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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD  
4/27-11/16/67

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>11/16/67</b>	TITLE OF CASE <b>BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>WILBERT J. WEISKIRCH</b>	TYPED BY <b>erj</b>
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*11-19-78*  
**CLASSIFIED BY** *[Signature]*  
**EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY** *2*  
**DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE**

**INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS**  
 DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
 FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
 DATE 03-09-2015  
 C66W46B11

**REFERENCE:** San Francisco teletype to Bureau dated 10/28/67.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report have been designated for the Los Angeles and Sacramento Offices for information inasmuch as this report contains ramification of specific interest to those offices.

This report is classified confidential because information furnished by SF T-1 if disclosed could possibly result in loss of an informant of continuing value.

*Report declassified  
12/28/78. JTT*

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S)	ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED CONVIC. AUTO. FINES SAVINGS RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/>
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APPROVED: *11-21-78 CWB* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

- COPIES MADE
- 6 - Bureau (105-165706)(RM)
  - 2 - 115th MI Group (RM)
  - 1 - NISO 12 ND (RM)
  - 1 - OSI 19 D (RM)
  - 1 - Los Angeles (INFO)(RM)
  - 1 - Sacramento (INFO)(RM)
  - 3 - San Francisco (100-58841)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

*105-165706-22* REC-65  
 Aoki-1261  
 NOV 20 1967  
 REC-EX

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd	Date Fwd	How Fwd	By
<i>FSD, [unclear], [unclear], [unclear]</i>	<i>[unclear]</i>	<i>11/20/67</i>	<i>[unclear]</i>	<i>[unclear]</i>

Notations  
*1 copy to Remp [unclear] Legat, Hawaii 6/3/68*  
**RACIAL INT. SEC.**

*Handwritten notes on left margin:*  
 11/21/78  
 12/28/78  
 571/bcc

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SF 100-58841  
WJW/erg

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MARK EVERETT COMFORT,  
HUEY PERCY NEWTON and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE are included on  
the Security Index.

Results of the prosecutive action taken, fines levied  
and sentence imposed of those who participated in varying  
degrees in the invasion of the California Legislative  
Assembly, Sacramento, California on 5/2/67 have been reported  
in the individual case files on each of the individuals, and  
are not being restated in this summary.

Case files have been opened on each of the  
individuals named in this report as an officer or suspected  
member of this organization, for the purpose of compiling  
identifying and background data. The cases on the following  
individuals will be closely reviewed to ascertain whether  
active investigations on these should be conducted.

BARBARA AUTHOR  
DON JUAN DAVIS  
GEORGE EDWARD DOWELL  
TRUMAN HARRIS  
AUDRY HUDSON  
BOBBY JAMES HUTTON  
CARLETTA MOSLEY  
JIM NABORS  
MELVIN DAVID NEWTON  
ALEX PAPHILLION  
CAROLYN SCOTT  
ARTIE SEALE  
WARREN TUCKER  
SID WALTON  
LAVERNE EDITH WILLIAMS

The Sacramento Office has been requested to check  
records of the Department of State, Sacramento, California  
to corroborate the information that their organization has  
not filed incorporation papers as a non profit political  
organization.

- B -  
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Aoki-1262

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SF 100-58841  
WJW/erg

This report is a summary of information previously furnished in the main by LHM to Bureau and this information was appropriately disseminated throughout the investigative period of this report.

A supplementary T symbol (SF T-2) was designated for SF 2496-S (RICHARD MATSUI AOKI) for the limited purpose of describing his connections with the organization and characterizing him. Because of the top level position of this informant this additional designation is considered necessary to insure protection of his identity.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is  
SF 2496-S

134-1929A-521

SF T-2 is  
SF 2496-S

Characterization of  
RICHARD M. AOKI

SF T-3 is

100-58841-2

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Intelligence Unit  
Oakland Police Department  
(By request)

SF T-4 is

100-58841-2

b7D

SF T-5 is

SF T-6 is

100-58841-2

b6  
b7C  
b7D

University of California  
Berkeley Police Department  
(By request)

