted injustice done to the convicts caused the breakout and said this fact should be remembered "when I'm indicted for promoting that."

Newton said the Marin kidnappers "took revolutionary gestures into their own hands" and their deaths should be considered as the "enemy raising its hand against the best that mankind has produced."

Newton also cited doubts expressed by Yale President Kingman Brewster Jr., whom he first referred to as "Brewer", as to the possibility of any black revolutionary receiving a fair trial. "I doubt if any white revolutionary can receive a fair trial in America," he added.

Commenting on his observation on the McLucas trial, Newton declared "The judge seems to be leaning toward the prosecutor . . . he goes along with the district attorney."

'Close Relationship'

He called the relationship between prosecutor Arnold Markle and Judge Mulvey, "a very close one."

Newton charged the relationship was similar to one in the Marin County trial.

He said more incidents of the Marin County type could be expected if justice is not given to "political prisoners" such as the Panther defendants in the Rackley murder case.

The Marin County prisoners, Newton declared, "saw injustice there and did something about it." He noted he was pleased that the man who brought the guns into the courtroom was only 17-years-old.

In reference to the murder of party member Alex Rackley, Newton accused George Sams of being "the guilty party." He termed Sams "a jackal" and "a C.I.A. agent."

The Black Panther Party could stand criticism in the Rackley murder, he added, for failing to oust Sams. He claimed the party has adopted a tougher line of self-criticism and could now "guarantee it won't happen again."

Newton has spent most of the last two-and-a-half years in a California prison. He was convicted in September 1968 of voluntary manslaughter of an Oakland police officer.

He was released from prison this month to await a second trial after his original conviction was overturned.

Also at the press conference Friday, Elbert "Big Man" Howard, managing editor of the Black Panther newspaper, read the official party position on the Alex Rackley murder.

According to the statement, "The position that the Black Panther Party takes is that the pigs murdered Alex Rackley. It must be understood that the murder of Alex Rackley and the frame-up of Bobby Seale and the entire Connecticut State Chapter of the Black Panther Party as well as Landon Williams and Rory Hithe is a very carefully constructed plot put into action by the F.B.I, C.I.A. and various Justice Department task forces. George Sams and the pigs are responsible for the murder of Alex Rackley . . .

"Sams, and Sams alone, gave the orders to shoot Alex Rackley. Sams terrorized almost everyone in the New Haven Chapter. This fact has been made very clear through the testimony of even the state's witnesses. Most of the members of the New Haven Chapter were young and impressionable so they believed George Sams was correct in the things he did and said because he constantly stated that he was sent out by National Headquarters."

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THE NEW HAVEN REGISTER
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P-Formisano, Damian
Seale, Bobby
Black Panthers
Orig. under Formisano

Testimony Ends In McLucas Case; Final Arguments Are Due Tuesday

By DAMIAN FORMISANO
Register Staff Reporter

The prosecution and defense announced Friday they had no further witnesses in the trial of Black Panther Lonnie McLucas and Judge Harold M. Mulvey adjourned court until Tuesday morning when final arguments will begin.

The end of testimony came after the defense's final witness, Panther National Chairman Bobby Seale, finished his testimony, claiming he participated in no conversations that led to the death of Panther Alex Rackley.

He admitted having met with New Haven Panthers here on May 19, 1969, but denied that he ever met with Panther George Sams here on that date, confirmed Sams' authority to "deal with" suspected traitor Rackley, or ordered Rackley's death.

Sams, an admitted murderer facing a life-term for the Rackley killing, has testified that Seale ordered Rackley's death and that McLucas and Panther Warren Kimbro carried out the execution after helping to torture Rackley into confessing about disloyal New York City Panthers.

The jury of nine whites and three blacks, which has heard testimony since July 14, was told by Judge Mulvey that Tuesday would consist entirely of arguments by opposing counsel and Wednesday would bring his instructions.

