So therefore, black people, I think, now are deciding, and I agree with this wholeheartedly, that our commitment is to our ownselves first, foremost, and to other oppressed people if, in fact, we want to show our own humanity in some sense or another.

Okay, secondly, and I think this is another crucial problem (next few words unintelligible), is that we had simply lost all sophistocation regarding radical movements in this country. And this is another reason why the book by CRUSE (phonetic) is so very important. Because we did not have, here again, a critical perspective, and in some cases we just didn't know what people had been doing. And this held both for disordered history of the white left, white radicals, but also for the great black people who did dissent, and I do not mean dissent in MARTIN LUTHER KING fashion (rest of sentence unintelligible.) Fundamental dissents from the nature of this whole culture and readiness to leave it and get out of it.

Okay, so we have had these great critics and we have not been aware of these people, and it seems to me it would be quite necessary now to deal with these people. I think Lester, I'm sorry, ha ha, there's a slip. I think that the point was made quite clear in _____ (unintelligible). If we are going to sit here and say that these damn slave owners such as GEORGE WASHINGTON and ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and THOMAS JEFFERSON, and various other racists, out and out low-down racists, are our heroes, if these are the people we're going to pick for heroes, if we're going to tell black kids that they must memorize the list of the presidents of the United States, then what we're telling them that they're doing actually is memorizing, I suppose there may be some benefits to this too, memorizing from the main perpetrators of the very oppression that we are faced with today. This kind of thing has to be turned around. We got to come to see that when we look at history we got to select as heroes those people who have, in fact, given their lives for the liberation of black people in particular, and for the advancement of humanity in general. And that is not GEORGE WASHINGTON, that is not ABRAHAM LINCOLN, that is not WILLIAM MC KINLEY or TEDDY ROOSEVELT. I got serious

questions about FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT or KENNEDY pretended and didn't make it. And NIXON don't even pretend.

Okay, now finally, and this is the last point I want to make here, I certainly want to point out that what it meant when we moved from a uni-dimensional thing is that we did have to raise broader social questions now. We couldn't limit ourselves with the race thing. We have to deal with the capitalism and what it means and that sort of thing. Middle-classism or white-classism, or whatever that sort of stuff may mean, and that kind of thing. And the whole variety of questions.

And I think that these people who are so apt to criticize what they call black studies are really missing the point. Black people are saying that we are going to raise questions from the point of view of the black perspective and every field in which we operate, be that field history, where it's fairly easy, or political science or sociology or be that field geography, or whatever the case may be. The question will be raised from the point of view of the black perspective. Or be it space technology as the case may be. There are important questions here. There are important questions that we will have to try to generate ourselves, and we, in fact, insist that these kinds of questions be raised. Now that we have moved from that other notion, now that we know it's not a matter of change in RICHARD NIXON's heart, we know now that we can start dealing with the fundamental, structural characteristics of this country.

(The following comment was made by ADOLPH REED.)

Okay now, I guess we'll take questions from the floor and general discussion.

(Following this, a question and answer session was held; however, it was unintelligible.)

(The following introductory comments were made by ADOLPH REED.)

Two very brief announcements: one is that the earliest speaker this evening, two of the speakers will be here tomorrow night. They will be here showing a film called "American Revolution II," that's BILL FESPERMAN and CRAIG WALDEN. And with them will be BOBBY LEE from the Illinois Black Panther Party. And they will show the film and discuss it afterwards. That's tomorrow evening at 7:30 here.

The other announcement is that after the talks are over and we begin a question and answer period, some people will pass through with collection buckets. This money will be used to defray the cost of our speakers and to help with the work that they are doing at Malcolm X University, Malcolm X Liberation University, I'm sorry.

The topic for this evening is an attempt to bring the discussion of this afternoon on the black liberation struggle to the local level and to discuss the matter of the black liberation struggle in North Carolina, what is happening. And the two speakers that we have here this evening may be supplemented by some more a little later on. Our two people have been involved in this struggle, at least as long as I've been in North Carolina, which is three years. CHUCK HOPKINS, a former leader of Duke Afro-American Society, and currently with Malcolm X Liberation University, and HOWARD FULLER, and there are a lot of formerlys here, but most recently with the Foundation for Community Development, and now with Malcolm X University. I guess that's really all the introduction these speakers need, and I'll turn it over to them.

(The following speech was made by CHUCK HOPKINS.)

