



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**PART 10 OF 15**

**BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706**

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -

NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 9

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>CHARLOTTE</b>	REPORT MADE AT <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>1/22/71</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>11/12/70 - 1/13/71</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)</b>		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY <b>jeb</b>
CHARACTER OF CASE <b>RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITION CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION</b>			

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA THOMAS H. GEORGE 11/25/70.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified Confidential to protect sources whose identities or compromise could adversely affect the National Defense interest of the United States.

*Do NOT Disseminate This Report*

*lit done  
2/19/71  
CAF 2/1/71*

EXP. PROC. 2/1/71

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CON VIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED: *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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**105-165706-8-404**

**REC-48**

**103**

**JAN 27 1971**

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By

Notations  
*[Signature]*  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

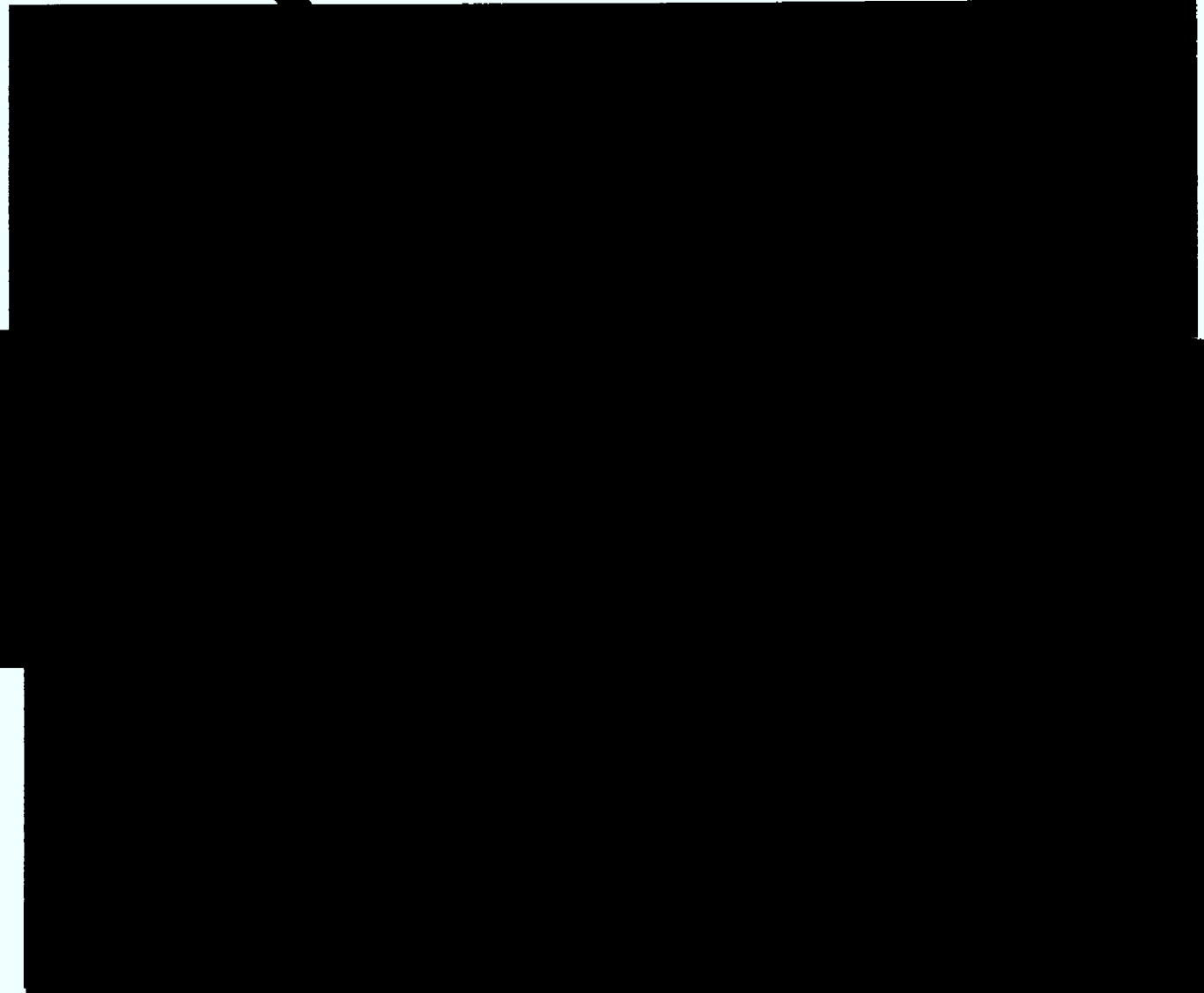
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CE 157-6171

INFORMANTS:

Ident:

Location:



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SF T-16, SF T-22 and WF T-10 are technical installations  
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any information obtained, if to be made public, must be introduced by the Special Agent of the particular office having made the pertinent transcript.