He told the jurors they would begin deliberations immediately following his instructions and would not be allowed to return home during this process. If the deliberations continue later than Wednesday afternoon, the panel would have to be sequestered in a local hotel overnight, he said.

The often contradictory testimony in the trial, in which McLucas is charged with kidnaping resulting in death, conspiracy and binding in Rackley's torture-murder, was capped Friday by Seale's surprise testimony.

Disregards Attorney

Brought from his Montville jail cell, where he has been held since last March under indictment for capital crimes in the Rackley case, the 33-year-old Seale testified against the advice of his attorney, Charles R. Garry.

Looking thin in a double-breasted blue sweater and dark slacks, Seale took the stand after holding a meeting in a courthouse chamber with his top aides, Party co-founder Huey P. Newton, Chief of Staff David Hilliard, and Garry.

The presence of the two Panthers was approved by Judge Mulvey although Seale, technically in the custody of the State Department of Corrections even when he is in court, was not at that time supposed to have visits from his friends.

Newton is free on bond in connection with the shooting death of an Oakland, Calif., policeman, and Hilliard faces multiple charges, including threatening the life of the President. Both were present among the gallery, deliberately made up for the occasion of all blacks, as Seale testified under direct examination. There was no trouble in or out of the Superior Courtroom during the session.

After Garry finished warning him not to testify, noting that he faced serious charges, Seale said that he wanted to "bring out the truth."

Responding to the questions of McLucas' counsel, Theodore I. Koskoff, who subpoenaed him to testify, Seale began a long rambling speech, describing himself as the party's "theoretician" as well as its national chairman.

Goals

In a low voice, which he said he is forced to speak in since he was "choked" by a guard in San Francisco County Jail, he related the goals of the party's programs, including the free breakfast and free health care activities. He described the party's goal of bringing about a society in which there is "ultimately creativity and productiveness." He went on in this way until State's Atty. Arnold Markle objected and was sustained by the judge.

He said that he met George Sams only once, and that was on the West Coast in April, 1968. Sams, he said, was known to him as "Crazy George" and had been thrown out of the party for having stabbed a brother Panther in the leg.

Later, the chairman continued, Sams was re-instated at the supplication of Stokely Carmichael, to whom Sams was a "running mate." He never met Sams after that, he said, and considered Sams to be a "nonfunctionary" Panther, or a bad Panther.

Seale said that he came to New Haven on May 19, 1969 to give a speech at Yale. Prior to the speech he stayed at Panther co-defendant Ericka Huggins' house and there met with several Panthers, possibly even McLucas, he stated, whom he had met on the West Coast sometime earlier.

It was at this meeting, according to a statement of McLucas, that mention was made that the local Panthers were holding and interrogating a suspected disloyal Panther at their headquarters here.

Seale was reported by McLucas to have answered that "George Sams will deal with him because I don't have time for nothing like that."

The chairman denied on the stand Friday that he ever heard mention of a Panther being interrogated or said anything concerning him. He said the first time he heard of Rackley was after the New Haven Panther arrests.

"If there had been talk of someone being tortured by the Panthers, what would you have done?" Koskoff asked.

'Against Party Policy'

"I would have raised the devil," Seale replied. "It's totally against party policy. It's our policy that we can't treat people in the party like that."

He said that the party's policy against infiltrators is to have them kicked out of the organization and to have their pictures published in the Panther newspaper.

"Is it party policy to kill infiltrators?" Koskoff asked.

"No, sir," he replied. "That's the policy of the C.I.A. assassins."

Koskoff then brought him to the time following his evening speech at Yale when Seale was reported by Sams to have gone to Black Panther headquarters and, at the bedroom where Rackley lay, given the orders to kill Rackley with the words "Off the pig."

Seale admitted that he did go to the headquarters, twice, in fact, the first time remaining outside, the second time the following morning when he had to make a phone call. On the second occasion, he insisted, he did not go upstairs to the bedroom where Rackley lay tied up nor was he aware that Rackley was even there.