Well, HOWARD and I have decided to divide this thing up into, you know, into two sections. And he's going to deal with the black liberation struggle in North Carolina as it relates to the black community. And I'm going to do a thing on, you know, on what we're trying to do on the campuses.

Starting out in dealing with the campuses, we have to first of all, you know, look at what education is all about in this society or any society. You have to recognize first of all that education has two primary roles. One is that it passes on the culture and the customs and so forth of the society to the younger members. The second role of education is that it provides the skills for the younger members to deal with the problems that they have to confront in society.

In a particular situation of black people being in a colonized situation in relationship to the overall society, we find ourselves in a very unique position in that as far as black people are concerned, our most desparate need is one of liberation. We are faced with the question of asking the oppressor to provide us with the education to relieve us of our oppression. We've come to realize that this will not come about.

Education in racist and capitalist America does not teach black people how to deal with the problems that originate from racist capitalist America. We have to recognize this.

In the last couple of years the efforts as far as what black people have been doing on the campuses have been centered around the goal of a lot of other struggles throughout the nation. There are black studies, trying to introduce black studies into the curriculum. From my experience at Duke I learned, you know, one important lesson about trying to introduce black studies into the curriculum, particularly on predominantly white campuses. At Duke, you know, we had the usual list of demands, about twelve demands, one very important one being for an institution of a department of black studies. The key question of black studies in mind was for some semblance of control for black people in the program. This was the key issue. This was the issue that forced us to do a lot of other things, you know, after we left the Allen Building. After we came out of the building, you know, took the building and came out. The subsequent renigging on this particular issue of control forced us to go into a lot of other things.

But the important thing that we learned was that the administration was willing to give us all kinds of things, you know, as far as courses. They had a thing about three inches thick, you know, paper to run down program to implement for us. But the key question of control, they don't want to deal with. So we found out that we couldn't go along with that and subsequently we got into a lot of other things.

To understand why we couldn't go along with that, I guess I have to talk about what we mean by black studies, or black education, because, you know, that's what we are talking about. Black studies kind of limits the thing, kind of sets it off, you know, in a corner. But we are really talking about an in-depth systematic black education program, which because of our situation in society, will have to of necessity come from a revolutionary base to deal with the problems that we're facing. So again, we face the simple thing of awaiting DUKE, which especially in this area represents the vastness of racism and oppression in this area. DUKE is one of the key people who runs the town of Durham and the surrounding area.

And so we were faced with, you know, asking these people to provide us with the tools for liberation. No, this wasn't to be.

So the next thing that we decided to do was that a counter-institution was necessary if we were to get the correct kind of education that we wanted to deal in. The idea for Malcolm X Liberation University evolved from this. Malcolm X Liberation University represents independent effort on the part of some black people to establish a real, relevant, educational program, to deal with the real problems that face black people in the society. I wish to stress that because of our condition, this program of necessity has to issue from a revolutionary base.

The efforts generally in North Carolina as far as students are concerned have been to establish a kind of one-ness, a kind of togetherness with the black community. This has been exhibited in the last couple of years in the Orangeburg situation when three

brothers were murdered in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and subsequently coordinated action was developed in North Carolina when approximately eleven cities had happenings.

You know, we were developing the thing that if it happens to one, then you deal with all. Another example of this might be the situation at A and T University in Greensboro which occurred last spring. This was a situation wherein some brothers at Dudley High School in Greensboro were, a brother happened to be a member of a quote unquote black militant organization, and therefore, he was not allowed to run for Student Council President. But he won on write-in votes anyway, but you know, the principal wouldn't let him, you know, take office. So, sisters and brothers over at the high school, they had a thing going on and they moved that thing over to A and T, and they had a thing over at A and T. It blew up into an armed military action against the pigs in Greensboro when the brothers held off the biggoty governor of North Carolina, the Southern governor of North Carolina SCOTT's forces for two nights in a row.

And then in a very beautiful guerrilla fashion when the pigs tried to swoop in at dawn, the brothers, like all guerrillas, split. Nothing was there, nothing but some dummy ROTC rifles. And the pigs . . .

So you can see in a situation like that that the struggle has advanced to a different level. I think that the next go-round you're going to be seeing very few people, you know, sitting in buildings, taking over buildings, you know, placing themselves in positions where they would be sitting ducks for racist cops to come in and bludgeon them and shoot them. That the next go-round is going to definitely be a more intensified struggle and definitely on a higher level.