Unless otherwise noted, investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by SA [REDACTED] at High Point, N. C., by SA [REDACTED]; and at Chapel Hill, N. C., by SA [REDACTED]

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE

AT HIGH POINT AND WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will follow activities of Black Panther Party.

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

C\*  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: January 22, 1971

Office: CHARLOTTE

Field Office File #: CE 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character: RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY;  
REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Synopsis: The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism operates as a Black Panther Party affiliated group at Winston-Salem, N. C., and furnishes leadership for activities at High Point, Chapel Hill, and Lumberton, N. C. Former headquarters at 1602 E. Fourteenth Street burned 11/27/70 and activities were moved to 1616 E. 23rd Street and 1127 E. 23rd Street, in addition to another house at 1386 Wilson Street. Group has obtained weapons, fortified their headquarters, and receives and sells the Black Panther Party newspaper.

- P -

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DETAILS:

Characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Students for a Democratic Society, and Young Socialist Alliance, are attached as appendices to this report.



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I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND POLICIES AS  
EXPRESSED BY BLACK PANTHER PARTY LEADERS

On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported that at approximately 12 noon, one rental truck bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED], a white Thunderbird bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED], a red Dodge bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED], and a Volkswagen Station Wagon bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED] departed the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Headquarters at Winston-Salem, apparently en route to Washington, D. C. No estimate could be made of the exact number of people in the group.

Records of the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles (NCDMV), as obtained from the Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, indicate that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1960 Ford Sedan to [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1965 Dodge two-door in the name of [REDACTED], North Carolina; that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1967 Volkswagen Station Wagon to [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and that North Carolina License 2594-H is registered to a 1968 International Truck owned by Truck Leasing Service, 507 Arlington Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, National Committee to Combat Fascism, had made inquiries of a number of bus lines concerning the leasing of a bus for a trip to Washington, D. C. LITTLE was offered a bus by [REDACTED]; however, he failed to recontact the bus line to obtain a bus and his method of transportation to Washington, D. C., is not known to [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] who has knowledge of activities at Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, reported that on November 25, 1970, approximately twenty individuals, all white members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), New University Conference, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) or other such group, plan to travel to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC) with this travel to be made by personally owned automobiles. Exact details were not known to [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] reported the following information:

On November 27, 1970, the Southern Section of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention registered at the All Saints Unitarian Church located at Sixteenth Street and Harvard Avenue, Washington, D. C. There were approximately seventy five to one hundred persons there at about 9 a.m., sixty per cent of which were white.

Two security guards were observed at each entrance to the church. No one with a camera was permitted to enter and one person who endeavored to do so was bodily thrown out. No fee was charged for registration, but donations for the Black Panther Party were received and most people gave \$5 or more.

Upon registration, the normal registration packet was not provided, instead each person was given a slip of paper reflecting the registration, but containing no instructions. Those people who registered were told to wait and most did so throughout the morning without receiving any instructions whatsoever.

Among those observed outside the church were the following:

[REDACTED]

Cars, operated in the area by the white persons seeking to attend the convention, bore license numbers including South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia.

There were persons in the area selling books such as Education and Revolution by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, The Ideology of the BPP, Capitalism Does Equals Genocide, and We The People. Also being sold in the area were newspapers including Rise Up in Anger of the Women's Liberation, The Quick Silver Times, The Militant, and the BPP paper.

On November 27, 1970, after lunch, the group continued to hang around the Unitarian Church until about 4:45 p.m. No significant instructions were received. Many of those present were furious at the lack of organization. However, it was announced that there would be a mass meeting in the Malcolm X Park at Seventeenth Street and Euclid Street that night.