He said in response to Koskoff's question concerning the meaning of the phrase that "Off the pig" is a "symbolical expression" meaning not "kill the police" but to rid the community of the "power structure" so that "the people" could be free to develop their own identities.

Koskoff, noting that Seale's book "Seize the Time" contains a similar definition of the phrase, tried to introduce the book into evidence but the book was rejected as self-serving evidence by the judge who noted that parts of the work were copywrited after Seale's arrest.

Seale concluded his direct examination by saying that on the early morning of May 20, 1969, he left New Haven to fly back to the West Coast.

Markle then began vigorous cross-examination, in which, among other things, he got Seale to admit that if Panther Landon Williams, who was

continued

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p- MacDonald, Sam
Black Panthers
Miranda, Douglas Orig.

FITTSTOWN, CONN.
PRESS

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Black Panther Problems Are Detailed by Leader

By SAM MACDONALD

Wearing a red teeshirt with the words "Revolutionary Student" inscribed underneath an image of a black guerilla waving a carbine in a victory salute, New Haven Black Panther Lieutenant of Information Douglas Miranda spoke last night to an audience of students and faculty members at Wesleyan about the problems facing the party. Many members are on trial in various parts of the country.

Miranda, who was invited to speak at Wesleyan by a group of students from the left wing organization Union for Progressive Action, spoke for three quarters of an hour on what the party had achieved among the black and white communities locally and in the nation. He fended off questions from the audience, which ranged from why some of the Panther party had made confessions to whether he felt that the party was being deliberately crushed by federal agencies such as the FBI and the CIA.

New Haven Trial

Miranda, who claimed to be well informed on the problems of those facing immediate trial in the New Haven Superior Court in connection with alledged torture and murder of Panther member Alex Wrackley, painted a bleak picture of how the defendants were being served by a "fascist justice system".

The New Haven Panther member spoke mainly about what the defendants had been subjected too. This was the starting point for the discussion which had been arranged both to inform people of the state of the trial and also to collect donations for the defense.

The trial was looked at by Panther members as being almost irrelevant since it had become obvious to them that they would be denied their rights from the very start. The trial was seen as a ritual with an inevitable ending and though it was supposed part of the struggle of the party, Miranda believed that by the end of the trial the party would have much greater support both in white community as well as among the blacks.

Isolated Prisioners

As evidence of how defendants were being denied their rights by the government Miranda spoke of the deliberate isolation of the accused in prisons all over the state which effectively prevented the defense counsels from being able to prepare their case. In addition, all of the Panther members held in jail had been subjected to many months of solitary confinement which, he claimed, had been successful in getting some them to break down.

"This is just part of the normal physical and psychological pressure used to break defendants," Miranda said

Two particular confessions had been extracted by these tactics. The first Miranda mentioned was that of Panther Sister Jean Wilson, who was "busted" by police just two weeks after she joined the party.

"She cracked up under the intensive pressure put on her through weeks of solitary confinement and told them a lot of things quite unconnected with the trial," Miranda said.

Other Confession

The other confession was that of Warren Kimbro. His confession came after intensive police investigation which was conducted "illegally" when raids were systematically made on Panther Headquarters all over the nation he said. Police and federal agents defended the raids on the grounds they were looking for fugitive members of the party, George Sams.

Sams, Miranda said was nothing short of an informer for the federal agents. He was described simply as a "pig." He had at one time been a bodyguard for Stokely Carmichael who had abandoned the black revolutionary movement for the splendor of working for Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana "where he had blown his mind and abandoned the cause."

Sams' confession had led to the arrest of Panther leader Bobby Seale and the later arrest of Kimbro. Final pressure on Kimbro was induced by federal agents bringing his family and his brother William Kimbro from Day County Florida where he is a detective. All this was done without the permission of the defense counsel and when counsel met with Kimbro some days later he told them that he had made a confession and had waived the right of counsel to be present at any interviews.

All Surprised

"We were all surprised, none of us knew why he cracked up, perhaps it was because of the seven and a half months in solitary confinement or maybe just because he didn't want to go to the gas chamber," Miranda said.

