[redacted]

REPORTED NO INFORMATION OF PLANNED REPRISALS BY BPP AGAINST WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., PD, HOWEVER, THE GROUP IS TO MEET TONIGHT TO DISCUSS THE ARREST AND OTHER ACTIVITIES.

PD REPORTS THE IDENTIFICATION OF NELSON LEE MALLOY AS BEING INVOLVED IN THE THEFT OF THE MEAT TRUCK AND THE ASSAULT ON THE TRUCK DRIVER MAY HAVE BEEN IN ERROR. POSSIBILITY EXIST THAT THE ASSAULT WARRANT AGAINST MALLOY MAY BE WITHDRAWN.

SS AND MIG ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPES TO BUREAU, TODAY.

[redacted]

NCIC NEGATIVE REAGARDING SERIAL NUMBERS OF THE ABOVE GUNS AND PD CHECKING SERIAL NUMBERS OF OFFICE EQUIPMENT THROUGH NCIC AS OBTAINED, NOTING DIFFICULTY EXIST DUE TO TEAR GAS RESIDUE AND

END PAGE TWO

EXAMINATION BY PD MAY NOT BE COMPLETED ON ALL EVIDENCE FOR TWO OR THREE DAYS.

CHARLOTTE FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND HAS ALERTED SOURCES CONCERNING POSSIBLE REPRISALS AGAINST THE PD AND BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

DEB WA DC FBI CLR

C [redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan CD
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. Gal[illegible]
Mr. R[illegible]
Mr. Ta[illegible]
Mr. Walters
Mr. S[illegible]
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

[redacted]

NR 001 CE PLAIN

543AM URGENT 1-13-71 JMC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706 SUB 8)

ATTENTION DOMESTICE INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

51 [redacted]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM.

CONTACT WITH [redacted]

[redacted] AT FIVE A.M. THIS DATE REVEALED NIGHT OF JANUARY TWELVE DASH THIRTEEN, NINETEEN SEVENTYONE WAS EXCEPTIONABLY QUIET WITH NO RACIAL INCIDENTS AND LESS THAN NORMAL OTHER ACTIVITY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPES TO BUREAU, JANUARY TWELVE, LAST.

END "cc to ~~[illegible]~~ TASK FORCE
Adm. data deleted"

DCW

FBI WASH DC CLR

ST-103

105-165706-8-384

Info in this tel incorporated in note of previous tel from CE re [illegible] JOSE

JAN 1[illegible] 1971

cc [redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 12 1971

TELETYPE

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

PPE CE PLAIN

12:30 PM URGENT 1-12-71 DCC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706 SUB 8)

FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

Racial Matter

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM [redacted]

Police Department

THE WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., PD, REPORTED THAT TODAY A TRUCK OF [redacted] CHATHAM MEAT COMPANY, SILER CITY, N.C., WAS STOLEN FROM FIFTEENTH [redacted] AND JACKSON STREETS, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., AND APPROXIMATELY TEN [redacted] MINUTES LATER, THE OWNER LOCATED THE TRUCK AT ONE ONE TWO SEVEN EAST TWENTYTHIRD STREET, WHERE THREE MEN WERE OBSERVED CARRYING MEAT INTO THE HOUSE AT THAT ADDRESS WHICH IS BELIEVED THE NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS.

A SEARCH WARRANT HAS BEEN ISSUED FOR ONE ONE TWO THREE EAST TWENTYTHIRD STREET TO ALLOW THE PD TO SEARCH THE HOUSE FOR THE MEAT AND AN ARREST WARRANT HAS BEEN ISSUED FOR NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR., LEADER IN THE LOCAL BPP GROUP, CHARGING HIM WITH THEFT AS HE WAS IDENTIFIED AS ONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED.

END PAGE ONE

105-165706-8-383

EX-112

9 JAN 13 1971

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

AS OF ELEVEN FIFTY AM THE PD WAS CONTEMPLATING CONDUCTING A SEARCH OF ONE ONE TWO THREE EAST TWENTYTHIRD STREET, LATER TODAY.

CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW AND KEEP BUREAU ADVISED OF ALL PERTINENT DEVELOPEMENTS.

[redacted]

END

E

RSP FBI WASH DC

FD-36 (Rev. 5-14-54)

FBI

Date: 12/4/70

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM
WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.
CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY
RM

[redacted]

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated [redacted]

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed by [redacted] and observations by Special Agents of the FBI.

Organization and Status

[redacted]

National Committee to Combat Fascism
1602 East 14th Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

This headquarters burned 11/27/70 and the group is attempting to relocate in the same area, reportedly in the 1600 block of East 23rd Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

REC 27 105-165706-8382

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
2 - Charlotte

THG: bgs
(6)

4 DEC 7 1970

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

53 JAN 18 1971

FBI

Date:

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

Via _____ _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Membership

Assigned	In Jail	Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere	Total Active Charlotte Division
19	2	1	16

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., has reportedly not returned from the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention and is believed to be in New York. JAMES FORD returned from Augusta, Ga., and is now a fugitive; whereabouts unknown on UFAP - Armed Robbery charges stemming from his activities while at Augusta, Ga.

Leaders

Leadership consists of JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense; LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant; HAZEL MAE MACK, Communications Secretary, and RICKIE ALTHEA HOOPER who is handling newspaper distribution and finances.

BPP Pads

House, 1600 block, East 23rd St.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Note headquarters at 1602 East 14th Street burned 11/27/70 and is not in operation; however, group is moving to a house in the 1600 block of East 23rd Street, exact street address unknown.

1386 Wilson Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.
(Described as barracks in the Boston Section of Winston-Salem; however, eviction proceedings in process.)

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

FBI

Date:

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

Via _____ _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Public Appearances of BPP Members Within the Charlotte Division

None

Arrests and Convictions

Date	Name	Place	Charge	Disposition
[redacted]				

Acquisition of Weapons

No additional information received.

PART II

The following is a summary of BPP activities within the Charlotte Division during the month of November, 1970:

The group continues to receive and sell the Black Panther Party newspaper when they have the money to purchase papers; however, they skipped two weeks due to lack of funds.

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

FBI

Date:

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

Via _____ _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The main activity was in connection with the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention with members of the Winston-Salem group traveling to High Point, Raleigh, Chapel Hill, Lumberton and Charlotte, N. C., in this regard. In connection with these activities, they are attempting to establish branches at High Point and Lumberton, N. C., staffed by members from Winston-Salem. One U-Haul truck and three automobiles were used to transport the group to Washington for the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 8 1971

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

TELETYPE

NR003 CE CODE

413PM URGENT 1-8-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 P

[redacted]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION; RM.

ON JANUARY EIGHT INSTANT CONTACT WITH [redacted] AND OBSERVATIONS BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI DETERMINED NO DEMONSTRATION OCCURRED AT THE HIGH POINT, N. C., COURTHOUSE ON JANUARY EIGHT INSTANT DURING THE HOURS COURT WAS IN SESSION.

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREU, JANUARY SEVEN LAST.

CHARLOTTE WILL MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH APPROPRIATE SOURCES AND [redacted] NOTING TRIAL OF JOSEPH ERWIN WADDELL WILL OCCUR ON JANUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT.

END

DEB WA DC FBI CLR

105-165706-8-381

REC-57

4 JAN 15 1971

54 JAN 14 1971

SF R-27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8 DATE: 1-12-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [redacted] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

[redacted] JAN 1 1971

#2 1:10pm . gr ic

[redacted] (ph) to [redacted] [redacted] says she has been working with [redacted] for three weeks, says she is going to the University and has only one semester to go but feels she may have to give it up to work more with the party. [redacted] suggests she stay and bring back the knowledge she gains to work with the party and the people. [redacted] also speaks to a brother from Lumberton (ph), N.C. and then to [redacted], who says he'll submit a report on their activites, tells ofactivitées they have going.

REC 74

105-165706-8-380

2 - BUREAU RM
2 - CHARLOTTEE (157-6171) RM
1 - SF

3 JAN 13 1971

51 JAN 18 1971

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

RECORD SECT.