There a person, referred to as "BIG MAN", spoke. He told how Howard University should have let the Black Panther Party hold the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on campus free. His talk and the activities in the park concluded by about 9 p.m.

"BIG MAN" appeared to be a Negro male, twenty five to twenty seven years of age, six feet three inches tall, weighing 200 pounds, with an Afro hairdo and a Vandyke beard with a very black complexion.

On Saturday, November 28, 1970, approximately one thousand persons were gathered at the Unitarian Church. Most of those present, a large number of whom were white, broke into small discussion groups on an informal basis as there was again no formal program or workshop.

Sometime during the morning, approximately five members from the Black Panther Party, including a person identified as MICHAEL TARBOR, from New York, New York, appeared briefly and announced that the constitution would be read at Saint Stevens Episcopal Church that night.

At approximately 7:15 p.m., November 28, 1970, Saint Stevens Episcopal Church in Washington, D. C., was filled to capacity. In addition, microphones were set up to play to people in the yard outside. MICHAEL TARBOR did most of the talking. He gave a brief background of the various workshops in connection with the creation of the constitution. Included in these workshops were the following:

Women's Liberation

Gay Liberation

Women In General

E. C. Women

Means of Production

Control of Land

Control of Military

Internationalism

Self-Determination for Street People

Self-Determination for National Minorities

Children's Rights

Revolutionary Artists

Religious Repression

Drugs

Health

Education

Legal System

Political Prisons

A list of information centers was furnished and the constitution read.

On Sunday, November 29, 1970, a number of persons reassembled at the church. However, mostly white radicals were present. Again there was no formal meeting or announcements.

In general, the tenure of those present was the expression of a general disgust toward the United States Government and expressed preference for Communism. Since the black people were a minority, it was necessary for them, including those led by the Black Panther Party, to combine with the white radicals against the establishment. This group indicated a hope for support from Russia and other Marxist nations.

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On December 4, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that approximately twenty people from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, traveled to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in three cars and a Hertz truck. They arrived late because a wheel came off the truck near Henderson, North Carolina, and the Black Panther Party members from Winston-Salem are accusing the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Hertz of collusion due to this vehicle's failure. It was determined that the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention was described by those in attendance as being a disorganized fiasco and most of the members from Winston-Salem were put to work on their arrival at such places as a medical clinic or typing, filing, and so forth. U

On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES ARTHUR COWERS and RUSSELL EDWARD DONALD were the only known individuals from the Lumberton, North Carolina, area, who attended the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention during the Thanksgiving weekend. As of [REDACTED], these two had not returned to Lumberton and there was some indication that a Panther member from New York will come with them when they do return. U

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he first joined the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, [REDACTED] at which time ROBERT GREER was the head man. [REDACTED] stated that, since [REDACTED] GREER left the BPP, the unit in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has been falling apart. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] named the following individuals as members and sympathizers that he knew of in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

LARRY LITTLE [REDACTED]

JULIUS CORNELL [REDACTED]

BATESTI

JESSE STITT [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # [REDACTED]

by SA [REDACTED] /stp Date dictated [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
2  
ROBERT GREER [REDACTED]

NELSON MALLOY [REDACTED]

HAZEL MACK

DANIEL SMITH

ED McQUEEN [REDACTED]

LEE FAYE MACK

RICKIE HOOPER [REDACTED]

NANCY SMITH

JAMES FORM [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that CLARA and RUTH MACK are not members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as LEE FAYE MACK did not want them to join. [REDACTED] advised that LEE FAYE MACK is not actually a member of the BPP but helps them in many ways. [REDACTED] advised that BATESTI, JESSE SPIIT, and ROBERT GREER are no longer members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as all have quit. He stated that "TOOTSIE" CHRISS quit the NCCF group and her whereabouts is not known to him. He stated that DANIEL SMITH also gave up the BPP, and LARRY LITTLE and JULIUS CORNELL believe SMITH was helping the Police Department.

[REDACTED] advised that, while he was in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, he went through the training program that all community workers go through after which he sold newspapers and talked to the people in the community about the BPP.