Miranda cited other objections to what the defendants were facing in the current trial. One, he claimed, was the persistent refusal of Judge Aaron J. Palmer to listen to defense counsel evidence which was repeatedly received by an objection from the prosecution.

"Without even pausing, the judge will just say sustained," Miranda said.

In addition to that there was concern about the members of the jury. The Panther's defense counsel were anxious to find a jury that represented a "peer group", and this was impossible since the people who filled the jury lists were only those who could afford the time.

"In New York, would you believe it, the jury lists include only the type of people who receive $50,000 a year," Miranda said.

What about the party, the audience wanted to know? How much had they been able to do with the leadership tied up in court trials? How had the local community reacted to the trials and accusations against the Panther members?

Morale Low

Morale was very low in August last year when the Bobby Seal was arrected and a number of Panther party headquarters were broken into by police and federal agents, Miranda explained.

"The black community at that time was really turned off", he said.

"We had a terrific struggle trying to get the facts across to tell the community just where the Fascist newspapers were getting their information from," he said.

Locally Miranda pointed the finger at the New Haven Register which he said had worked very closely in connection with the New Haven police force and had done a good deal of damage to the party's efforts in the city.

Things had improved with the People's Day March which was attended by more than 5,000 people in New Haven who had come from all over the East Coast, not just the community, he claimed.

Despite harassment by police, the New Haven Panther party had managed to keep going. A number of programs and the party was receiving a lot of help in the state and from Yale Law students who were helping to dig up old precedents for the defense counsel, he said.

Nationally, the party had recovered a great deal and it was clear that despite all the pressure the party "could not be wiped out." We intend to go on working and organizing the black community. Right now we are in the vanguard stage. For black people this is the equivalent of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the workers' struggle. This stage will be followed by a period of intensive education.

"Was there any plan? When would the next stage come?" asked one student.

No Blue Print

Miranda smiled, paused for a moment and then said that the party did not have any blueprint. "No one was in any position to be able to say by this time we will be here and then in a few months we will be able to do this. For the moment the vanguard stage was crucial to give black people an example to follow," he said.

"Look at what happened in Los Angeles." Miranda indicated. "Panthers held off more than 300 pigs for seven hours. Now, that's really something for black people. When they hear that man, they get to thinking to themselves, well what could the whole black community in New Haven do together. If 11 niggers in LA can do that just imagine what we could do here."

Miranda, asked to look to the future with a forecast for the party, said that he felt that by the end of the trial there might be a move to really go for the Panthers to try and crush them completely.

"We hope that by then we will have all the cities organized to resist this, and just might be in a position to pull off a general strike," he proposed.

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DAILY WORLD
7 FEB 1970

Soc. 4.01.3 CBS
Org. Black Panthers

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Will reporters let the Feds use them as spies?

NEW YORK, (LNS)—On January 26, two men identifying themselves as "being from the government," dropped a subpoena off at the Columbia Broadcasting Company. The FBI and the Secret Service wanted to get their hands on all the tapes, memos, notes, letters and telephone calls that CBS has concerning the Black Panther Party from mid-1968 to the present, as well as the unedited tapes—outtakes—of interviews with Panther leaders David Hilliard and Eldridge Cleaver.

CBS declared their "total opposition to subpoenaes so broad in scope." The New York Times gave the story front-page play.

On Jan. 27, CBS announced that it would turn over the material to the FBI. The Times moved the story to page 87. CBS News closed its well-known eye and shut its mouth.

Soon afterwards, the Justice Department subpoenaed Newsweek, Time and Life magazines' unedited files on the Weatherman faction of Students for Democratic Society (SDS). Then a California federal grand jury indicted a New York Times reporter from the Times San Francisco bureau and ordered him to testify about the Panthers.

As a leaflet distributed by New York media workers (including CBS employees, who picketed the "Black Rock," CBS's slab-like national headquarters building) put it, "Employees of CBS and other media corporations can no longer ignore the fact that their executives are turning them into police agents."