I think that another thing that came out of that A and T thing was that on the night SCOTT sent his National Guard in because they were frustrated in not finding anybody in the building, they went about, you know, their lawful duty to destroy the property of the brothers, like TV's and stereos and so forth, you know,

that they had in their rooms. The rooms were shot up. Each of the locks in Scott Hall were shot off the doors, you know, like somebody was in there so they had to shoot the locks off. And the State Government refused to pay for this. SCOTT and his boys refused to pay for this, and the administration of A and T has got to get the money of some kind to paint all those rooms and so forth. So SCOTT at a big dinner recently where he invited all the presidents of the student bodies to come in and talk, the brothers got together and said they were going to boycott him, which was a good thing in that it showed SCOTT that you know, you just don't forgive certain things, you know, that people do to you.

Another thing that's been going down with black students in North Carolina has been the Black Students United for Liberation. This is a state-wide organization of black students, both high school and college. It's two years old now. It came into being about a year and a half ago, I believe. It's about two years old now. Again, efforts here have been to, you know, coordinate some of the things that are going to have to go down in this state before black people can really advance any significant degree to deal with their problems.

Another thing that I would like to get into a little bit concerns the future view, or look at the future as far as black students are concerned in North Carolina. And this has to be like a temporary view because we are recognizing that things are changing pretty fast. I think that the oppression that has been coming down on us, you know, we can see that it's increasing from day to day. SCOTT and forces have just released a new batch of riot laws and so forth that they passed in June which kind of tightens up things. So, you know, the oppression is really increasing, so when you talk about the future, you know, what we're going to be doing in the future, it's kind of, you know, you have to look at it temporarily, because things are changing pretty fast.

One of the things that we've had to deal with again is this black studies thing. And I think that in the future people

are going to be recognizing the black studies program does not meet the needs of black people. Black studies has become like a cliche that everybody uses. And everybody assumes, you know, that everybody else understands it like they understand it. Black studies that are implemented by white faculty or white administrators, such as they are, four-course black studies program at Duke, do not serve to meet the needs of black people as far as relevant education. And most what they'll probably do is add to the frustration of black students entering into these programs seeking to seek some kind of relevancy.

So we have to go beyond that and we have to come right out and flatly reject the forced institutionalization of the black studies program on predominantly white campuses. As far as the black campuses are concerned, we have to equally and just as strongly reject black studies programs on black campuses. It's a clear contradiction for a campus to call itself a black campus and at the same time have somewhere stuck over in the corner something called a black studies program. On the black campus then it should be able to provide a relevant education for students. Therefore, a black studies program isn't serving the purpose.

One of the other areas where black students have been moving into or working with other black people, that is in the area of the workers, the black workers on the campus, the janitors, maids, cafeteria people, for this was exhibited in the thing that went down here last spring. Black students over at Duke working with Mr. HARVEY (phonetic) over the Local 77. I could you know, see an increased effort in that area. Black workers in these areas are becoming more militant as far as trying to deal with their problems.

But the real step as far as we're concerned where black education is going is that key thing that we mentioned before, and that's control. And from now on that's going to be the deciding criteria. It has to be as far as black people are concerned as far as relevancy in education. It's got to be controlled. This has got to be with black studies program control. It's going to have to be control of the educational system in the public schools.

So as far as North Carolina is concerned in education, I can see black people moving into that area on the issue of control of black education.

(The following speech was made by HOWARD FULLER.)

My purpose tonight is to go off the campus now a little bit and give a brief review of what we've been doing in North Carolina. And I think that CHUCK and I in a sense appreciate the opportunity to come over and speak tonight. We just wish y'all would have called it something else besides "counter-orientation." It has a connotation like "counter-revolutionary," which always gets to be a problem. And probably what you should have called it is the disorientation session because obviously we want people to be disoriented from what they are going to be oriented to over here at UNC. So you know, like we hope that we can help disorient some people, you know, this evening.

I think, you know, the initial observation, a couple of observations I need to make so that it will be very clear, like who we're supposed to be representing tonight and all of that, that number one, people have a tendency to assume that when somebody black stands up they can start writing, this is how black people think because that black man said that. Well, I want to make it very clear that I don't know anybody, you know, that can represent all black people. And so I don't come here tonight representing all black people. I do not consider myself a leader because I do not know of anybody who had a meeting. I don't know any black people who had a meeting and elected me the leader. And one gets to be a leader by being elected.