- C -  
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Aoki-1263

SF 100-58841  
WJW/erg

~~X~~ SF T-7 is [redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

~~X~~ SF T-8 is  
Sgt. [redacted]  
Richmond Police Department  
(By request)

100-58841-41

~~X~~ SF T-9 is  
[redacted]

[redacted]

~~X~~ SF T-10 is  
[redacted]

[redacted]

~~X~~ SF T-11 is  
[redacted]

100-58841-9

SF Intelligence Unit  
San Francisco Police Department

~~X~~ SF T-12 is  
[redacted]

[redacted]

~~X~~ SF T-13 is  
[redacted]

[redacted]

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b7C  
b7D

~~X~~ SF T-14 is  
[redacted]

Characterization of  
HIMMEL and CAMEJO

~~X~~ SF T-15 is  
[redacted]

This report

Alameda District Attorney Office  
Oakland, California

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will submit  
characterization of this organization for Bureau approval.

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SF 100-58841  
WJW/erg

Will advise Bureau by letter of results of check of records of Department of State, Sacramento regarding incorporation status.

Will submit report within six months.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to 2 - 115th MI Group (RM) 1 - NISO 12 ND (RM)  
1 - OSI 19 D (RM)

Report of WILBERT J. WEISKIRCH  
Date 11/16/67

Office SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File # 100-58841

Bureau File #

~~100-165706~~

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis

(5) (5)

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California in December, 1966. RICHARD MATSUI AOKI held title of Minister of Education. BPPSD designed as political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. Only top leadership appeared to be knowledgeable of or interested in the political philosophy of BPPSD, taken from writings of MAO Tse-tung, ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, MALCOLM X LITTLE and black militant writers. Leadership has advocated use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression and oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam. BPPSD has no apparent connections with other organizations; STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former chairman of SNCC was "drafted" and invested with rank of Field Marshall. NEWTON and SEALE have been convicted on charges of "assault with deadly weapon"; both

DECLASSIFIED ON 12-28-76  
BY GTT

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~~GROUP 1~~  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) 12-28-76

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SF 100-58841  
WJW/erg:mfm

SEALE and NEWTON and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols". On May 2, 1967, members of BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly, Sacramento, carrying loaded weapons to protest restrictions on carrying of guns. Membership meetings were held on weekly basis at Headquarters, 5624 Grove Street, Oakland. Membership included 40 to 50 activists. Last issue of publication "The Black Panther -- Black Community News Service" appeared July, 1967, headquarters now closed and no meetings held since August, 1967. Bank balance was \$31.52 as of 11/1/67. Newspaper article quotes NEWTON as having stated "Every time you can execute a white racist gestapo cop you are defending yourself." On 11/13/67 Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, indicted NEWTON for murder of Oakland Police Officer at 5:00 a.m. on 10/28/67, Oakland.

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Aoki-1267

SF 100-58841  
WJW/erg

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DETAILS

I. ORIGIN AND SCOPE

The concept of the formation of a militant black political organization designed to combat "police brutality" to unit militant black youth to determine the destiny of black communities and to educate the black people in African history, was originated in December, 1966, by HUEY PERCY NEWTON and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, former students of Oakland City College, now known as Merritt College, 5714 Grove Street, Oakland, California.. In December, 1966, SEALE and NEWTON named their organization "Black Panther Party for Self-Defense" (BPPSD), and assumed their titles, NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and SEALE, Chairman.

✓ [SF T-1, 7/11/67]

The name of the organization was inspired by the symbol of the Black Panther adopted by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization of the State of Alabama, now better known as the Black Panther Party. There is no link between these organizations, but there may have been an exchange of literature and correspondence on matters of mutual interest.]