In the face of such developments as the nation-wide campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party—by outright murder, by mass arrests for conspiracy, by midnight machine gun-toting raids, by constant police harassments, reporters from the straight press can no longer feel free to try to relate "fairly" to the Panthers.

The recent rash of subpoenas compromises some newsmen's sense of "professionalism," the traditional inviolability of the Source. Thus the media world has been thrown into turmoil over the subpoena issue.

On the one hand, the "professional integrity" of a high placed news executive tells them not to give in to government pressure. On the other hand, those reporters and executives like CBS' Richard S. Salant (who made the corporation's first strong anti-subpoena statement and then ended up turning the information over) are not at all ready to oppose the government in any real way.

Other reporters, who plan to refuse to cooperate with the Government, see the subpoenas as part of a growing repression of militant people's movements.

In Chicago, where all four newspapers and several television stations have been approached with demands for information on both the Panthers and Weatherman, a group of establishment reporters are getting together a defense fund to help out people who refuse to answer their subpoenas.

Won't talk to Feds

One man who will not talk to the government or give over his notes is a black reporter from one of the national newsmagizines. He was granted a confidential briefing by a top Weatherman before the national action in Chicago in October.

He told LNS, "We have to get to rethinking our role. They seem to be trying to turn us into a second arm of the police force." He pointed out that subpoenas can be used punitively against reporters as well as against movement people.

"They can call you to testify every week or so, keep you collecting your stuff, turning it in. If they don't want you writing certain kinds of stuff, or relating well to groups like the Panthers, they'll just keep subpoenaing you, and you won't have any time left to work."

CBS, after "changing their mind" once about whether to abide by the subpoenas, declared piously on Feb. 3 that "Broad unrestricted access to reporters' notes, notebooks, and other materials not published or broadcast can have a direct and seriously adverse effect on the free flow of information and access to news sources." CBS News lawyers have been instructed to contest demands of this nature as soon as appropriate cases are presented, explained Walter Cronkite.

Will comply on Panther material

CBS plans to comply anyway with the subpoenas involving information about the Panthers. Presumably this case at hand is not "appropriate," and presumably CBS is not too worried about its adverse effect" on the Black Panther Party.

Adverse effects on the movement as a whole make for another problem—that of a kind of self-imposed news blackout.

A movement group might grant an interview, for example, that could be useful in presenting a radical perspective on an issue to a wide audience. Because an interviewer from the straight press may be an "honorable man," movement people will deal with him honestly. They may provide him with information that is necessary if he is to write as well-balanced a story as it is possible in the mass media, but it may be information that is needed for background only, and should not be made public.

Now we cannot be at all sure that such confidential material, necessary if the mass media is to have a realistic understanding of the movement, will not see print some day — in an FBI report.

More reliance on own media

One consequence of these developments is that the movement may have to rely much more heavily on our own radical media.

Even those reporters who have enjoyed some measure of trust from the movement are not necessarily willing to risk their necks by refusing to answer a subpoena. A Times reporter who covered SDS activities last spring ended up testifying before the House Internal Security Committee, formerly known as HUAC.

Another New York Times reporter, close to movement people, remarked, "Any kind of dissenter, if he has any brains, is going to be very wary of talking to reporters."

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WASHINGTON
DAILY NEWS
19 JUN 1969

P-Starnes, Richard
Powell, Larry
Org: Black Panthers

"Senators Told of Violence"

Panther Terrorism Related

By RICHARD STARNES
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Larry Powell's revolutionary fervor was born amid ghetto-bred frustration, oppression and brutality. It flourished in a climate of extortion, robbery and murder. And it died in disillusionment, cynicism and fear.

Mr. Powell, 25, and his wife, Jean, 24, testified before the Senate Investigations sub-committee yesterday, and for a dramatic instant opened a window into the machinations of the Black Panthers, the paramilitary Negro militant organization whose goon squads have sown terror thruout the nation's ghettos.