So, at best what we could all be considered are spokesmen or people who have a particular viewpoint that may be shared by a significant number of people. And I hope that some of our views are shared by a significant number of people in this state, young, old, rich, poor, student, non-students, and all those other terms that we use to describe people.

Now, first of all, let's talk about North Carolina off the campus. Now just for the purpose of our analysis tonight, I'm going to make a distinction between like black people who are students and like black people who are non-students. Now, I hope that black students have at least come along to understand that just because you happen to be a tar heel, and that has a whole connotation in it of itself, you know, just because you happen to be here at UNC and are going to be sheltered for the next number of years that you will be here, that does not, you know, you cannot tear up your membership card for black people, you know, out here. You're still black and you best not forget that while you're here.

So we're only making these distinctions just for a purpose of analysis.

Now, the past few years the primary effort of people like myself has been to organize poor black people to confront the local racists involved. And I want to be very clear and make no mistake about it, and don't misquote me, that I'm talking about racist white folks in this state. Racist white folks who sit on city councils, racist white folks who are in the police departments, racist white folks who are governors, racist white folks who are mayors, and so therefore, the past four years we've been trying to confront these folks. But now I think we have to be honest and say that the confrontation has been mostly non-violent and mostly reform.

Now, we have really been essentially good niggers. Now, every now and then one or two of us has stepped out of line. But basically we've been playing the game by the rules that white folks set up. By that I mean our efforts have been to work through organizations like Community Action Programs, North Carolina Fund, Foundation for Community Development, and we've been using the tool of community organization. And even though, like our efforts through FCD, North Carolina Fund, and CAPS, even though we moved away from the standard civil rights thing of equal toilets, of equal seats at the space shot, we moved, you know, away from some of those kinds of things. Basically we were still talking about what we need is the opportunity.

So that really we tried to move into bread and butter issues like housing, even though like many white people and many colored people are still concerned about open housing, we've been trying to close the housing that's been open for a long time. We moved, you know, into areas like welfare, recreation, employment, et cetera. Now, as we were moving into these things, as JIM stated this afternoon, our movement was basically to be included into the decision making and we came out of some very naive bags like the problem is that black people just don't know how to work in this system. So what we got to do is to teach black people how to do that. So like we vote and we go to city council and we go to the Welfare Board, and go to all them folks. And we say "White folks, like we know y'all didn't know that we was living like this, but we've come here to tell you that we're living like this."

And so here we are, and this is a democrach and now we know how to work in y'all's democracy. So here we are. Now that was a very naive, you know, kind of assumption. But in our honesty it was a basic assumption that we were operating from.

A second kind of assumption was that although white people are, were, will, all that, racist, were racist, are racist, that when you confront them with a clear-cut and illegal action, even as they talk about illegal action, that they would do something. You know in other words, if you brought pictures of houses that were falling down, brought xerox copies of the building code that says houses shouldn't be falling down, and xerox copies of building code that said that the city is going to make the landlord fix the houses up that's falling down, then if we brought all that and let it out to them, little petition, got to have petition, got to be signed by five folks, that they would say like "that's right," like "We going to fix the house."

Now you know, we laugh, but you got to understand that this is where we were coming from. And man look, man we wrote petitions, we got petitions, mammy, we got petitions of everything. We got them from way back so you know, we're into that. And the

legal process, you know, like let's go to court. Can you dig it black folk, you know let's go to court. You know, let's take them to court. So we were going to court. Let's get a bi-racial committee, see because always the problem of communications. When you talk about problems, the first thing the white folks say is we just don't know how to communicate. And we're saying "That's right," so let's get a bi-racial committee. And we'll be communicating and everybody will be talking to each other and all that. So that's just you know, another very basic assumption that we made.

And then the last assumption we made was that a racist, capitalist system could, in fact, change its priorities from making money to doing something about the problems of people. See, like we really felt that somebody was going to say for us, "It's not as important to find a new way to process green beans to make more money as it is to get rid of cancer." That is's not as important to spend two billion dollars so some cat can holler whoopee on a rocket, you know, it's not as important to do that as it is to have houses. But you know that a collection of rocks from the moon is not quite as important as people eating.