[REDACTED] advised that JULIUS CORNELL had advised him that RICHARD CARTER and RONALD CARNES were no longer in Winston-Salem and offered no explanation as to their whereabouts. He advised that LARRY CAIN had left Winston-Salem after being caught in an unknown criminal act. He stated that CAIN and LARRY LITTLE



3 [REDACTED]

never did get along and at one time CAIN was going to complain to National Headquarters in Oakland, California, concerning the way in which the NCCF in Winston-Salem was being handled. [REDACTED] advised that he did not know if CAIN had made the complaint or not.

[REDACTED] advised that THERESA THOMAS, an ex-Black Panther member, had an argument with LARRY LITTLE after which she quit the NCCF.

[REDACTED] advised that, while he was a member of the NCCF at Winston-Salem, he had seen only a few guns around BPP headquarters which was located at 1602 East Fourteenth Street but had never noticed any hand grenades or any other explosive devices.

[REDACTED] stated that he had never informed to the Police Department concerning the NCCF.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that the black people in the black community no longer believe in the BPP

[REDACTED]

4

and the change has been through the leadership. [REDACTED] advised that LARRY LITTLE is no where near the leader that ROBERT GREER was.

nc [REDACTED] advised that he had not seen AUGUSTUS DART, DONALD SHORE or WILLIAM HAZENBY for several months and had no idea as to their whereabouts.

On [REDACTED] 1970, [REDACTED] reported that RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD and JAMES ARTHUR POWERS returned from the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on December 3, 1970, and would make no statement other than that they will make a full report to the Black Panther Party group at Lumberton, North Carolina, at a later date.

[REDACTED] reported that RUSSELL MC DONALD is upset with the Black Panther Party because he had previously been told that if anything went wrong and he was captured by the police, the Black Panther Party would come to his assistance with money and legal help, which has not materialized in connection with his arrest for the shooting at the Urban Redevelopment Commission in Lumberton, North Carolina.

On [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE had made the statement that JANE FONDA, the actress, was on a fund raising campaign for the Black Panther Party in connection with her appearing in Durham, North Carolina, and that HUEY NEWTON is to come to North Carolina in the near future.

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On November 27, 1970, information was received from [REDACTED], that the Black Panther Party Headquarters, 1602 East Fourteenth Street, caught on fire shortly after 1 p.m.

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX  
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### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 12/16/70

[redacted]  
advised the property at 1602 East 14th Street [redacted]  
[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 [redacted] sjw Date dictated 12/10/70

25

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 must be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black 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 prepared 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 prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

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 machinery 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



in the interests of the people and that there are called with  
as the living thing of ... there be any personal  
interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that  
we would not discard?

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XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

We must not become complacent over any success. We should  
check our complacency and constantly criticize our short-  
comings, 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 han-  
dle 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 person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from prin-  
ciple 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 it 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 but 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 deal  
only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own  
opinions. To demand special consideration from the organiza-  
tion 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 the struggle  
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 them,  
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, as if they were not in  
a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary man-  
factor. This is a seventh type.

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN  
XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

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

*Friday*

*National Committee to Combat Terrorism  
1602 E. 14th St.  
Washington - D.C., North Carolina 27105*



6c 57-585

that it might like you the next  
23 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 life to pay. This is  
just another way to oppress the people.  
Everyone knows that ~~housing~~  
housing is one of the basic needs of  
the people.

Explain deeper about the  
EXPLORATION PARTS. That 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.M. classes to move to a higher level and take part in the programs for the people.

#### Existing Programs

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

1. Handguns cont.

C. Balance of Power: Armed with any of the following piece the teaching officer, 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 bbbs.)

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 OOB

1. 20 inches--24 inches effective up to 75 yds. (3/4 block)
2. 18 inches--shortest legal length that can 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-----OOB or Rifled slugs.

1. 26-28 inches--Range 100 yds (cm. block)
2. 28-32 inches--Pump guns effective up to 1 1/2 blocks.

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

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

Lonnie---Continued . . . page 3

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 waived 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 a pained 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 flashing headlines in the big 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 marched 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 Scale, 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 McCluskey to his death. All political prisoners and prisoners of war 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  
HURTY 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 slave-masters. 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 than 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 phenomenal 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 brutal 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 Panther Party for 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 the necessary 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 transformed into 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.