The Powells, dressed in the black uniforms of the Panthers and its women's auxiliary, were street-wise, self-assured and not remotely awed by the bright lights, the panoply of a full-dress Senate hearing or the clutch of armed guards who stayed close at hand.

Both made it impatiently plain from time to time that they found their inquisitors unduly slow in grasping the realities of the struggle for survival in the ghetto. And both made it poignantly plain that they still cherished the goals they had sought to reach by enlisting in the Black Panthers.

'LOT OF SCRAPES'

"I got into the (Black Panther) Party in about February of 1965," Mr. Powell said. "I got into it because I had been in a lot of scrapes with the police and many times had been done wrong. I remember one time the police hit me with the butt of a gun during an arrest, that was not necessary and it left a gash in my head that still at times gives me trouble."

When the "black struggle" began, Mr. Powell testified, he decided he "wanted in."

"My only reason for wanting to get off into anything was because I knew what people were talking about when they said police brutality, I had experienced it.

"I was born and raised in the ghetto and I knew that many times I was breaking the law because I had to survive, not because I wanted to. And I felt police couldn't dig that and when I am caught and I knew it, I would go peacefully; they didn't have to beat me in the head or throw me on the ground. I was mad."

Mr. Powell, articulate and poised in spite of finishing only one year of high school, came under the spell of Huey Newton, the charismatic co-founder of the Panthers who is now serving a prison term for voluntary manslaughter in the slaying of an Oakland, Calif., policeman. Mr. Powell, and later his wife, joined the Panthers, and both quickly moved up in the organization. Mr. Powell became a member of an elite squad called the Black Guard.

FIRE BOMBS

"They (the guard) were taught to make fire bombs," Mr. Powell told the committee. "They studied how to dispose of things such as power installations, pig (police) stations, railroad tracks, communications systems, and things like that. We went to the mountains on survival missions and received special training in the use of weapons — especially the Panther special, a 30-caliber semi-automatic rifle . . ."

These Panther shock troops, Mr. Powell swore, were instructed that they were being trained "for the defense of the black community in the event of a revolution."

But with the jailing of Newton, disillusionment quickly set in. Mrs. Powell, who said she agreed to testify in order to inform other Negroes of the truth of the Black Panther movement, told the committee:

"Young people are giving up their freedom and their lives to people who don't want anything but money for themselves."

CHANGE OF PHILOSOPHY

With the jailing of Newton, the couple testified, control of the Panthers was seized by "chief of staff" David Hilliard. Under Mr. Hilliard the whole philosophy of the Panthers changed. Robberies ordered by the Panther leadership became commonplace, Mr. Powell testified, sometimes running at a rate of two or three a night.

One-third of the proceeds of these "ripoffs" was turned over to the Panther bosses, he said, ostensibly for use in the Negro community. But under the current Panther leadership, he testified, none of the organization's income is used for these purposes.

Both of the Powells testified they had been marked for death by the Panthers. An attempt on Mr. Powell's life misfired and the triggerman named to kill his wife lost his nerve. Both asserted that the militant black organization, whose membership is estimated at between 2,000 and 4,000, now operates in a climate of assassination, beatings, extortion and fear.

JUSTIFIED KILLINGS

"They had already set up a way to make my killing justified by making me look like an informer and a traitor to black people," the black-bereted Powell testified.

"Any person they wish to dispose of, they label as either an informer or an infiltrator, spying for the FBI, CIA or local police. With this label on you, it gives them the cause to turn the entire black community against you, thus preventing you from exposing the party and making black people aware of the exploitations, not only of its members, but of the entire black community by a handful of people who lead the party."

Mr. Powell said he had "really racked over in my mind" the question of testifying before the committee, but concluded he had to do it "to get a message across thru my experiences to the thousands of young black Americans like myself, who are searching for a cure to their hell and alert them to black extremists who are always on hand to exploit the misery of the black ghetto."