Now, we made, you know, those kind of naive, basic assumptions. Now, just this little bit of room, this mere, you know, pinch of institutional and social change, beautiful, intellectual analysis of nothing, intellectual, I mean sockal and institutional change. Just this little bit, you know where it got us? Investigations by our let's say quote congressmen, the same congressmen who done screwed up ABA, NBA, all that. Before he started working on the ABA he was working on us. You know that one, the one for Hardees hamburger man. CHUCK, he was one. The one that can't talk, EVERETT somebody, the old one, you know. GALIFIANAKIS, you know, the champion of minority rights. You know all these guys, you know, got into an investigation because we asked for a little basic reform. That happens.

A lot of our people were arrested. People are still being arrested. Like for example, Brother JIM LEE was arrested a couple of weeks ago for carrying a machine gun. Like the white

folks say you can't have no gun that carries 31 bullets. So they said JIM had a gun with 31 bullets. And obviously you stop everybody in Sanford to check to see if they got 31 bullets, because don't no white folks carry no guns in Sanford. So you know, everybody don't carry 31 bullets. So they got Brother JIM, and he thought he was off, but dig this, the day after he got through like explaining to y'all what he was about, he went back and here's another one that says the undersigned, you know some of y'all have seen these, he can tell you all about these. This is a summons like to appear before the legal process. It says that JAMES LEE, that the undersigned J. W. CAMPBELL, fine, upstanding component, upon information and somebody told him, look man, you may not have the correct information so we better add belief, so they stuck a little thing up here and put belief, that he incited and urged about nine brothers and some other folks to engage in a riot, and as a result of such inciting that a riot occurred, and that there was a clear and present danger of another riot. Now JIM LEE did all that. Amazing thing how one man, how one man can walk into a town and incite a riot. You know, like you say all right folks, let's riot. You know and everybody . . . So like they're going to arrest JIM on that.

They arrested LEVI SMALL down in Fayetteville. They arrested TOM WALLACE and Brother BRYANT up in New Bern. They just arrested BEN and CHAUCY and some other people up there in Durham the other night for talking back to the magistrate. No, you colored people ain't supposed to talk back to nobody like that. So they arrested them for that.

So, you know all this is going on. All we asked is for some little, dinky reforms. So we've been arrested. Some of our people have been beaten, you know, like I thought that he was going to do such and such, so we beat him, cause we got to maintain law and order. All of us know that. We can't operate without law and order. So that's happened.

There has been a general hysteria on the part of the general white population as reflected in things that they call newspapers, such as the Durham Morning Herald. There's been

words of caution from Negroes, several very fine, upstanding Negroes, have been telling me, "Now you can't, now you just can't, like we can't do it like that." And they tell us they're in there somewhere, white folks who say "I was with you until," and "I would be with you so long as," and "I am with you but. . ." So you know we got those kind of white folks.

All of this has happened in the past three or four years just asking for some simple things like a decent house, you know, like food. You know, irrelevant things, food, clothing, shelter, stuff like that.

All right so, this has been what we've done in the past. Now what about the future? In my opinion, in my opinion, black people must begin to change our direction. That no longer is it really, does it really make any sense to seek inclusion into a system that by its very nature is going to oppress people. No longer does it make sense, no longer does it make sense to ask for participation in the decision making. The only thing that makes sense is for black people to seek ultimate and absolute control over our own lives and the intermediary step to achieve absolute control is the movement for control of organizations, institutions, agencies, land and everything else that exists in the black community and is supposed to be for black people.

Specifically, we must move to control schools. Now I think old Spero, Spiro, whatever he's being called these days, that the beauty of that cat is his stupidity. And so that when he gets, but you see he's honest. A stupid dude is basically an honest dude. And see, so when he gets up and starts talking man, he's telling y'all how he really feels. See, NIXON is too slick for that. See, they haven't had enough speech classes for Spiro yet. So that you know, when he gets up and runs his thing, he's running his real thing. And what he said was, "We fought integration but we ain't for making it happen." Now, you know, that was a very good statement. But like I agree with him because I ain't for it happening either. Because I think that's moving in the wrong direction and I think the problem is can you control your educational process.

So that control of schools becomes important. The control of housing authorities becomes important. The control of the system of justice in the black community becomes important. I'm getting tired of black people like a cat wants to fight his wife and they fight. And white folks come and holler, y'all can't do that and we got to be down there and let white folks decide for us our whole system of justice in the black community.