SF R 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8 DATE: 1-12-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [redacted] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 and 1336-1/2 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#5 9:022AM 0G CEH [redacted] - JAN 2 1971

[redacted]. She wants to know when he is going to Winston Salem. He states they don"t have enough money for the tickets. She received a call from Memphis yesterday and they want to know when WARREN LITTLE is coming to SF. She dosent know.

REC 20 105-165706-8-379

4 JAN 13 1971

2 - BUREAU RM
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
2 - MEMPHIS (157-1205) RM
3 - SF
1 - [redacted]

51 JAN 18 1971

SECRET

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYP

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

URGENT CE CODE

442PM URGENT 1-7-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2 P

[redacted]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM. [redacted]

ON JANUARY [redacted] WHO HAS [redacted] FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST REPORTED THAT MEMBERS OF THE WINSTON-SALEM NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM, BPP AFFILIATED GROUP, WERE CALLING FOR SUPPORT FROM NEGROES AT WINSTON-SALEM, GREENSBORO, AND HIGH POINT, N. C., IN A DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING THE TRIAL OF JOE DELL, A PANTHER MEMBER WHO IS TO APPEAR IN COURT ON ARMED ROBBERY CHARGES AT HIGH POINT, N. C.

ON JANUARY SEVEN, SEVENTYONE, [redacted] ADVISED THAT JOE DELL, TRUE NAME JOSEPH ERWIN WADDELL, IS TO BE TRIED ON ARMED ROBBERY CHARGES JANUARY EIGHTEEN NEXT.

END PAGE ONE

REC-77 105-165706-8-378

4 JAN 13 1971

54 JAN 14 1971

"cc to FBI
Adm. data deleted"

[redacted] ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND LEAFLETS HAD BEEN PUT OUT IN THE SOUTHSIDE OF HIGH POINT CALLING FOR A DEMONSTRATION AT NINE AM, JANUARY EIGHT, SEVENTYONE, IN SUPPORT OF WADDELL, CLAIMING HE COULD NOT RECEIVE A FAIR TRIAL.

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS, NOTING THE APPARENT MIXUP IN DATES BETWEEN JANUARY EIGHT AND EIGHTEEN.

END

EBR FBI WASH DC

CC Trainor

4-750 (2-7-79)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ *Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.*

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____ _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☐ *For your information:* _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-377

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

FBI

Date: 1/4/71

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM

Re Savannah report of SA [redacted]

It was noted during review of Page 4 of referenced report that [redacted] provided information concerning a list of weapons that were or had already been sent to Georgia. This list including ten AK 47 rifles and two grenade launchers.

Several different sources and informants have provided information on the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) in Winston-Salem, N.C., and [redacted] information concerning this group. There has never been any indication that this organization had in its possession any number of automatic rifles or grenade launchers.

[redacted] have given short impromptu discussions on firearms at NCCF headquarters and one of these gave a short discussion of the M-16 rifle, using a diagram as no automatic weapons were available for actual display.

REC 18 105-165706-8-376

Information received indicates they do have rifles that are not fully automatic and some shotguns.

22 JAN 7 1971

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Savannah (157-1430) (RM)
3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)
(1 - 157-6171 Sub H)

DBM:eqp
(7)

54 JAN 14 1971

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

RACKET INT. SECT.

FD-[illegible]

F B I

Date:

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

Via _____ _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

It should also be noted that informants in the past have been targeted specifically to developing information concerning weapons available to this group and this will continue.

Any information developed indicating the NCCF in Winston-Salem, N.C., might have access to automatic weapons, will be immediately brought to the attention of the Bureau.

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

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) DATE: 1/6/71

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7711) (RUC)

SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel to Director, 12/4/70 and Charlotte letter to Director, 1/5/71.

A review of Charlotte files reflects that all pertinent information regarding captioned convention has been reported and this case will be considered Ruc'd.

In the event additional information is obtained, it will immediately be furnished to the Bureau and other interested offices.

A

[redacted]

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - WFO (157-3149) (RM)
2 - Charlotte

THG:egp
(5)

EX-115

REC-79 105-165706-8-375

18 JAN 11 1971

INT. SECT.

55 JAN 15 1970

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

5010-108-01

SF R-27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8 DATE: DEC 31 1970

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [redacted] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

[redacted] DEC 18 1970

#1 11:00a ic rb

[redacted] to UNMAN reuesting they print an article describing the mistreatment of Blacks at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. [redacted] SAID HE Was from Baltimore but had personal knowledge that [redacted] and [redacted] both stationed at Lejeune have been mistreated on base and in Jacksonville, N. C.

CHAR
2CCB
1004

REC-52 105-165706-8-374

JAN 7 1971

54 JAN 15 1971

2 - BUREAU RM
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-1291) RM
2 - BALTIMORE (157-3241) RM
2 - SF
1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS SF(157-1581)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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

FBI

Date: 12/9/70

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

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)(Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM-BPP

The following information was furnished by [redacted] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source on [redacted] 12/4/70.

[redacted] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, contacted BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California, on 12/4/70, to announce that they had a new office, located at 1616 East 23rd Street. They were also still working out of their old center, at 1378 Wilson Street, and were planning on opening a branch in High Point, North Carolina. As yet, they had no telephone in Winston-Salem.

[redacted] said that the BPP sympathizers in North Carolina were taking advantage of a situation created when the "Pigs" came on a campus of an unnamed college and "beat-up" some Black students. He said the Black students were boycotting all the schools in Winston-Salem and some of them were becoming involved in a Revolutionary Students Movement and were attending political education classes. Some parents also were now forming a Parents Progressive Union and [redacted] planned to attend one of their meetings on this date.

EX-111

REC-32 105-165706-8-373

2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
(1 - 157-NCCF, Winston-Salem)
[redacted]
1 - San Francisco (157-2861)
WAC/krh
(6)

DEC 11 1970

[redacted]

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

61 JAN 12 1971

Approved: _____ Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1969 O - 346-080 (11)

SF 157-2861
WAC/krh

[redacted] said that he expected to get "ripped off" for inciting a riot because he had already been accused of contaminating the minds of students. [redacted] told [redacted] that he was very pleased with this news, but reminded him to work closely with the other Brothers there, expecially an individual named NELSON, last name not given.

[redacted] then went on to blame former New York Captain ROBERT BAY for fouling things up in North Carolina and [redacted] reminded [redacted] that ROBERT BAY did not run the BPP and that he took orders like everyone else from the Central Committee.

[redacted] complained about having problems with a girl named HAZEL, but he thought he had the matter straightened out.

[redacted] then reminded [redacted] that the National Headquarters was now known as the Central Headquarters.

[redacted] suggested that when the BPP planned to put another house from which to organize their activity they should go back to their old base at "old froggy". [redacted] said that this would be good, but that the redevelopment agency was moving into the area and disrupting everything.

[redacted] then returned to the problems at High Point, North Carolina, claiming that area was really ripe for BPP action and that was why they were opening the branch up there.

[redacted] wanted to get in touch with JANE FONDA in New York and it was suggested that TOM JOLLY of the New York BPP was the one to work with in order to reach her. [redacted] said they really needed money and expected to have a benefit performance in the near future. He, therefore, wanted to get JANE FONDA to come speak at a white college which would bring in more money. [redacted] asked [redacted] to intercede with the newspaper office for Winston-Salem so that they could receive newspapers to sell, even though they had not been able to send in any money in the recent past. [redacted] said that the Circulation Manager, SAM NAPIER, had put out an instruction that no one would get any newspapers unless they had paid for them, but he would see if he could get an exception made in their case.

They next discussed a possible trip of HUEY P. NEWTON to the South and [redacted] claimed that while this was in the planning stage, it was considered it would be a very hazardous venture and it was not sure that HUEY would make the trip.

The above material is furnished to the Charlotte Division to indicate the extent of activity presently being undertaken by [redacted] of the NCCF in Winston-Salem.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-8-54)

FBI

Date: 12/22/70

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

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
FINANCES
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau, 11/20/70.