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HUDSON DISPATCH

M - 58,484

APR 8 1969

Org Black Panthers

C.I.A. 7.02 FBI

Probing the Panthers' Path

What may be obvious to some may seem as a stroke of prescience to others. From the very beginning a motion made ostensibly towards equal rights and civil parity should have been recognized for the sham it was. The movement of the Black Panthers in no way resembles the sleek, graceful motions of the creature from which it took its name.

The power factor is something else. If the "black cat" sought to manifest the first law of nature, self-preservation, that was to be expected. The other's however, was purely a design for revolt, disruption and destruction.

The motive of the organization was properly labeled back in December of last year by Jersey City's Mayor Thomas J. Whelan when he called for a state investigation of the militant group. To him it was obvious this was an inter-city and interstate conspiracy bent on the overthrow of lawful authority in the United States. In the light of recent developments his words might be considered prophetic to some, but he recognized the Black Panthers for what they really are. His city on more than one occasion has felt the sting of the panthers. Allegedly they were involved in the "shoot ups" of a Jersey City police precinct.

Reportedly they have been on the prowl again, as recently as last week in New York when superior police work revealed an alleged Black Panther plot to dynamite five Manhattan department stores during the Easter shopping rush.

Consequently, the Black Panthers movement and its members are under investigation by federal, state and local law agencies. It has become increasingly clear the Black Panthers is a dangerous organization. Reports its financial support is coming from Red Cuba and Communist China have drawn the attention of the FBI and Central Intelligence Agency.

The pincers are being tightened against a group that has flouted the law, terrorized sections of large cities of the metropolitan area and seems to give not a damn for American principles and democratic doctrines. Raw power appears to be its goal.

Its members are being treated with proper severity and some of the group of 13 seized in Manhattan are destined to feel the wrath of the law and common decency. They are being held in bail of $100,000, an indication of how deeply they have nettled authorities. The details of their operations may or may not be revealed at Friday's hearings. Adhering to their own strange code they are not expected to reveal the identity of their sponsors. The CIA and the FBI will have to crack the shell.

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SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
CHRONICLE

M - 493,020
OCT 5 1968

Org: Black Panthers
C.I.A.-Mexico

S.F. Protest Over Mexic

By William Chapin

A sizable contingent of young radicals, both black and white, moved into the Mexican Consulate on Market street yesterday to protest "the slaughter of students in Mexico City."

The demonstration was, at all times, cool, orderly and polite, although the words were not — the predominant theme being that the "racist pig cops" of Mexico were just as reprehensible as the "racist pig cops" of the United States.

The protest began at 12:30 p.m. By the time it ended at 2 p.m. the Mexican Consulate's offices on the fifth floor of the Flood Building were filled to overflowing with Peace and Freedom Party members, Black Panthers, members of the Mexican Alianza, Stanford University radicals, people trying to do business over the counter, television and newspaper employees — and a dozen police officers, uniformed and plainclothed.

The chief speakers (they read their statements) were Carlos Aponte of the Alianza and Kathleen Cleaver, wife of Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panthers' minister of information.

The demonstrators tried, and failed, to bring their protest directly to Adolfo G. Dominguez, the Mexican consul general.

There was some doubt whether Dominguez was actually in his office during the protest. He was certainly there before the demonstrators showed up, and said, somewhat plaintively, that everyone deplored the violent battles of Mexico City, that the Olympic Games would occur as scheduled and that he couldn't really comment on the protesters because he didn't know what they wanted.

In any event, the radicals announced they would appear next Wednesday at 11:45 a.m. to try once more to see Dominguez.

The rally started slowly and never did generate much pace. At 12:30 p.m. four persons began to march up and down before the Flood Building entrance carrying signs saying "Meet the Demands of the Mexican Students and Workers" and "CIA, Get Out of Mexico."

People gathered. Panthers sold their newspaper and circulated a petition supporting Eldridge Cleaver in his fight to stay out of prison.