So that I think that we have to seek our power to control our system of justice, our economics, so that we can, so that we can definitely change number one, the philosophy of these organizations; number two the priorities of these organizations; number three the methodology of these organizations. And without power to control you can never change the basic philosophical thing upon which these things operate.

So that, it is very clear today and we're going to be short so that we can deal with questions, very clear today that black people got to have a black agenda. And the black agenda got to be made up by black people, got to be for black people, with black people, and of black people, and has got to be done now. And it is clear today that we can no longer continue to be good niggers. We can't keep on being good niggers, good tar heel niggers, good any kind of niggers. That is if we are going to assume control of our lives, then we got to quit making up grievance lists and issue manifestos. Got to quit talking about white folks, "Will you give us please," "Would y'all find it in your hearts to do this for us," and what we're going to have to say is we're getting ready to do this, y'all, like they said down in Sanford that we're going ahead and do this. We ain't like asking y'all can we do this. We're getting ready to do this.

Now you see that's the way to move because when you get ready to do it, then you gotto do it, and when you get ready to do it and do it, then you got to deal with what's going to happen when you do it. And that's what we got to be about. We can't be hung up on "should we go this way," or "should we go that way," "should we carry this," "should we carry that," "should we hip this and hip that." We just got to decide that this is what we want and

we're going to go get that. And we're getting ready to do that ourselves and then y'all going to have to deal with us, and we're going to have to deal with you, based upon that reality.

So that North Carolina is like the rest of the country. There's going to have to be some changes without apology. There's going to have to be some real moves toward absolute control of black people's lives. And what that means, as CHUCK really didn't, he you know, he alluded to it, what that means is that people on the campus and off the campus are going to have to make some very, very hip and crucial decisions. For example, all black students who view their participation on black campuses, white campuses I mean, as being a permanent thing, you got to ask yourselves some serious questions, about how black you are. You got to ask yourself a very serious question about how black you really are. The moment we begin to institutionalize black studies program, you got to ask yourself some serious questions as to what you're all about. The moment we begin to institutionalize Malcolm X Liberation University then we got to ask ourselves some very serious questions as to what we're all about. Because the moment we begin to move for permanency, for permanency instead of moving for what we need right now, is the moment that we lose any hope of maintaining, developing, or continuing any kind of relevant revolution that will meet the basic needs of black people.

Thank you.

(The following comments were made by an unidentified male.)

First of all, I'd like to say that there are two things that black people in the State of North Carolina have found out in the last few years. Number one is that we can think and number two is that most of you don't think.

Now, on this point, the group here in Chapel Hill for the last few years has been evaluating our so-called honor system, our so-called education. As Brother HOWARD has said earlier, we begin to see that when we follow the honor code, the honor of you know, soph building, the honor of the Chancellor's Office, there is no honor. We see that.

We're tired or running around as one brother on the city council to make it look like, oh, we're liberal. You have power. You have one man. There are several of you and one of us. That makes you great.

So what it basically comes down to is this. We tried everything you wanted us to do. We've done everything you've asked us to do. We played games. We yo-yoed. We went back. We ran around. We go up and down. We've been nice and we've been kind. And there is just one thing to say. We're not taking any more _____(obscene). That's it.

(The following comments were made by another unidentified male.)

Well, as Brother HOWARD said, if you got questions, I guess he and everybody else is going to throw in and ask some questions. And if you're really liberal, I tell you what you do, get yourself together and find who else wants to ask the same question, and ask it once so we can answer it like that. So, I mean, if you got to waste a question that you already know the answer to, don't ask. All right.

(The following comments were made by HOWARD FULLER.)

Like your question is a different level of something you're going to have to watch when you are in school. For example, there's going to be a significant number of you young black brothers at UNC with Afro talk, you know, run a fair decent revolutionary route. But there are going to be two areas that you're going to be shaky in. One is when you are in either your group of black people and you are accosted by your white friends. In an effort not to lose your white friends, you're going to come from a different thing, one.

Two, you're going to be trying to catch these white girls. Now, a very important issue, very hard for you to be a black militant during the day and an integrationist at night. And the same thing goes for the sisters who are going to go the other way.