[SF T-1, 7/11/67]

<sup>SOURCE ORGANIZATION</sup>  
[In early 1967, the exact date not known, RICHARD MATSUI AOKI of Berkeley, California, also a former Oakland City College student, was drawn into the BPPSD and had the title of Minister of Education bestowed upon him. NEWTON and SEALE knew AOKI to be a scholar of the classic writings on revolution by such former black militants as FRANTZ FANON, MARCUS GARVEY, MALCOLM X LITTLE and W.E.B. DuBOIS. The organizers of the BPPSD also selected AOKI for a position of leadership in the organization because of his experience while serving as Chairman of the Campus Committee for Lowndes County, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) front organization on the Campus of the University of California, Berkeley, (UCB), which collected contributions for the aforementioned Lowndes County Freedom Organization.]

✓ [SF T-2, 5/1/67]

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RICHARD MATSUI AOKI resigned from the SWP in the Spring of 1967.

[SF T-2, 5/1/67]

In a special meeting at the Greek Theatre, UCB, October 29, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), stated in part "We developed the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, a political Party. Alabama law says that a political party must have an emblem. We chose for the emblem a black panther." [initials]

A characterization of the SWP and YSA are found in the appendix pages.

A characterization of MALCOLM X LITTLE is included in the characterization of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) contained in the appendix pages.

The BPPSD is a militant black nationalist youth organization which has headquarters at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, located one block south of the Merritt College Campus, Oakland.

Meetings were held on a weekly basis at 4 00 PM on Saturdays with approximately 8 to 22 young Negroes (males) in attendance.

[SF T-3, 3/10/67]

[The leaders of the BPPSD are BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, 809 57th Street, Oakland, and HUEY PERCY NEWTON, 881 47th Street, Oakland. NEWTON and SEALE and some of their associates were observed on the streets of Oakland, California, carrying carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view, as they were engaged in what they called "defense patrols".] They have not been known to carry concealed weapons or to possess such weapons as sawed-off shotguns, which are in violation of existing law, and have, therefore, not subjected themselves to arrest.

[SF T-3, 3/10/67]

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As of March, 1967, BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was employed as a tutor, North Oakland AREA, Service Center, Oakland Economic Development Council, 905 55th Street Oakland, California.

As of the Fall of 1965, SEALE was the Distribution Manager of the "Soulbook", self-described as the "Quarterly Journal of Revolutionary Afro-Americans".

[SF T-4, 3/1/67.]

[Records of the Clerk of Superior Court, Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, in Action Number 38842, disclosed that on October 10, 1966, BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was sentenced to one year court probation, Superior Court of Alameda County, California, after pleading guilty to a charge of battery of a Berkeley Police Officer on March 17, 1966.]

Records of the Military Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri, disclosed that BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was given a bad conduct discharge, February 11, 1959, as Airman Basic, Ellsworth Air Force Base, South Dakota. SEALE was diagnosed as "passive-aggressive personality, aggressive type - considerable paranoia and emotional instability".]

FBI Identification record Number 882 553 B contains the following data concerning BOBBY GEORGE SEALE as of November 2, 1967.

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<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested or Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
PD Los Angeles Calif	Bobby George Seale #277687	2/7/55 2/8/55	susp 487.1PC (GT persons) warrant 484 PC (PT) 485 PC (appropriation of lost prop by finder)	certified to Juv Crt D30a 29/55 certified to Juv Crt D30a 2/9/55
Air Force	Bobby Seale #AF19535727	3/21/55		
OSI Wash DC	Bobby George Seale #41 877 737	appl FP 12/6/55		
Base Confinement Fac. Ellsworth Air Force Base SDak	Bobby George Seale #--	6/26/58	viol of Article 89 UCMJ (disrespect to Superior Officer) 91 (Disrespectful in language to a Non-Commissioned Officer) 134 (Drk and dis in station)	6 mos confinement and bad conduct discharge
PD Oakland Calif	Bobby George Seale #158659	1/24/63	27151-12951-40508 VC wrnt (mufflers no dr lic in poss- viol of promise to appear)	