APPEAL

Aponte, using a portable electric microphone, appealed, in Spanish and English, for citizens to join the demonstration. He said that 25 more Mexican students had been shot down by the Mexican government "at point-blank range." He lambasted the imperialists of the United States and Mexico.

A plump motorcycle traffic officer of Oriental extraction pulled up, asked who was in charge and advised the demonstrators not to block the entrance. They didn't.

Shortly after Mrs. Cleaver arrived on the scene the demonstrators took elevators to the fifth floor and filtered into the consulate's offices.

They were informed that Consul General Dominguez would have nothing to say. Two large police officers stood before his door.

Aponte read his statement. He said they would "organize in every way" to implement the demands of the Mexican students; he said it was "a cruel travesty" to hold the Olympic Games while blood ran in the streets; he was applauded.

Mrs. Cleaver read her statement. She said the Black Panthers were present to demonstrate their solidarity with the Mexican students "against the pigs"; she spoke of "victory or death"; she invoked the names of Huey Newton, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung; she, too, was applauded.

At one point a woman, seeking, perhaps, to disassociate herself from the demonstrators, tentatively waved a small Mexican flag.

She was reproached: "There's a lot more important things than flags while students are being shot down in the streets."

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C.I.A.-4-Mex.
Org. 1 Black Pa

OAKLAND, CAL.
TRIBUNE
AUG 15 1968
E - 226,008
S - 256,544

3 Panthers Accuse CIA Of Thwarting Trip to Cuba

Three Black Panthers, bound for a week of communing with the people of Cuba, were turned back by more than a dozen agents in Mexico City, and their money, camera and tape recorders confiscated, the three declared yesterday.

They spoke at a press conference on the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse, where their leader, Panther Founder Huey P. Newton, is on trial, accused of murdering an Oakland policeman.

The Panthers charged that some of the men who stopped them in Mexico City were Central Intelligence Agency agents.

The whole thing obviously was originated in this country to interfere with Panther attempts to muster international support for their cause, they asserted.

The CIA and State Department have denied any part in the incident.

Appearing at the conference were David Hilliard, captain of the party; George Mason Murray, minister of education, and Landon Williams, a member.

They acknowledged that their tickets to Mexico City were paid for with a check drawn on the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, but said the trip actually was financed with a check donated by Dr. Phillip Shapiro, a San Francisco psychiatrist, who is head of the Health Professionals for Peace.

Murray said that a "racist" clerk at a San Francisco airline counter would not accept Dr. Shapiro's draft because it was a two-party check.

With them was Melvin Newton, Huey's brother, who paid their fares with a check from the Defense Fund, which he heads, Murray said.

The Panthers said they left here Sunday evening, arrived after midnight in Mexico City where they were met by Mexican police and "12 or 14" agents, apparently representing several other Latin American countries. Those men spoke Spanish with varying accents, Murray said.

The Panthers said they were handcuffed together, driven around for a time in a station wagon, then placed on an Eastern Airlines plane to New York and "deported." Some of the men accompanied them on the plane, the three said.

Several hundred dollars in cash, a camera, two tape recorders and all their books and pamphlets were taken and not returned, the three said. They did get their passports back, they added.

Murray said the invitation to visit Cuba had been extended from Cuban representatives when a Panther spokesman visited the United Nations recently.

The three said they were going to Cuba for "educational" reasons, which included learning Spanish, laying the Panther case and that of Huey Newton before the Cuban people and describing the "racist conspiracy" of this country to thwart their aims.

Dr. Shapiro today confirmed that he gave the three Panthers a personal check from contributions to the Panthers that he has at his disposal.

Murray said he will try again to go to Cuba "by boat if I have to."

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WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

Org. 1 Black Panther

15 AUG 1969

George Murray, 22, Dave Hilliard, 27 and Landon Williams, 24, members of the Black Panther Party claimed in Oakland, Calif., they were kidnaped by agents of the International Police Organization in Mexico City and returned to New York. Earlier, a San Francisco newspaper quoted Mr. Hilliard as saying "we were kidnaped by the CIA."

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