U

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends 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, it means necessary and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected 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, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference 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 order 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 hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. 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 must 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 oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were tied to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the 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 better yet, 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 necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, endorsed spokesman, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesman 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 wrath of the implacables, 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 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 that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed 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 spokesman 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-stricken 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 security for themselves and their loved ones.

The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40, 000 home; being able to dine in a restaurant while 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 community 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 hard-kerchief heads

kerchief heads 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 dealt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm in our time, stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman from whom they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesman. Only with the gun were the Black 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 strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesman. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and taking first things first are moving to expose the endorsed spokesman 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 spokesman 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 long.

**POLITICAL EDUCATION KIT  
for Black Panther Party Members**

**Primary 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 loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

**CRUCIAL RULE: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party**

**NOTE: 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  
feel indignant, or dissuade 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 pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain  
minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks,  
to be slothful 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

Hucy 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.

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

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 survival 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 to 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 and what does not go in
  - c. Freedom 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 PEOPLES CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION  
FROM THE MALE REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL GAY LEGISLATION

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 FORMS 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-POSSSSIVE 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 FORCED 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 HATED AND SUPERSTITION.
11. THAT PSYCHELERY AND PSYCHOLOGY BE ENJOINED FROM ADVOCATING A PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORM OF SEXUALITY, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THAT PREFERENCE BY SHOCK TREATMENT, BRAINWASHING, DEPRIVATION, 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 HUNGER.
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

CHANGE THE TIME

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 AFFIRM THE SEXUALITY OF OUR LOVE. THE SOCIAL INSTITUTION WHICH PREVENTS US ALL FROM EXPRESSING OUR TOTAL REVOLUTIONARY LOVE, WE DENY AS SEXISM.

SEXISM IS A POLICY OR PRACTICE THAT THE SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION OF HUMAN BEINGS GOES TO SOLELY THE RIGHT TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES, POWERS, OR POLS, WHILE DENYING TO OTHERS THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR SOCIETY, SEXISM IS PRIMARILY MANIFESTED THROUGH HATE, CONTEMPT AND HETEROSEXUAL CONVICTION. SINCE IN THE SHORT RUN SEXISM DENIES CERTAIN PERSONS OR GROUPS, IN THE LONG RUN IT CANNOT SERVE ALL THE PEOPLE, AND THEREFORE THE FOSTERING OF COMPLETE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG STRAIGHT MEN.

SEXISM IS REACTIONAL, 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 VINDICATED REVOLUTIONARY ACTION THE HUEY P. BENTON 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.

ALL THE PIGS TO THE BUTCHER

The Third World Asians of I Wor Kuen want a general statement to all our Third World brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. We understand that all peoples of color throughout the world are oppressed by the racist pig American system. And we see that all our struggles lead to one common goal: the total destruction of the American fascist state.

Asian peoples are well familiar with the methods of fascist repression and enslavement. Asians within America are a colonized people. Ever since the 1800's when we have been kidnapped, imprisoned, and tricked into coming to this so-called mountain of gold, Asian-Americans 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 railroads and land reclamation projects alone, Chinese people were responsible for \$200,000,000 that the state of California stole from the people. Not only did those 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 had 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 child 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 despicable 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, cooker 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, carrying 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 whites have constantly invaded our communities to vent their racist insecurities by brutalizing yellow people. Upon arrival in this country, they face the naked reality of isolation, economical exploitation, psychological castration and political disenfranchisement enforced by the Gestapo FBI and its lackey international mafioso running dog Chiang Kai-shek ruling 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 brazenly 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 existence 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 ever ready for us. Pig, J. Edgar Hoover has long stated that every yellow

permanence is a threat to the security of this country. Asians in fascist America harbor no doubts that the atrocities perpetrated upon our brothers in Asia during World War II are but a prelude 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 speediest 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 and we bring about the speediest possible destruction of the American fascist state. Because of the racist stereotypes which this system has forced upon us Asians as well as our Third World brothers and sisters and to see Asians 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 . . . and struggled against and removed 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 peoples. This is our internationalism, the internationalism which opposes 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 Bobby

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 guerrilla warfare, on a voluntary basis and consisting of both men and women.
2. The U.S. shall not maintain a standing army, since historically 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 process 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 chosen 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 and 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 community police force and for the community's Control Board shall be provided for by national government under direction 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 OPPOR-  
TUNITY 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.