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<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested or Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
PD Oakland Calif	Pobert Seale #158659	6/13/65	594 PC (malicious mischief)	stricken from calendar 6/14/65
PD Berkeley Calif	Bobby Seale #23011	3/17/66	1. 243 PC (batt on policeman) 2. 148 PC (resist) 3. 415 PD (dist peace)	no complaints filed on 2nd & 3rd charges 2/18/66
	Residence.	809	57th St., Oakland California	
SO Oakland Calif Calif	Bobby George Seale #66-9920	10/10/66	245 P.C. (ADW)	1 yr court prob
	Residence	Home address	809 57th St., Oakland, Calif	
PD Sacramento Calif	Bobby George Seale #S-14004	5/2/67	182.1 PC 'Black Panther'	See Supplement
PD Oakland Calif	Bobby George Seale #19245	5/23/67	12020 PC (Concealed weapon)	Held to answer Municipal Court #6, Oakland 10/26/67 Continued to 12/15/67 - pending
SO Sacramento Calif	Bobby George Seale #77 543	8/10/67	182.1 PC conspiracy to violate Gov Code	90 ds city prisoner
	Residence	- 809	57th St Oakland Calif.	

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#S-14004 8-30-67 Prob Revoked 5 mos Sacto Jail  
on chg of 9051 Govt. Code (willfull Disruption  
of a State of Calif Legilative Body Assembly)

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On November 3, 1967, Inspector [redacted] Homicide Detail, Oakland, California, Police Department, advised that BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was then incarcerated in the Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center, Graystone Prison, Alameda County, California, at Pleasanton, California, awaiting trial on his May 23, 1967, arrest by the Oakland Police Department on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon.

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Records of the Oakland Police Department, #159483, disclose that HUEY PERCY NEWTON, born February 17, 1942, Monroe, Louisiana, was on October 8, 1964, found guilty by jury in Superior Court of Alameda County, California, of an assault with a deadly weapon and on October 29, 1965 was sentenced to three years probation, six months county jail.

[The records of the Richmond, California, Police Department, Arrest Number 96945, Offense Number 93310, disclose that at 5:50 AM on June 4, 1967, HUEY PERCY NEWTON was arrested by the Richmond Police Department at 10th and Lincoln, Richmond, on a charge of violating Section 148 Penal Code (interfering with police). The details of the offense report reads that a group of Negroes gathered around Richmond police officers who were issuing a citation on a traffic violation. One of the Negro on-lookers, named TORRIS LEE, in an intoxicated condition, attempted to kick the officers. NEWTON swung at one of the officers and struck this officer on the chest.

Booking record #129994 of Contra Costa County Jail, Martinez, California, disclosed that on October 9, 1967, NEWTON was sentenced by Municipal Court, Richmond, California, to serve 60 days in County Jail following conviction of the June 4, 1967, charge aforementioned. On October 10, 1967, NEWTON was released on bail on court order, pending appeal.]

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FBI IDentification Record, Number 804 121 E, contains  
the following data concerning HUEY PERCY NEWTON

<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested of Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	3/2/63	wrn't (848 PC) (PT)	dism
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3/4/64	Viol Sec 459 Pen Code (burg)	dism
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-2363	3/5/64	Burg 5 cts	dism on chg of 4 cts burg
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	6/11/64	warr 245 PC (ADU)	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-9016	10/8/64	ADW	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #66/2960	3/18/66	242 PC batt against peace officer	misd crt prob 2 yrs
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy #20502	3/17/66	148 PC (resist arrest) & 243 PC (B pol ofc)	no compl on 1st chg guilty of 242 PC (batt) continued on prob 10/10/66



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<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested or Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
PDRichmond Calif	Huey Percy Newton #42141	6/4/67	resist arrest	60 days 10/9/67
PD Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #159483	5/22/67	(1) 415 PC (dist peace) (2) 417 PC (drawing or exhibit firearm or other deadly weapon) (3) 3-4.01 OMC (profane- obscene language) (4) 2-7.02 OMC (displaying dangerous weapon)	Set for trial Municipal Court #5 Oakland 11/17/67
SO Martinez Calif	Huey Percy Newton #129994	10/9/67	148 PC resist arrest	60 das

HUEY NEWTON was reported to be qualified as an expert in demolition and reportedly had supervised the making or gathering of molotov cocktails and incendiary bombs.