Now, what I'm saying brother, is that the terms did not come out of the ground. They don't do that. They came from someplace, right? You know where they came from? UNC, NCCU, Elizabeth City, Fayetteville State, Howard, Atlanta U, Morehead, Morehouse, Belden, Bennett, Boone. You know, all over. So that one way you deal with that is to begin to deal with you. Because see, you are the potential of the time. You represent, your roommate and your roommate's roommate, represents the potential weak-kneed nigger who's going to continue to exploit black people.

Those of you who are here tonight, you represent that. So, you can begin to deal with it here. This is one place to deal with it. And ultimately, if you deal with it you're going to get out of here. But you can begin to deal with it here.

Now, the other way that we have to deal with it has to necessarily be restricted to our internal discussions. But I want you to know that you can begin to deal with some of it right here. And UNC, man, if you just got here, just wait, just wait.

(The following interview of CHUCK HOPKINS was conducted.)

Question: This is GEORGE _____ (unintelligible) for WCHL. I'm talking with Mr. CHUCK HOPKINS. CHUCK, in your opinion, what are the reasons that trouble erupted at A and T University and Dudley in Greensboro?

HOPKINS: Well, I'm not from Greensboro, first of all.

Question: Well, from what you read and from what you can evaluate in your own mind?

HOPKINS: I think it's really a lack of understanding of the officials over there, the people in power in Greensboro. Police, school administrators, and so forth. Understand that black people move to a point where, you know, that we struggle to do something then you mean to do it. And you know, if we don't get it at one point, then we just have to extend and intensify our struggle to another point. You know, the little thing at Dudley which spread and then mushroomed over at A and T, you know, exemplifies that.

Question: I see. At what level, you were talking about education, at what level of education do you think black studies should begin? In other words, at the university level, at the high school level, or at the grammar school level?

HOPKINS. Preschool. You know the little kindergarten . . .

Question: Kindergarten?

HOPKINS: I think they call it the formative years or something.

Question: I see. And finally what do you think the present . . . Why do you think the present history and sociology offered in universities are inadequate for black students?

HOPKINS: One thing is what they do is, you know, put black people in a fish bowl and you know, intellectualize the black experience. And I think, you know, in order for people to be

consistent, that's white education provides white students with the tools to, you know, meet the problems that they face in our society. Then the sociology calls on black people, you know, it should be about that. They shouldn't be intellectualizing but trying to offer some skills that black people can use at the grass-root level for black people out in the community where it is needed.

Question: Mr. HOPKINS, thanks very much.

(The following are speeches by CLINT PINE, a UNC student and member of Carolina Summer Labor Project. Also MARTHA SMITH. She too is a member of the Summer Labor Project and a member of the Hospital Workers Union, local 1199, which has organized at the four Durham hospitals. The ACT staff member refused to be taped, ACT being a white community action organization in Durham. The following speech was made by CLINT PINE.)

As Dick has said, the ideas within the white student movement as it is called, shifted in the past few years from an idea of, you know, students aiding minority groups. This kind of thing, this kind of liberal, moralist bag, really trying to join what should become a movement of the majority of people in this country, you know, to realize their own oppression and deal with the problem from that perspective. As Dick also said, the liberals and lefts in America have drastically ignored the basic feeling among white workers.

Now, there are two ways to approach this failure and this problem. One of them is the community, the idea of community organization, which Dick is in in Durham. Other groups are and have been taking this kind of work and joined the Community Union in Chicago and other projects which were carried on in the earlier days of Students for a Democratic Society in the early 60's.

The second approach I imagine would be that of factory organizing. This involves getting people into really economic action through labor unions or other working class organizations which build their base around the point of production rather than all their people live in a community of this kind right here. Of course, one reason that the left has ignored the working class is that many of the established unions in America have a very bad reputation of selling out the struggle of the workers. Even though this is true, we believe that the potential for working class _____ (unintelligible) is very great, both in new unions which can be organized on somewhat different assumptions than old unions. Essentially this can be particularly easily done in non-unionized areas such as the South. It seems to me that it would be possible to, you know, build unions here starting from a non-union situation where a union could be created which would not be racist and would not be bureaucratic as some northern unions are. But the potential for change within existing union structures is also great when the rank and files can be organized to deal with this bureaucracy and sell-out policy in established unions.

Students now are trying to gain experience in contact with working people through programs such as ACT and also through taking part in factory experiences in the summer.