FUNERAL MESSAGE TO THE  
PRIMARY 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 patience has stayed this final hour, but our human dignity and strength requires that we still the voice of patience with the cries of our sufferance. Then 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 looking 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 patience.

Two centuries ago when the United States was a new nation, ~~conceived by the framers~~ 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 homogeneous 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 conditions, 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

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rights, the minorities achieved alienation from the land of 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 land was at the unjust expense of the American Indian, the original possessors of the land and still its legitimate heir. The long search of the "Frontier" 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 equivalent 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, carried 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 descendants 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 descendants 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 descendants 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 waiting 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 a

people are oppressed 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 sacrifices 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 PLEBISCITE 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. These things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses than 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 ghettoes of the black nation across the country. This first man who throw 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 advantageous 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 night 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 party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

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

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office Burnt By The  
Fascist Pigs And Their Lackeys On November 27, 1970  
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 repaired. 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 repaired 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  
Fascist Pigs In An Attempt To Prevent 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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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 9 p.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.

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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 repaired 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.

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**All Power To The People**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
November 28, 1970

WINSTON SALEM COMMUNITY UNDER SIEGE BY THE  
FASCIST IN AN ATTEMPT TO PREVENT 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 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 4 p.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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POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

November 28, 1970

### Serving The People

We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul ...

Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the masses, to proceed in all cases 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 practice democratic centralism, they must rely on the masses and their personnel must serve the people

Comrade Bethunes spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him.

We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone 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 noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and 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. Now then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?

Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the 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.

Whenever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices

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



message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, 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 prepare 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 feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party 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 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 black 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 prepared 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 prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

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 machinery 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



624 588

I am coming to the Revolutionary People's Clergyal Session.

I will not need housing arrangements.

I will need housing arrangements.

I will not need transportation

I will need transportation

Other members of my family will be attending. -Don.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ org. \_\_\_\_\_

Non-Org. \_\_\_\_\_ phone (for org) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

721-155

REVOLVING CHARGE ACCOUNT STATEMENT

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

TO: Cash

ORDER NO. \_\_\_\_\_

ACCOUNT NO. \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

ITEM \_\_\_\_\_

AMOUNT \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \$ 405.45

64576

CS50

MOBILE OIL & REFINING CO. CUSTOMER COPY

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



9

587 2781

-172-1635-091

30/11

Eugene Philyan

[REDACTED]

Emma King

[REDACTED]

Durham

Wip Mc Gungley

[REDACTED]

404

[REDACTED]

1







Sample Sheet - *Handwritten Title*  
Book Number: *1000*

*Scale*

*Foot*

*Change*

*Gold*

*Draw*

*Balance*

*Check*

*1000*

*1000*

11/11/71  
Tuesday

Loose Book  
Receipt Book  
Distribution Book - Seven

Phone - Ann's & Headquarters

On Practice Form - Differences in notation & practice

Called in

- a) Bring most paper if possible
- b) Bring supplementary paper



in connection with the...  
United States Empire... International... of the

progr... - special  
Guiding down to return RDP

August 30 1970 P.E. Class Center Page

The history of the world lies in the hands of the American people

All Teachers at North Suburban School will work in the Day Care Center. (Plenary Session)

Start working on transportation for November 7<sup>th</sup> now!

Before you send out ~~letters~~, Confirm it

Spots on Poles - Appeal to people that we need transportation  
or Money Body.

Each Chapter - Mimeograph machine - typewriter  
Tape recorder with tapes into 2 tape recordings. (5)  
Copies of People - Not Sunday.

Out Names on Machines  
Camera - Should be kept with you, bring films.  
People from each Chapter, Branch, or N.C.C. for

Information.  
Security  
Liberator - School Teacher.  
Food Appeal

Everyone should be doing letter & sleeping bag  
Selling Cots

Patience Padua Padua - Center

Papa, pilates  
Napkins  
Ties  
Paper towels  
Sundays, Napkins  
Jailed tissue

San Philadelphia  
Philly, Phila. Home Thursday  
Morning

GES 7635 - Germantown  
BA 20883 - Phil Philly  
PO 37437 - New York St.