[SF T-5, 11/22/66]

[On March 6, 1967, DON JUAN DAVIS, HUEY NEWTON, BOBBY SEALE and other met at UCB and discussed the program of the BPPSD. SEALE stated that he and NEWTON were arming Negroes in Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco, with guns, rifles,

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and ammunition as a political power in the program of the BPPSD. SEALE made the assertion in a bragging manner that he could within one hour have 50 Negroes armed and ready for action.]

[SF T-5, 3/8/67]

On April 25, 1966, a rally sponsored by the Afro-American Student Union (AASU) was held at UCB. DON JUAN DAVIS President of the AASU urged Negroes to oppose the drafting of black men and stated in party "We are not about to go to Viet Nam and fight against people like ourselves who are fighting for equal opportunities, equal rights and the end of oppression."

SF T-6, 4/25/66

[The AASU is an organization recognized by the UCB Administration as a Campus Student Organization.]

[In March, 1967, SEALE and NEWTON emphasized that it was the objective of the BPPSD to arm the Negro community to full capacity for the purpose of backing "all plays for the Negro community" and to act as a deterrent to all organizations including the Oakland and San Francisco Police Departments.]

[SF T-5, 3/8/67]

## II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

[The asserted aims and purposes of the BPPSD are set forth in a leaflet captioned "Black Panther Party for Self Defense What We Want - What We Believe". Copies of this leaflet were widely distributed throughout the San Francisco Bay Area during April, 1967.

[SF T-7, 5/3/67]

A copy of the aforementioned leaflet is set forth below

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"WHAT WE WANT NOW! ·

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF BLACK COMMUNITY.
2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSEING FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.
5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.
6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MEN TO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.
7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.
8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN AND WOMEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.
9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL, TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES, AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.
10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSEING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING. JUSTICE AND PEACE.

"WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.
2. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE AND OBLIGATED TO GIVE EVERY MAN EMPLOYMENT OR A GUARANTEED INCOME.  
WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN WILL NOT GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT, THEN THE MEANS OF PRŌDUCTION

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SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BUSINESS MEN AND PLACED IN THE COMMUNITY SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY CAN ORGANIZE AND EMPLOY ALL OF ITS PEOPLE AND GIVE A HIGH STANDARDS OF LIVING.

- "3. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RACIST GOVERNMENT HAS ROBBED US AND NOW WE ARE DEMANDING THE OVERDUE DEBT OF FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES. FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES WAS PROMISED 100 YEARS AGO AS RETRIBUTION FOR SLAVE LABOR AND MASS MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WILL ACCEPT THE PAYMENT IN CURRENCY WHICH WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO OUR MANY COMMUNITIES. THE GERMANS ARE NOW AIDING THE JEWS IN ISRAEL FOR THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE GERMANS MURDERED 6,000,000 MILLION JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THE SLAUGHTER OF OVER 50,000,000 MILLION BLACK PEOPLE THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.
4. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE LANDLORDS WILL NOT GIVE DECENT HOUSEING TO OUR BLACK COMMUNITY THEN THE HOUSEING AND THE LAND SHOULD BE MADE INTO COOPERATIVE SO THAT OUR COMMUNITY, WITH GOVERNMENT AIDE, CAN BUILD AND MAKE DECENT HOUSEING FOR ITS PEOPLE.
- "5. WE BELIEVE IN AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL GIVE TO OUR PEOPLE A KNOWLEDGE OF SELF. IF A MAN DOES NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD, THEN HE HAS LITTLE CHANCE TO RELATE TO ANYTHING ELSE.
- "6. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO FIGHT IN THE MILITARY SERVICE TO DEFEND A RACIST GOVERNMENT THAT DOSE NOT PROTECT US. WE WILL NOT FIGHT AND KILL OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE WORLD WHO, LIKE BLACK PEOPLE, ARE BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE WHITE RACIST GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA.  
WE WILL PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THE FORCE AND VIOLENCE OF THE RACIST POLICE AND THE RACIST MILITARY, BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY.