The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) continues to be the only recognized Black Panther Party affiliate in N. C. Their headquarters at 1602 East 14th St., Winston-Salem, N. C., was damaged by fire 11/27/70 and they temporarily relocated at 1616 East 23rd Street, residence of Captain of Defense JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR.

A. Sources of Income

During 11/70 the group received three shipments of newspapers, one of which was 1800 papers, the other was reported as 1048 papers each. In addition, LARRY LITTLE received from JANE FONDA, the actress who appeared at Chapel Hill, N. C., a check for $1,000. It was also reported that $700 was to be paid to Winston-Salem, 11/25/70. RICKIE ALTHEA HOOPER continues to be in charge of newspaper sales and HAZEL MACK, Secretary appears to be handling finances.

B. Foreign Sources

None reported.

C. Expenses

REC 27 105-165706-8-372

Twelve and a half cents per copy of each newspaper would have to be sent to Black Panther Party headquarters, California. This is estimated at $543.50.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (157-1485) (RM)
2 - Charlotte
THG:bcb
(5)

NO DEC 26 1970

58 JAN 8 1971

RACIAL INV. SECT.

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

FBI

Date:

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

Via _____ _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[redacted] or rental of the pad at 1386 East Wilson Street. There are no known salaries or skimming by officials, however, expenses for full time members are paid for by the party. One of the members borrowed an automobile which he damaged to the extent of $25 and four of the members gave blood donations to obtain this $25. Fifty dollars was paid for deposit on a truck rental for transportation to the Revolutionary People's National Convention. The rental on this truck was over $50, however, the Hertz Co., is not pressing for additional money.

D. Operations

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., continues as overall leader and HAZEL MACK continues to handle finances. Their dealings continue to be in cash and according to sources, they remain in financial difficulty. The $1,000 obtained from JANE FONDA was for the purpose of making bail for a member, JOE WADDELL, who is in jail in High Point, N. C., on Armed Robbery charges. WADDELL remains in jail and the money was used for other purposes such as payments to Black Panther Party headquarters and back newspaper expenses. Information of [redacted] (SF T-22) indicates the group has an indebtedness to Black Panther Party headquarters for newspapers, but the amount has not been furnished.

E. Miscellaneous

Income

Newspaper sales (approximation)	$ 543.50
Contributions from JANE FONDA	1000.00
Money from Boston for RPCC	700.00
Total income	2243.50

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

FD-[illegible] 64)

F B I

Date:

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

Via _____ _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Other contributions according to sources were almost non-existent.

Expenses

[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
Newspaper payment	543.50
Deposit on truck	50.00
Total expenses	$683.50

It is noted that no estimation can be made for the number of unsold newspapers or personal expenses for full time members.

Sources continue to report the group remains in financial difficulties and are having problems selling the newspapers with bad weather and leadership, claim they are unable to keep the members out on the streets selling the papers which has cut down both their contact with the people and their income.

[redacted] The group continues to be unable to obtain a telephone due to non-payment of their previous bills.

[redacted] was contacted by Bureau Agent due to the fact that she is a "hanger on" with the group and possibly has influence with [redacted] however, she refused to be interviewed.

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

FD-35 (Rev. 6-4)

FBI

Date: 12/24/70

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted]

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 12/11/70.

During the previous two weeks, no underground cells or members have been identified or interviewed; and there is no indication that funds are being submitted to any underground group from North Carolina. There have been no reported thefts of weapons or explosives for use of the underground or secret caches of weapons obtained. There were no recent acts of violence or unprovoked attacks on police which appear to have been perpetrated by black extremist underground operatives.

[redacted]

EX-113

105-165706-8-371

DEC 8

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (RM)
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)
THG:mjw
(5)

17 DEC 28 1970

[redacted]

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

51 JAN 7 1971

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1969 O - 346-090 (11)

SF R-27

UNITED STATES G[illegible]NMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8 DATE: DEC 29 1970

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [redacted] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 and 1336-1/2 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#6 10:28pm vlk og SF3259 R 3 DEC 15 1970

[redacted] to [redacted] at Winston Salem, [redacted] [redacted] complains their papers arrived late because they were shipped on the wrong airline: TWA. They came only last Sunday night. [redacted] says th is is their fault as they had someone new on the job. [redacted] says any complaints should be given to [redacted] or [redacted]

ST 117
REC-94 105-165706-8-370

JAN 4 1971

2 - BUREAU RM
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
6 - SF
[redacted]
1 - SAN FRANCISCO BLACK PANTHER PARTY - SF(157-1640)
1 - COMMUNITY WORKERS SF(157-5936)

JAN 12 1971

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

SF R-27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8 DATE: DEC 29 1970

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

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Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

/4 11:56 AM NBN IC [redacted] DEC 16 1970

[redacted] called from HIGH POINT, NC for [redacted]

told him that [redacted] wasnt there, but she will have him call back when he comes in. [redacted] shud be there in 15 minutes. [redacted] gave his phone as 919-[redacted] remarked that his papers for last week went astray and they didnt get them until Sunday. ??????

REC-73 105-165706-8 369

EX-113

JAN 4 1971

(2) - BUREAU RM
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
4 - SF
[redacted]
1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS SF(157-1581)

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

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

[redacted]

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8) DATE: 12/24/70

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM

For the information of the Bureau, copy of Order of Dismissal was received from USA, WDNC, in the case captioned, "BEN CHAVIS, ET AL, vs. J. C. GOODMAN, JR., ET AL, SN 4290, USDC, WDNC" which sets forth that upon motion and consent of the Plaintiffs in open court, this action was dismissed without prejudice, 11/16/70 and signed by Judge JAMES B. MC MILLAN.

It is noted this suit filed by the now defunct group at Charlotte, N. C., who desires affiliation with the BPP and including among the defendants, SA L. DEAN PAARMANN.

2-Bureau RM
2-Charlotte

THG:tld
(4)

T

EX 10

105-165706-8-368

11 DEC 30 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

[redacted]

JAN 11 1970

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

5010-108-01

FBI

Date: 12/11/70

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

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted]

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 11/27/70.

During the previous two weeks, no underground cells or members have been identified or interviewed; and there is no indication that funds are being submitted to any underground group from North Carolina. There have been no reported thefts of weapons or explosives for use of the underground or secret caches of weapons obtained. There were no recent acts of violence or unprovoked attacks on police which appear to have been perpetrated by black extremist underground operatives.

It is noted that referenced airtel identified five individuals purged from the group at Winston-Salem, N. C. Investigation has determined that all, with the exception of JESSE STITT, are in the Winston-Salem, N. C., area; and there has been no information that any are involved in racial activities or operating in such a manner as to appear to be underground operatives for the BPP. JESSE STITT was reported [redacted] as possibly working at New Haven, Connecticut, for Remington Arms Company. Source stated that STITT claims the local National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) chapter was operated by "fools," they were doing nothing constructive, and he might as well live a straight life. The other individuals from Winston-Salem, N. C., who were purged and their friends who dropped out of the group at Winston-Salem have never been referred to as underground members but only as "renegades."

REC 16 105-165706-8-367

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (RM)
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)
THG:rep
5)

22 DEC 17 1970

[redacted] RACIAL INT. SECT.

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date:

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

Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[redacted]

that the group had talked about this but LARRY LITTLE, the leader, believes all members are too well known to go underground locally and, in addition, "The people's struggle must be seen by the people."

Investigation continuing.

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

4-750 (2-7-79)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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FBI/DOJ

4-750 (2-7-79)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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_____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

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105-165706-8-366 enclosure pages 2-8

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
December 18, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RACIAL MATTERS

On November 27, 1970, information was received from [redacted] that the Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, 1602 East 14th Street caught on fire shortly after 1 P.M.

[redacted]

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105-16540 / 364

ENCLOSURE

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 12/16/70

[redacted]

advised the property at 1602 East 14th Street [redacted]

On that date the above listed residence was searched in the presence of [redacted] and the following items were obtained from the residence with [redacted] permission.