Philly, Phila Home

Rough estimate of how many people we have Thursday  
Registration of names & cards - Bring Thursday morning  
w/ alphabetical order  
isidol dents housing  
cider & donuts transportation

No. of	Informative	Centers
✓	✓ Boston	✓
✓	✓ Boston	✓
✓	✓ Wazzy D's	✓
	Mrs. Mark	✓
	WQ	✓
	11 '12	✓

Get a telephone by any means necessary  
 (white folks) of course

Food in by Thursday

Serge the Line Schedules - Sept 9, 1970

	now	10	Sept. 15	
Boston	1	10	9	
Happy Hill	1	10	9	
Jenace	0	2	2	
10 <sup>th</sup> 1/2	1	2	1	
LaReside	0	2	2	
Mrs Mack	1	2	1	
East Winstony (Boston)		11	9	(Boston)
	39	39		

$$\begin{array}{r} 510 \\ 4 \overline{) 2040} \\ \underline{20} \\ 4 \\ \underline{4} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 25500 \\ 2 \overline{) 51000} \\ \underline{51} \\ 10 \\ \underline{10} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 510 \\ 4 \overline{) 2040} \\ \underline{20} \\ 4 \\ \underline{4} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 24 \\ \underline{11} \\ 10 \\ \underline{10} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 414 \quad 10 \\ 255 \quad 10 \\ \underline{207 \quad 40} \\ 47 \quad 60 \end{array}$$

~~Library~~

We got the paper  
money a while

15  
4

That's Rid



Sept  
1, 1919

Money Out - Receipt  
Phone Calls

\$1.00

Paul

1. Henry not setting a example. Speaking too much

Paul - H.C. notes: waiting for from the house after 13:00.

Paul  
Not obeying orders. He respect your leadership. No concern discipline. He is running around acting crazy.  
Lead - Conduct while a teacher, addressing the front of the masses.)  
Too much play. Looks like a <sup>social</sup> ~~test~~ instead of a National Committee.

Some acting crazy. Was criticized and made the same mistake again. Seemed to be high.  
Look a negative attitude.

Henry  
Daniel's approach is record up. Run too much rhetoric before he gets to the point.  
Some seem to judge the active action of the comrades' as a teacher from the community.

1. What part did you play in what went down at the Community course?
2. Did you know what was going to happen?
3. When

After the door closed what was  
happening. Did you get in the van with  
them to go down the hill?

Only reasons for getting in van?

Did you ask them to take you home?

Did you ask why Mrs. Mack was put  
into van? Were you trying to hide

Where were you when the niggers got  
out of the truck?

From what you saw, just what happened?

Who brought mattress out to van?

Who was Courtney talking to?

Did they just go on the porch? Did around the house?

Was the door open when Gary & Rennie came?

~~Investigation~~ Notes

Upon say door was open, was it  
closed again?

Was the house alarmed?

Did you observe <sup>any</sup> people taking position of cover

Was Boat Show on porch? Did he go in from  
Culley, Bowman?

If nobody went in house, who brought  
furniture down?

It was said the Smith Bowman Culley were in  
house. Can you verify that? Did Smith point  
to door at ~~door~~?

Is it possible that they put a gun & you  
didn't see it.

you couldn't hear conversation at all?

How far were you from porch?

111

After that wind down had Mrs Mack  
started to walk home?

Did Mrs Mack down to house?

Was Robert Cain in truck?

Were you sent out to count people here?

Were you hip to what was coming down then?

After that wind down, did you get back in truck?

After that had happened, why didn't you  
come & make your position clear later?

What kind of stand do you take now?



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XEROXED ORIGINAL RETURN

XEROXED ORIGINAL RETURN



Find out all available means of raising money

Banquets  
Parties  
Dances etc. Contact Barb  
for convention and collection.

J. J. McMillan  
Chapel Street  
Dulma Hopkins  
Betty Bourgeois Higgins  
Hugh Point - Nora Gray  
Chapel Hill  
Shelby Point - Justice for Convention  
Shark Lake in detail

Bands  
Versailles  
Supervisors  
Benders  
D. Wagner  
Soren  
Secretaries } State  
Camp

Information on people organizing large crowd

Phyllis Majer  
Student Chamber : 7537460  
Hours : 834740

Monday, Sept. 22, 1919

Lee Woodbury

1. Steve hasn't been a change in appearance. He has been here. No record for leadership. Wasting too much time. People that don't straighten up - go home
2. Kenny hasn't been selling any examples. Acting crazy. ~~Edna~~ Knows better. Ben
3. Gary - individualistic tendencies. Wants to make Charles - missing up on security. No regards for their lives or their comrades' lives. Both.
4. Sisters in general have attitudes towards people from the community. Being arrogant.
5. No discipline (conscience) among Jacques as a whole. I hope you ship out.