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WJW/rlk

- "7. WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BLACK COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BLACK SELF DEFENSE GROUPS THAT ARE DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BLACK COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. THE SECOND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVES US A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.
- "8. WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM THE MANY JAILS AND PRISONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL TRIAL.
- "9. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COURTS SHOULD FOLLOW THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION SO THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL RECEIVE FAIR TRIALS. THE 14th AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A MAN A RIGHT TO BE TRIED BY HIS PEER GROUP. A PEER IS A PERSON FROM A SIMILAR ECONOMICAL, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, GEOGRAPHICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL, HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND. TO DO THIS THE COURT WILL BE FORCED TO SELECT A JURY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY FROM WHICH THE BLACK DEFENDENT CAME. WE HAVE BEEN, AND ARE BEING TRIED BY ALL WHITE JURIES THAT HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE 'AVERAGE REASONING MAN' OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.
- "10. WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DELCARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO THE SEPARATION.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATER WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE  
LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.--  
THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE

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OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.

PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES, AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHEWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. BUT WHEN A LONG TRAIN OF ARUSES AND USURPATIONS, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT, EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY."

### III. LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS

[During the period of March to July, 1967, the BPPSD rented ground floor office space at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, for their headquarters and meeting place. The organization was forced to abandon their location because of lack of funds.

[SF T-7, 4/1/67 and 7/5/67  
and 8/1/67]

Ad of October, 1967, the BPPSD had no headquarters location and was no longer conducting membership meetings.]

[SF T-1, 10/25/67]

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From April through October, 1967, the BPPSD used Post Office Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California, as its mailing address.

[SF T-1, 11/7/67]

#### IV. PUBLICATIONS

During the period of April 25, 1967, through July 20, 1967, five issues of ~~The Black Panther~~ - Black Community News Service (The Black Panther - BCNS") official publication of the BPPSD were published. The publication listed its mailing address as Post Office Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California, 94608, but did not list its staff.

[SF T-7, 8/1/67]

On July 28, 1967, Mr. HOWARD QUINN, Owner, Quinn Publishing Company, 298 Alabama Street, San Francisco, California, advised that he had printed only issues number 4 and 5 of the 'Black Panther - BCNS" and that the press run for the latter issue was 5,000. The BPPSD paid in cash.

#### V. INCORPORATION STATUS

As of October, 1967, the BPPSD was not known to have filed papers with the Department of State, Sacramento, California, to become incorporated as a political organization and there were no indications that this organization intended to file these papers.]

[SF T-1, 10/25/67 and  
11/7/67]

#### VI. OFFICERS

As of early July, 1967, the Executive Committee of the BPPSD consisted of the following:

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON  
Minister of Defense and  
Treasurer

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE  
Chairman and  
Branch Captain of North Oakland

RICHARD MATSUI AOKI  
Minister of Education and  
Branch Captain of Berkeley

GEORDE EDWARD DOWELL  
Branch Captain of North Richmond

MARK EVERETT COMFORT  
Branch Captain of East Oakland

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
Editor of Newspaper and  
Branch Captain of San Francisco

[SF T-1, 7/11/67]

GEORGE EDWARD DOWELL of North Richmond, California, was drawn into the BPPSD in April, 1967, when leadership of the BPPSD chose to use the fatal shooting of his brother, DENZIL, by a Richmond, California, police officer, as an example of what they called "police brutality".

[SF T-1, 5/1/67]

A characterization of MARK EVERETT COMFORT is included in the characterization of the Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC) found in the appendix pages.

On February 27, 1967, PATRICK SMYTHE, Parole and Community Services Division, Region II, 69 11th Street, San Francisco, California, advised that