On 12/9/70 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # Charlotte 157-6171

by SAs [redacted] and sjw Date dictated 12/10/70

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

of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very signigicant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the balck revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is perpared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to perpare itself with guns, because it is already more than perpared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party mechinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above

[illegible] revolutionary martyrs [illegible] who'r [illegible] in the interests of the people and [illegible] are filled with pain as we the living think of them---can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a pwéson has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into in thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting byt to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seal only to avoid blame. This is a third type

Not to obet orders byt to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting the, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Panther. This is a seventh type.

VERIFIED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

MALCOLM X UNITED
LIBERATION FRONT
317 N. MACOMB STREET
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301

TALLAHASSEE
PM
NOV 12
1970

National Committee to Combat Fascism
1602 E. 14th St.
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27105

Jackie

13

that it might take you the next 25 years to finish paying for the house. If this government saw a need to build houses for people of low income then the people should be able to pay for the house in a shorter length of time. They have it set up so that it takes almost the rest of your's lifetime pay. This is just another way to oppress the people. Everone knows that ~~[illegible]~~ housing is one of the basic needs of the people.

Explain deeper about the Exploitation Part. Just go into it Deeper.

On orders from the Ministry of Education, we have moved to take all troops back over the Ten Point Platform and Program, Three Main rules Of Discipline, Motto, Cardinal Rules of the Party, and the Twenty-six General Rules. We are now having vigorous Political Education classes and we are trying to instill conscience discipline in the troops as far as their studies are concerned.

Technical Equipment classes are being intensified so that all troops will know how to operate and service weapons correctly to the fullest extent.

(Political Education Classes for the Community)

Political education classes for the community are held on Tuesday and Thursday nights from 7:00 until 9:00. Classes range from 5 to 30 people. Usually we will go over articles in the newspaper or some events that went down in the community. We're trying to get the people from the community P.E. classes to move to a higher level and take part in the programs for the people.

Existing Programs

At this time the only consistant program we have is the Free Breakfast For Children Program. The attendance is very poor at both sites. [illegible] of this can be attributed to school children having to catch [illegible] so early in the morning. However, I think that we are [illegible] to move to intensify door to door [illegible] with the [illegible] Program [illegible] obtain more transportation for the children. This way they could [illegible] the school bus and still be assured of getting to school on time.

1. Handguns con't.

C. Balance of Power: Armed with any of the following pieces the teaching of Isaac Newton, and the correct military tactics you will be more than a match for the pig.

1. .357 Mag. (this piece will crack an engine block on a car when loaded with armor piercing.)

2. 41 Mag.

3. 44 Mag.

2. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.) When acquiring rifles the military surplus or military style weapon is preferred due to the ease in which they can be taken apart, for maintenance and cleaning and simplicity of operation. Other factors that should be taken into consideration are repair parts and ammo. Odd Cal. weapons must be discouraged and stress should be placed on getting the cal. of weapons that the pigs will have ammo for.

1. Suicide Specials (little more effective than being hit by a fly.)

a. 22 rifles (except the 22-250, .223, 22 Mag.)
b. .410 Shotgun (this is a shotgun in name only as far as pigs are concerned. It shoots a shot about the size of bebes.)

2. SHOTGUNS: Most effective short range weapon-rapid fire can produce machine gun effect. Automatics have been known to jam badly. A 6 or 7 shot 12 gauge pump is very effective. Only double 0 buckshot or rifle slugs should be used.

A. Short Barrels----------use 00B

1. 20 inches--24 inches effective up to 75 yds. (3/4 block)
2. 18 inches-shortest legal length that can be be bought in gun store.
3. Sawed off-very effective for ripping off and close combat 0-25 yds (1/4 block)

B. Long Barrel----------00B or Rifled slugs.

1. 26-28 inches---Range 100 yds (one block)
2. 28-32 inches---Goose guns effective up to 1½ blocks.

3. RIFLES: Here we stress military type over civilian type. The military have a larger magazine capacity and hold more shells.

... Bolt Actions: These should be equipped with scopes and used for special purpose weapons.

Then it began. "Kidnapping resulting in death" (a capital offense) -- Not guilty.

Lonnie, standing and facing the jury, grabbed the hand of his lawyer and waited for the next charge.

Conspiracy to kidnap (possible 30-year sentence) -- Not guilty.

Then it came: "Conspiracy to murder, what is your verdict?" "Guilty, your honor."

Gasps from the spectators. A jolt running through Lonnie's body, and agonized, waiting for the final charge -- binding, which carries a 50-year penalty.

"Not guilty, your honor."

Then, while everyone was trying to understand what had happened, the judge was thanking the jury and setting Sept. 18 for Lonnie's sentencing (maximum penalty, 15 years in jail).

Did the jury, mostly white, middle class, middle-aged, despite the blatant collaboration of the prosecution and the judge, despite the flaming headlines in the pig press, headlines which convicted Lonnie before he ever went on trial, want to completely acquit the Black Panther and put him back free, on the streets? Did the jury finally compromise because they were afraid they'd be kept sequestered until they did? Did they know that "conspiracy to murder" was the lightest of the charges?

The burst of questions on the New Haven Green when the verdict came down were stilled momentarily when the spirited crowd marches through downtown New Haven, demanding that all political prisoners be freed.

Lonnie still faces first degree murder charges in another county for the same incident. His lawyers will appeal this charge as double jeopardy. They also plan to appeal Lonnie's conviction. The other members of the New Haven 9, including Bobby Seale, must still stand trial this fall and winter, with Lonnie's conspiracy conviction on the books.

So, in the words of the Chip Smith Charge, the "doubt in the mind"of"a dissenting juror" was "a reasonable one" after all -- the government must be gnashing its teeth because all the machinery it put into motion wasn't enough to send Lonnie McLucas to his death. All political prisoners and prisoners of was will be freed!

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Sept 18, AP -- Lonnie was sentenced to 12-to-15 years in prison today for his conviction of a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. (Maximum penalty was 15 years for the charge.) Bond was set at $35,000.

ESSAYS FROM
THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE
HUEY P. NEWTON

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE June 20, 1967

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men.

Before 1776, white people were colonized by the English. The English government had certain laws and rules that the colonized Americans viewed as not in their best interests but as a colonized people. At that time the English government felt that the colonized Americans had no right to establish laws to promote the general welfare of the people living here in America. The colonized American felt he had no choice but to raise the gun in defense of the welfare of the colonized people. At this time, he made certain laws insuring his protection from external and internal aggressions from governments and agencies. One such form of protection was the Declaration of Independence, which states: "...whenever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Now these same colonized white people, these ex-slaves, robbers, and thieves, have denied the colonized black man the right to even speak of abolishing this oppressive system which the white colonized American created. They have carried their madness to the four corners of the earth, and now there is universal rebellion against their continued rule and power. The Black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yoke of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialistic war machine are turning there is no country that can defeat this monster of the West. But Black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every Black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both of these things at once.

The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world.

Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down.

Penned up in the ghettos of America, surrounded by his factories and all the physical components of his economic system, we have been made into "the wretched of the earth," who are relegated to the position of spectators while the white racists run their international con game on the suffering peoples. We have been brainwashed to believe that we are powerless and that there is nothing we can do for ourselves to bring about a speedy liberation for our people. We have been taught that we must please our oppressors, that we are only ten per cent of the population, and therefore, we must confine our tactics to categories calculated not to disturb the sleep of our tormentors.

The power structure inflicts pain and brutality upon the peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the channels established as tricks and deceitful snares by the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of grovelling flunkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the rules of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slavemasters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western hemisphere. There are more Black people in America that the total population of many countries that now enjoy full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential

power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden racism is rising to the surface at a phenominal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist cops who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist cops have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desperation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grassroots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the burtal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force within retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerilla warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black PantherePartyfor Self Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people from foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have thennecessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the gun can the whole world be transformediinto the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial. One successful practitioner of the art and science of national liberation and self defense, Brother Mao Tse-tung, put it this way: "We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

In Defense jof Self Defense July 3, 1967

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the edds of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor radio programs.give space in their racist newspapers. and have shown them luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive -non-violent. At any moment that these so-called Black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden. u unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected t the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, andlove for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international schle.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fu fundamental differende over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in orddr to gain acceptance into the "mainstream of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hpeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations.There are certain tactics that are tabbo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people mus at all cost remain non-violent

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the o oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster. destroy him utterly, move aginst him with implacable fortitude. Brdak his oppessive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this respon se to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were led to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition tothe oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e.. less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all. or betteryet. he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically he does the ~~###~~ next best thing. and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessar to silence the implacables.