Young individualistic tendencies. Use the knowledge he has - to get what he wants. Has a way with words - Julius & Ethel



GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FIELD  
POST OFFICE BOX 697 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540  
TELEPHONE 632-5725

III

to the masses in court during recess and  
 walked up the courtroom stairs while  
 he was rubbing <sup>buttocks</sup> ~~his~~ with some white  
 chimney-swall pipe and asked him "How  
 much was he paid a word for  
 informing the pigs on this brother or  
 that brother?" The light tipped lackey  
 replied "I don't know what you're talking  
 about. At the same ~~day~~ time pigs dressed  
 up as photographers tried to take our  
 pictures, and we also exposed <sup>the photographers</sup> ~~them~~ as  
 pigs and told them to <sup>withdraw from our midst</sup> ~~get the hell out~~ and  
 not take our picture anymore. The  
 pigs were lined up in two's searching  
 with their pocketbooks. They know all the time  
 that the people in High Point aren't afraid  
 to commit revolutionary suicide, because





GEORGE H. LOVER, JR.  
SPECIAL INSTRUCTOR

IV

is being circulated in High Point. They are  
 passing backlogs by the dozen to find out  
 who writes the <sup>paper</sup> ~~people~~ because the paper  
 is constructed and written in a revolutionary  
 manner. The rhetoric in the paper is  
 really right on. The idea that the Black  
 Panthers are writing the paper, and they are  
 harassing brothers telling them of troubled  
 breaks out in High Point how many years  
 they will get ~~temporarily~~. He don't know  
 who writes the paper, but a word have been  
 received by the masses already. The last issue  
 told of the 16 backlogs of the week. This has  
 got the bootlickers uptight. Some of them will  
 suppose to be friends of the people ~~because~~  
 because they give some niggers the impression  
 "that" was shall to arrest you but this is our  
 job, and be a nice nigger and maybe I

... about... (the workers)  
... are also trying to fool the people  
... becoming teachers. Quite a few teachers  
and others were busted for illegal sale  
of whiskey. The low-moraled, cheat-all  
the people that they will reduce charges on  
them ~~if~~ if they inform them who sells  
whiskey. The people who I've talked to  
understand that a pig is a pig, and wish  
to be identified as the violation, not the  
problem. The pigs in High Point are  
trying to pacify the people in <sup>all</sup> ~~most~~ types  
of fashions. They brag about High Point  
and what a lovely furniture city it is.  
High Point really hasn't had any racial trouble  
since I've been living there. (last 9 yrs.)  
The pigs think High Point can't <sup>take</sup> ~~take~~ ~~take~~  
They're wrong just because it's in it's  
menstrual cycle; it don't mean that High Point  
be dispensing from the block and the people  
in the community want to see me up and

all the things we've done out of our country  
and is to unify our brothers and sisters  
in the north with the south.

Revolution in my lifetime

1 M.E. M.E.

High Point, N.C.

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN



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Rich Powell

SOBY

Box 20826

Greenboro NC

Would you please have this published in your school newspaper.

It has been proven through the social practice of the administrative apparatus of this present government, ever since its inception one-hundred ninety-four years ago that it has been non-functional for Black people in particular and poor oppressed people in general. All minority ethnic groups, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, Red and yellow people, all poor oppressed people in general in this country find themselves excluded from all decision making processes. There is no doubt that justice and peace belong to those able to afford it, those people within a particular class, the ruling class.

For too long in the past we have haphazardly listened by and watched others, that didn't have our interest at heart, determine our destiny. We have allowed them to send us to wars we know nothing about as to the reason why or for what. We have let this non-representative government so far as poor people are concerned, to deny us our human right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Repressive measures against the people that violate their most basic rights of privacy are being infringed upon by constitutional amendments such as the "No Knock Bill", Preventive Detention" and excessive bail (ransom) are other repressive measures that people are subjected to in the realms of the present Constitution.