The oppressor will resort to any mea. ne asarynto silence the im-
placables.

The oppressor. endorsed spokesmen, and the implacables form th e three points of a triangle of death.

The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the srath of the ipplacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressors and endorsed leaders as his d deadly enemies. If any thing, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know athat they can deal with the oppressor only after t they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the encorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses.The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-strikeh frenzy, and they leap into a rash act-- murder, imprisonment, or exile -- to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs --food, shelter and clothing, and securityn for themselfes and their loved ones.

The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure attempted to sel l the people the simple -minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a $40, 000 home; being able and to eat with white people in a restaurant (wile in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a $40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The communtiy realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Brass roots-- the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the handpicked handkerchif heads

kerchief haends endorsed by the power structure the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in long resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman that could be delaalt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshhold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen inma bag that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to theultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation andliberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the blakk masses denied this victory But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strort on their corner of the triangle, facing athe racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorded spokesmen. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and taking first things first are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too l long.

POLITICAL EDUCATION KIT
for Black Panther Party Members

Primary Objective Objective of Our Party:
To Establish Revolutionary Political Power
for Black People

The Black Panther is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the Black Panther Party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting: besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, our Party must also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations. The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns and force not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organizing them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting looses its meaning and the Black Panther Party looses the reason for its existence.

MARGINAL RULE: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party

MOTTO: We do not Want War. We Are The Advocates of the Abolition of War, But War Can Only Be Abolished through War, and in order to get rid of the Gun, It Is Necessary to Pick Up the Gun

All Power to the People
Black Power to Black People

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not tell indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction: to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to prideoneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slopshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself. This is an eleventh type.

TOWARD A NEW CONSTITUTION

by

Huey P. Newton

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BANDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND OF NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATE.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE 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 OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR 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 SHOWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAT TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. 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.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES' CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Plenary Session

Workshop: Control and Use of the Educational System

1. Liberation schools set-up for pre-school age children
2. Entering school with a political consciousness
3. Community control of schools:
   a. Parents controlling curriculum
   b. Community elected board officers
   c. Power to hire and fire teachers belongs to community elected board
4. Intellectual and cultural education shall be available to all persons:
   a. Education will deal with the means of survivsl of the various portions of society
   b. Education for students will deal with the student as an individual
   c. The workings of the system or political education should be taught for constant political consciousness
   d. Schools and institutes will make advanced study available free ato any person
   e. The schools will encourage all persons to expand and realize their creative aspirations. It will especially encourage study in socialist society, human survival, and the truth and workings of the present society

Students' Rights

1. Students in any school will have the right to freedom of speech, dress, and assembly
2. Student government should be controlled by the students
   a. No rules set-up for who runs for office, ex., grades, conduct, politics, participation in other activities
   b. Student controlled press (paper), student board to decide what goes in paper snf what does not go in
   c. Freddom to assembly whenever problems arise that the students feel should be solved collectively on a face to face basis
   d. Student activities not mandatory
   e. Assemblies left to student decision in accordance with what they feel to be relevant in what things directly relate to them
   f. No guards in schools for any reason. Community and students will deal with all problems, major or minor
   g. Students decide their courses according to what they want and think they need. No set curriculum. Courses will be fit to students, not students to the courses
   h. New grading system established.

All Power to the People!

We the people believe that education should serve the people. It should expose the true nature of this society. Education should assist in teaching us our socialist ideas, and stand as a basis for our socialist practice.

The power of education should and will belong in the hands of the people. We believe that education plays a major role in this system of programming. So we the people must penetrate and seize this tool of the power structure and turn it into a weapon to be used against it.

STATEMENT OF DEMANDS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION FROM THE MALE REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL GAY LIBERATION

WE DEMAND:

1. THE RIGHT TO BE GAY ANYTIME, ANYPLACE.
2. THE RIGHT TO FREE PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGE AND MODIFICATION OF SEX UPON DEMAND.
3. THE RIGHT OF FREE DRESS AND ADORNMENT.
4. THAT ALL MODES OF HUMAN SEXUAL SELF-EXPRESSION DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE LAW, AND SOCIAL SANCTION.
5. EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT TO DEVELOP IN A NON-SEXIST, NON-POSSESSIVE ATMOSPHERE, WHICH IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL PEOPLE TO CREATE.
6. THAT A FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM PRESENT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF HUMAN SEXUALITY, WITHOUT ADVOCATING ANY ONE FORM OR STYLE; THAT SEX ROLES AND SEX DETERMINED SKILLS BE NOT FOSTERED BY THE SCHOOLS.
7. THAT LANGUAGE BE MODIFIED SO THAT NO GENDER TAKE PRIORITY.
8. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM BE RUN BY THE PEOPLE THRU PEOPLE'S COURTS; THAT ALL PEOPLE BE TRIED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR PEER GROUP.
9. THAT GAYS BE REPRESENTED IN ALL GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.
10. THAT ORGANIZED RELIGIONS BE CONDEMNED FOR AIDING IN THE GENOCIDE OF GAY PEOPLE, AND ENJOINED FROM TEACHING HATRED AND SUPERSTITION.
11. THAT PSYCHIATRY AND PSYCHOLOGY BE ENJOINED FROM ADVOCATING A PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORM OF SEXUALITY, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THAT PREFERENCE BY SHOCK TREATMENT, BRAINWASHING, IMPRISONMENT, ETC.
12. THE ABOLITION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY BECAUSE IT PERPETUATES THE FALSE CATEGORIES OF HOMOSEXUALITY AND HETEROSEXUALITY.
13. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF AND REPARATIONS FOR GAY AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM PRISONS AND MENTAL INSTITUTIONS, THE SUPPORT BY GAY POLITICAL PRISONERS OF ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS.
14. THAT GAYS DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES.
15. THAT ALL PEOPLE SHARE EQUALLY THE LABOR AND PRODUCTS OF SOCIETY, REGARDLESS OF SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION.
16. THAT TECHNOLOGY BE USED TO LIBERATE ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD FROM DRUDGERY.
17. THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF GAYS IN THE PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.
18. FINALLY, THE END OF DOMINATION OF ONE PERSON BY ANOTHER.

GAY POWER TO GAY PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

SEIZE THE TIME

STATEMENT OF THE GAY HOMOSEXUAL WORKSHOP

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE COMPLETE UNTIL ALL MEN ARE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR LOVE FOR ONE ANOTHER SEXUALLY. WE ASSERT THE SEXUALITY OF OUR LOVE. THE SOCIAL INSTITUTION WHICH PREVENTS US ALL FROM EXPRESSING OUR TOTAL REVOLUTIONARY LOVE, WE DEFINE AS SEXISM.

SEXISM IS A BELIEF OR PRACTICE THAT THE SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION OF HUMAN BEINGS GIVES TO SOME THE RIGHT TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES, POWERS, OR POINTS, WHILE DENYING TO OTHERS THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. WITHIN THE COMPLEX OF OUR SOCIETY, SEXISM IS PRIMARILY MANIFESTED THROUGH MALE SUPERIORITY AND HETEROSEXUAL CHAUVINISM. SINCE IN THE SHORT RUN SEXISM BENEFITS CERTAIN PERSONS OR GROUPS, IN THE LONG RUN IT CANNOT SERVE ALL THE PEOPLE, AND PREVENTS THE FORMING OF COMPLETE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG STRAIGHT MEN.

SEXISM IS IRRATIONAL, UNJUST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. SEXISM PREVENTS THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE.

WE DEMAND THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SEXISM BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. WE DEMAND THAT ALL REVOLUTIONARIES DEAL INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, WITH THEIR OWN SEXISM.

WE RECOGNIZE AS A VANGUARD REVOLUTIONARY ACTION THE HUEY P. NEWTON STATEMENT ON GAY LIBERATION. WE RECOGNIZE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS BEING THE VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

NO REVOLUTION WITHOUT US."

AN ARMY OF LOVERS CANNOT LOSE.

The revolutionary Asians of I Wor Kuen extend our fraternal support to all our Third world brothers and sisters and especially our struggling brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. We understand that all peoples of color throughout the world are oppressed by the racist pig amerikan system. And we see that all our struggles lead to one common goal: the total destruction of the amerikan fascist state.

Asian peoples are well familiar with the methods of fascist repression and enslavement. Asians within amerika are a colonized people. Ever since the 1800's when we have been kidnapped, indentured, and tricked into coming to this so-called mountain of gold, Asian-Amerikans have suffered all possible forms of oppression under this capitalist system. Chinese were brought to California to work as forced laborers in railroads, mines, swamps, plantations and cities of the white imperialists. By 1890 from railroad and land reclamations projects alone, Chinese people were responsible for $209,000, that the state of California stole from the people. Not only did these honky pigs steal from us but they did everything else conceivable to oppress us. Asians have been beaten massacred and humiliated by mobs of racist white dogs. When we finished building up the west, the hordes of greedy expansionist white people crowded into California and forced us into isolated urban ghettos where we have ad to struggle for a meager existence ever since.

This country's racist treatment of Asian people reached new heights, of brutality during the second world war when hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese men women and children were forced into concentration camps. In the name of protection of democracy the fascist pigs considered before Congress a law to castrate all Japanese males.

In the midst of all this oppression it is easy to see why so much false and dispicable racist stereotypes against yellow people had developed. Because yellow people were forced to enslave themselves through economic necessity to the most degrading and humiliating work as domestics, cooks gardeners and the worst of all, as houseboys, many people say that Asians are passive and have not struck back against this avaricious monster. But history has shown and will continue to show that we have a long record of dealing with pigs. Because we have had no constitutional rights as human beings, whites have constantly invaded our communities to vent their racist insecurities by brutalizing yellow people. But it was not long before we picked up the gun and chased these renegade dogs out, servicing them notice that their next exit would be in a pine box. This struggle of day to day survival goes on unceasingly. Working class Asians, who emigrate from other imperialist colonies abroad have faced such tremendous exploitation there, that they are fooled by the lies of which the U.S. imperialist lackey dangles in their faces. Upon arrival in this country, they face the naked reality of co isolation, economical exploitation, psychological castration and political disenfranchisement enforced by the gestapo FBI and its lackey international mafioso running dog Chiang Kai-shek reing regime within our own communities.

Asians in this country understand that our oppression is no different from the systematic killing and robbing of colored peoples in the U.S. and around the world. Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol Clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resume the bombing of North Vietnam and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. U.S. Imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. Asians, like our Third world brothers and sisters, understand that this monster is the perpetrator of the most hideous crime against us people of color such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to which we are sworn to avenge.

Following the standard of revolutionary China, we join, the liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. History has shown that this country has long kept in mind its ability to exterminate an entire race of people with concentration camps and methods of mass execution. Such camps exist and are are ever ready for us. Pig, J.Edgar Hoover has long stated that every yellow

persons is a threat to the security of this country. Asians in fascist Amerikkka harbour no doubts that the genocide perpetuated upon our brothers in Asia [illegible] will soon fall upon us as well. The internment of Japanese during World War II is but a slight, compared to the bloodbath that will occur the next time. We have stated before and we state again that we will not submit to any fascist slaughter without a fight! The only way to prevent this bloodbath is the destruction of the American fascist system with all possible speed. As brother Huey P. Newton, Minister of the Black Panther Party who sees the survival of black people dependent upon the speedient destruction of this pig system, it is clear to us in I Wor Kuen that all oppressed peoples must unite and deal a death blow to this fascist system.

I Wor Kuen finds that there are many contradictions among the people with regard to the racist attitudes towards our brothers and sisters. As brother Huey states, " we recognize our brothers liberation struggle as our own can we bring about the speedient possible destruction of the Amerikkkan fascist state. Because of the racist stereotypes which this system has forced upon us Asians as well as our Third World brothers and sisterstend to see Asiansas non revolutionary people and find it hard to relate to revolutionary China which actively support the world wide struggle against our common enemy. The division within the Third World racist attitudes towards each other must be [illegible] and struggled against and resolved in order to achieve true Third World unity which is essential for the revolution. It is the spirit of the internationalism from which every revolutionary must learn. Leninism teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if all Third World Peoples support each other's liberation struggle in the colonies and semi colonies. We revolutionaries must put this line into practice. We must educate this concept to our [illegible] peoples. This is our internationalism, the internationalism which oppose both narrow minded racism and narrow minded nationalism. People of the World unite and defeat U.S. aggressor and all its running dogs. Unity is Strength

Chairman Mao and Chairman Dobby

in solidarity.

I Wor Kuen (Righteous Harmonious Fist)
24 Market ST., New York city, N.Y.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES' CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
PLENARY SESSION

Workshop: Control and Use of Military and Police
Reggie

Proposals on the Military

1. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militia, trained in guerilla warfare, on a voluntary basis and consisting of both men and women.
2. The U.S. shall not maintain a standing army, since hictorically a standing army has been used for offensive actions against the people of the United States and around the world.
3. No genocidal weapons shall be manufactured or used.
4. All presently existing offensive equipment and installations shall be made inoperable and unservicable for its original purpose.
5. The people shall be educated and informed on the action of the militia, and all records shall be open to the public.
6. The government shall be prohibited from sending any personnel, funds, or equipment to any nation for military or police purposes. It should also be prohibited from spending more than 10% of the national budget for any military or police purposes. This can be overridden by a majority vote in a national referendum.
7. No person shall serve full-time in the militia; those serving in the militia shall be paid a fair wage.
8. Militia members shall be governed by the laws of the community in which they serve (or governed by the laws of the nation??)
9. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militias.
10. There shall be no conscription for any armed forces.
11. No peoples' militia shall be stationed outside national boundaries.
12. Government people and military personned should be defined as one and the same, and not as separate entities in or of the power structure.
13. The people shall have the right to bear arms.
    a. No citizen shall be prohibited the possession, control or purchase of small arms without the due porcess of the law.
    b. Free programs shall be set-up in the training and use of small arms.

Organization, Use of, and Control of the Police

1. The police force shall be a rotating volunteer non-professional body co-ordinated by the Police Control Board from a (weekly) list of volunteers from each community section. The Police Control Board, its policies, as well as the police leadership, shall be chosed by direct popular majority vote of the community.
2. There shall not be set-up, or permitted to exist, a national body of police, or secret body of police, nor shall un-uniformed police be permitted to exist.
3. Any citizen can bring charges against any member or officer of the police force before the Control Board, and the Control Board

shall have the power to relieve that member or officer of the police force of his or her duty.

4. Community Police Councils may set-up working relations and exchange information with police forces in other communities.
5. The purpose of the people's police force shall be to serve protect the community.
6. No person can serve on both the police force and the Control Board at the same time.
7. Any member of the Control Board can be removed by direct, popular vote of the people.
8. Funds for communitypolice force and for the community's Control Board shall be provided for by national government under directiona of local Control Board.

REVOLUTIONARY ART

THE WORKSHOP ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTS AND ARTIST HEREBY SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION:

WE RECOGNIZE;

1. THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE BORN WITH A CREATIVE POTENTIAL AND THAT THE SOCIETY MUST GUARANTEE THAT EVERY PERSON HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP AND EXPRESS THAT POTENTIAL.

2. THAT ART IS A CREATIVE EXPRESSION OF A PEOPLE'S CULTURE OR WAY OF LIFE.

3. WE RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF EVERY PEOPLE'S CULTURE TO ITS FORM OF EXPRESSION AND THAT THOSE FORMS OF EXPRESSIONS SHOULD BE PRESERVED, ENCOURAGED AND DEVELOPED.

4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ART SHOULD BE RELATED TO THE INTERESTS, NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

HUEY'S MESSAGE TO THE
PLENARY SESSION

Friends and comrades throughout the United States and throughout the world, we gather here in peace and friendship to claim our inalienable rights, to claim the rights bestowed upon us by an unbroken train of abuses and usurpations, and to perform the duty which is thus required of us. Our sufferance has been long and patient, our prudence has stayed this final hour, but our human dignity and strength requires that we still the voice of prudence with the cries of our sufferance. Thus we gather in the spirit of revolutionary love and friendship for all oppressed people of the world regardless of their race or the race and doctrine of their oppressors. We gather to proclaim to the world that for 200 years we have suffered this long train of abuses and usurpations while holding to the hope that this would pass. We recognize however, that it has now passed and we are a people who enjoy no equal protection of the law, and our future action must be guided by our sufferance, and not by our prudence.

Two centuries ago when the United States was a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the conditions which prevailed in the nation, and the assumptions upon which its foundations were built, were such that they ensured the United States would come to its maturity under circumstances which mean that for a substantial proportion of its citizens' life is nothing more than a prison of poverty, and the only happiness we enjoy is the laughing to keep from crying.

The United States of America was born at a time when the nation covered relatively little land, a narrow strip of political divisions on the Eastern seaboard. The United States of America was born at a time when the population was small and fairly homogeneous both racially and culturally. Thus the people called Americans were a different people in a different place. Furthermore, they had a different economic system. The small population and the fertile land available meant that with the agricultural emphasis of the economy, people were able to advance according to their motivation and ability. It was an agricultural economy and with the circumstances surrounding it, Democratic Capitalism flourished in the new nation.

The following years were to see this new nation rapidly develop into a multi-limbed giant. The new nation acquired land and spread from a narrow strip on the eastern seaboard to cover the entire continent with but few exceptions. The new nation acquired a population to fill this newly acquired land. This population was drawn from the continents of Africa, Asia, Europe and South America. Thus a nation conceived by homogenous people of a small number and in a small area grew into a nation of a heterogeneous people, comprising a large number, and spread across an entire continent. This change in the fundamental characteristics of the nation and its people substantially changed the nature of American society. Furthermore, the social changes were marked by economic changes. A rural and agricultural economy became an urban and industrialized economy, as farming was replaced by manufacturing. The Democratic Capitalism of our early days became caught up in a relentless drive to obtain profits until the selfish motivation for profit eclipsed the unselfish principles of democracy. Thus 200 years later we have an overdeveloped economy which is so infused with the need for profit that we have replaced Democratic Capitalism with Bureaucratic Capitalism. The free opportunity of all men to pursue their economic ends has been replaced by constraints placed upon Americans by the large corporations which control and direct our economy. They have sought to increase their profits at the expense of the people, and particularly at the expense of the racial and ethnic minorities.

The history of the United States, as distinguished from the promise of the idea of the United States leads us to the conclusion that our sufferance is basic to the functioning of the government of the United States. We see this when we note the basic contradictions found in the history of this nation. The government, the social institutions, and the legal documents which brought freedom from oppression, which brought human dignity and human rights to one portion of the people of this nation had entirely opposite consequences from another portion of the people. While the majority group achieved their basic human

rights [illegible] minorities achieved alienation from the [illegible] their fathers and slavery. The evidence for this is clear and incontrovertible.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that the expansion of the United States government and the acquisition of lands was at the unjust expense of the American Indians the original possessors of the land and still its legitimate heirs. The long march of the Cherokees on the "Trail of Tears" and the actual disappearance of many other Indian nations testifies to the unwillingness and inability of this government and this government's constitution to incorporate racial minorities.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that even while the early settlers were proclaiming their freedom they were deliberately and systematically depriving Africans of their freedom. These basic contradictions were further exacerbated by acts which implicitly admitted that the majority was wrong, but unwilling to do right. Thus when the Declaration of Independence was drafted the Founding Fathers struck all mention of the slave trade. Thus when the United States Constitution was drafted the Founding Fathers considered the slave as equivilent to 3/5 of a man. Thus when the slaves were emancipated the descendants of the Founding Fathers compromised that freedom to gain further territory. These compromises were so basic to the thinking of our forebears that legal attempts to correct the contradictions through constitutional amendments and Civil Rights laws have produced no change in our condition and we are still a people without equal protection and due process of law. We recognize then that the oppressive acts of the United States government when contrasted with the testaments of freedom, carries forward a basic contradiction found in all the legal documents upon which this government is based.

Generation after generation of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in America have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of the children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own decendents wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation, holding only to the hope of change in the future. This hope has sustained us for many years and has led us to suffer the administrations of a corrupt government. At the dawn of the 20th Century this hope led us to formulate a Civil Rights movement in the belief that this government would eventually fulfill its promise to Black people. We did not recognize, however, that any attempt to complete the promise of an 18th Century Revolution in the framework of a 20th Century government, economy and society was doomed to failure. The decendents of that small company of original settlers of this land are not among the common people of today, they have become a small ruling class in control of a worldwide economic system. The constitution set up by their ancestors to serve the people no longer serves the people, for the people have changed. The people of the 18th Century have become the ruling class of the 20th Century, and the people of the 20th Century are the decendents of the slaves and dispossessed of the 18th Century. The constitution set up to serve the people of the 18th Century now serves the ruling class of the 20th Century, and the people of today stand wanting for a foundation of their own life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. The Civil Rights Movement has not produced this foundation, and it cannot produce this foundation because of the nature of the United States society and economy. The vision of the Civil Rights Movement is to achieve goals which have been altered by 200 years of change. Thus the Civil Rights Movement and similar movements have produced no foundation for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They have produced humiliating programs of welfare and unemployment compensation, programs with sufficient form to deceive the people, but with insufficient substance to change the fundamental distribution of power and resources in this country.

Moreover, while these movements attempt to get minorities into the system, we note that the government continues its pattern of practices which contradict its democratic rhetoric. We recognize now that we see history repeating itself, but on an international as well as a national scale. The relentless drive for profit led this nation to colonize, oppress and exploit its minorities. This profit drive took this nation from democratic capitalism and underdevelopment, to bureaucratic capitalism and overdeveloped industry. Now we see that this small ruling class continues its profit drive by oppressing and exploiting the peoples of the world. Throughout the world the lumpenproletariat is crushed so that the profits of American industry can continue to flow. Throughout the world the freedom struggles of op-

people are opposed by this government because they are a threat to bureaucratic capitalism in the United States of America.

We gather here to let it be known at home and abroad that a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness has in its maturity become and imperialist power dedicated to death, oppression and the pursuit of profits. We will not be deceived by so many of our fellow men, we will not be blinded by small changes in form which lack any change in the substance of imperialist expansion. Our suffering has been too long, our sacrificies have been too great, and our human dignity is too strong for us to be prudent any longer.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM AND THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A TRUE EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FAIR TRIALS FOR ALL MEN BY A JURY OF THEIR PEERS.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED NATIONS PLEBECITE TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American government--that is the Constitution, its legal foundation. This loss of faith is based upon the overwhelming evidence that this government will not live according to that constitution because the constitution is not designed for its people. For this reason we assemble a constitutional convention to consider rational and positive alternatives. Alternatives which will place their emphasis on the common man. Alternatives which will bring about a new economic system in which the rewards as well as the work will be equally shared by all people--a Socialist framework. Alternatives which will guarantee that within the Socialist framework all groups will be adequately represented in the decision-making and administration which affects their lives. Alternatives which will guarantee that all men will attain their full manhood rights, that they will be able to live, be free, and seek out those goals which give them respect and dignity while permitting the same privileges for every other man regardless of his condition or status.

The sacredness of man and of the human spirit requires that human dignity and integrity ought to be always respected by every other man. We will settle for nothing less, for at this point in history anything less is but a living death. WE WILL BE FREE and we are here to ordain a new constitution which will ensure our freedom by enshrining the dignity of the human spirit.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE:
THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION."

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses th what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. This first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageour for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard pary existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one cal learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through ob ervation

-Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burnt By The Fascists in Another Vicious Attempt To Sabotage The Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the NCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness/reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repared. The truck was towed away and left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Hertz in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Hertz informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves reparied the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter communalism.

All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
November 28, 1970

-Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burnt By The Fascists in Another Feeble Attempt To Subverse The Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter-communalism.

All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
November 28, 1970

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burnt By The Fascists in Another Desperate Attempt To Sabotage The Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

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All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
November 28, 1970

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA, [illegible] BURNT BY THE FASCISTS IN ANOTHER FURTHER ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston Salem, North Carolina.

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POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

November 28, 1970

Serving The People

We should be modest and prudnet, guard against arr rogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese People heart and soul ...

Our point of departure is to serve the people wholr heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed inall cases from the interests or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party.

The organs of state must practise democrtic centralism, they must rely on the masses and their personnel must serve the people

Comrade Bethunes spirit, his uttor devotion to others without anynthought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of reponsibility in his work and his boundless warmherted ness towards all comrades and the people. Every C Communist must learn from him.

We mus all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spiriteveryone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already nobleminded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vuigar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

OUr Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New F Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are whoolly dedicated to the liberation of the peopleand work entirely in the people's interests.

All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. HOw then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?

OUr duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the p people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected- that is what being responsible to the people.means.

Whgrever there struggle there is sacrifice, and deadh is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people' and the suiferings of the great majoritu at heart, andwhen we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrificos

All men must die, byt death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, "Though deth befalls all men alike, it may be haveavier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, byt to work for the fascists and die for the exploiterd and oppressors is lighter than a feather.

message of Brother Stokely Carmichal, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to perpare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The vanguard group only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will fell no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Part for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their x resistance struggle.

of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the balck revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is perpared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to perpare itself with guns, because it is already more than perpared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party mechinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]tion
[illegible]
[illegible] 94607
415/ [illegible]
[illegible]
5049

San Francisco
[illegible] Distribution
1516 [illegible], Calif. 94315
415/ 922-[illegible]
0095

Community Centers
[illegible] Point Road #311
415/282-1521

135 Kiska Road #304
San Francisco, Calif.
415/ 822-3966

Oakland
Community Centers
1321 99th Ave.
E. Oakland, Calif.
415/ 635-0944

1690 Tenth Street
W. Oakland, Calif.
415/465-7089

Day Care Center
1106 Campbell Street
W. Oakland, Calif.
415/632-5249

Richmond
42[illegible] Chesley Ave.
Richmond, Calif.
415/233-0533

Boston
25 [illegible]throp Street
Roxbury, Mass
617/422-[illegible]
0101

Chicago
[illegible] W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612
312/ 738-0778
0779

Denver - N.C.C.P.
[illegible] Street
Denver, Colorado 80205
303/[illegible]-1834

Indianapolis
414 [illegible]
Indianapolis, Ind
317/[illegible]-0157

Los Angeles
[illegible] Street
Compton, Calif.
[illegible]
1764

Community Centers
[illegible]
Los Angeles, Calif.
213/ [illegible]

2136 [illegible]
Los Angeles, Calif.
213/ [illegible]-2728

Medical Clinic
[illegible] Ave.
213/ [illegible]

New Haven
35 [illegible] Ave.
New Haven, Conn.
203/562-[illegible]
8557

New York
1570 [illegible] Road
Bronx, N.Y. 11212
212/ [illegible]-9911
[illegible]
Emerg.---[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] Ave.
N.Y., New York
212/ [illegible]-[illegible]
[illegible]

Brooklyn Branch
[illegible] Sutter Ave.
Brooklyn, N.Y.
212/ [illegible]-2791
[illegible]-7[illegible]
[illegible]-6[illegible]

Community Centers
45- [illegible] Street
Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550
914/ 667-9419

Corona
101 [illegible] Northern Blvd.
212/ 779-1267
1263

Jamaica
153 [illegible] South Rd.
212/ 526-4531

Philadelphia
[illegible] Columbia Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19[illegible]
215/ [illegible]-[illegible]525

Washington, D.C.
[illegible] N.W.
Washington, D.C. [illegible]
202/ [illegible]
[illegible]
667-[illegible]
Ministry--
202/ [illegible]-4418

AUG 24 1970

() I am coming to the Revolutionary People's Plenary Session.
() I will not need Housing arrangements.
() I will need housing arrangement.
() I will not need transportation
() I will need transportation
()oter of members of of my will be attending.-Don.

Name [redacted]
Address
City
Phone _____ org. _____
Non-Org. _____ phone (for org) _____ Adress _____ City _____ State _____

724-1655

REVOLVING CHARGE ACCOUNT AGREEMENT

Cash

ORDER NO. | CAR NO.

NOTICE TO BUYER
(1) Do not sign this agreement before you read it (both sides hereof) or if it contains blank spaces. (2) You are entitled to an exact copy of this agreement at the time you sign it. Keep it to protect your legal rights. (3) You have the right to pay in advance the full amount due. Buyer hereby acknowledges receipt of a true executed copy of this agreement.

064576 Esso STANDARD OIL & REFINING CO. and dealer in ESSO products CUSTOMER COPY

[illegible]
could be

J 8872781

Eugene Philyan

[redacted]

Emma King

[redacted] Durham

Kip McGaugley

[redacted]

404

[redacted]

1-178-1635-094

Money Check [illegible]

$ 115.00 [illegible]
37.50 Paper Bill
325.00 Paper Bills [illegible]
$ 377.50 [illegible]

Distribution Books

One book [illegible]
(1) [illegible]
(2) [illegible]
(3) [illegible]
(4) [illegible]
(5) [illegible]
(6) [illegible]
(7) [illegible]

When material or papers are sent out, send an invoice to that station. (White Copy)
When bill is paid send a receipt.
File Invoices in a small box [illegible] Copy
Keep Clear Copyright Book
Remember [illegible]
Information on Constitutional Chairman, [illegible]
[illegible] (5) Monthly Receipts
[illegible] Work to do (6) Account of Papers

5) Monthly Receipts Summary Report takes from [illegible] money used. Money brought in finance [illegible]

Sample Invoice Sheet

Date

Sold to Section

Salesman R.H.

No	Description	Price each	Total
20	Posters	100 each	20.00

Total Due 30.00

Reminder Pad

Get another desk and use other room for finance and distribution.

If you call again, ask Hand if she got that money straight at National.

Empire Shed [illegible] Book,
Book Credit (Paper & Materials)

Date	Description	Paid Expenses	Charge	Credit	[illegible]	Balance	Charge
		Stock Credit			Billion Credit		

[illegible] 5G1[illegible]7
[illegible]

Invoice Book
Receipt Book
Distribution Book - Seven

Phone - Ann's & Headquarters

On Practice Learn - Difference in theoretician & practician

Called in,
1) Bring more paper if possible
2) Bring duplicating paper

Sample - Accrual of Papers

Papers Ordered	Papers Received	Cost	Paid	Due	Volume

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
United States Empire - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

pragmatism - [illegible]
Given up claim to [illegible] [illegible]

August 30 1970 P.E. Clark [illegible]

The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Changes [illegible] Statement

Are Panthers that link Liberation School [illegible] in the Day Care Center. (Plenary Session)

Start Working on Transportation for November 4th now!

Before you send card [illegible], Confirm it [illegible]

Spots on Pedro - Appeal to people that we need transportation or Money Badly.

Each Chapter Brings - Mimeograph machine typewriter tape recorder with paper, ink, & tape cartridges. (5)
Information People Next Tuesday.
Put Names on Machines
Cameras - Should be kept with you, Bring films
People from each Chapter, Branch, or TCCI
Information
Security
Liberation School Teacher
[illegible] Typist

Everybody should try to get [illegible] Sleeping Bags
Folding Cots