MARTHA, however, represented a group of students from this area who worked in Charlotte this past summer. I was working for a while in a friend's shop, and MARTHA was in _____ (unintelligible) North Carolina Foods. Later on she will relate some of her observations that she gained over the summer. I wanted to relate a few more general things first. The national SDS, there was a lot of publicity in magazines like Time and Newsweek, and probably even TV Guide about SDS was going to come in and, you know, rack up all these factories and they were going to, you know, take over the factory like they took over the buildings atColumbia, and all this kind of thing. The program that we were in, I just want to tell you, the program that we were in was not connected with any national organization out of the SDS or any other national grup. We had just an informal arrangement, you know, of people who were interested in this kind of learning process, learning and living together in Charlotte in a working situation.

It is, when we went down there, I imagine we, you know, had assumptions that we could really do some kind of political work over the period of a couple of months, that something really could be done. Because this was the first time I had ever been involved in anything like this and the same is true for several other people in the project. We thought, you know, we really could get some stuff together. But I mean, it was very valuable, but it was valuable to us as a personal learning experience and finding out about working conditions and about the way that companies operated, the way that workers regarded the places in which they work, they way they regarded the economic system, the way they interpret their whole lives, you know, and the way they regard their situation.

And of course, living close together in Charlotte, we learned to exchange experiences and compare information, and you know, this made the thing a collective experience for us as well as an individual learning experience. And it was, we found it to be a very valuable thing.

So, MARTHA, now will relate some of her observations about her job to us.

(The following speech was made by MARTHA SMITH.)

Well I found it very, very exciting. Well, I'll just tell you a little bit about the place where I worked. It was a sandwich factory, where they make sandwiches and doughnuts and all of this kind of foods. And the conditions were very bad. We worked about 55 hours a week and that was less than people in the other departments. Most of them were women and I'll tell you a little bit later about how _____ (unintelligible) to get maximum production. Of course, all their supervisors were men, white men. And I'd say we were about 50-50 black-white.

Really, I'd do anything I can _____ (next few words unintelligible) observations of how something worked. And there were some really interesting things about the way they worked at this company in particular, and I'm sure most

companies work to keep the workers in hand and also get maximum performance from your workers like, well of course, everybody knew everybody very well. Not so much in our factory but in others where there are a lot of men and women working, see, on the same line or something, they'll work it out so there's this kind of competition thing between the men and the women, and so both will produce the maximum. The women try to produce more than the men, more equal to the men and the and the men try to make sure that they don't.

And in my company they had a real good thing worked out. First of all it was very informal. You were supposed to be at work at five and you couldn't clock in until everyone was there. So it worked out real well. If someone was late . . . (rest unintelliglble). And if someone was left out then that meant that everyone else had to work harder because we worked until we got through.

And I think it worked out real well. And it kept the _____ (unintelligible) directed at the people who had ordered sandwiches. (Rest of paragraph unintelliglble).

And also the _____ (unintelligible) worked out real well. The company was there to protect you and we're going to have you around, and we're really doing you a big favor by giving you this job. So you better behave. And in spite of the attitude, well the workers in my shop, I thought, were extremely not talking about politics or state. But conversations were _____ (unintelligible.) And then continuing with things that went on in the summer. The moon shot for one thing. It really made a mess _____ (unintelligible.) Some of them didn't believe that they had gone to the moon. (Next few words unintelligible.)

But the conversations told me, what would be discussed was only in the way it was relative to them. (Next few sentences unintelligible.) The different things that were going on and how it related to them. For instance, during the KENNEDY thing. First of all comments were made about how he was probably playing around. And then when the sentence came out was the real pitch because some of them had been in jail for less than this thing for a longer

period of time. One woman said her husband spent nine months in jail for drunk driving. And so these kind of thing related to them and they feel pretty strongly.

Now, a very interesting comment. We had a little lecture from the boss about how we had to scrape the pans because this was profit, and one woman said "Well it's not my profit and I don't give a damn whether it is a million or not." So you can see where money is going (rest unintelligible.)

And that's about all I have to say except that I think there is a misconception about the working class in that they don't realize the oppression and that they aren't worried about how things are going. They realize their oppression and the problem is their anger is misdirected. Men beat their wives. They don't realize the power they have or if they would get together and use this power, then I think a lot of changes would be made.

(The following comments were made by an unidentfied individual.)

I guess the third thing we're going to deal with today was the struggle of workers locally. We had planned to have three representatives here but only two are here, FREDDIE PARKER, a former worker in the cafeteria here at UNC, and Mr. OLIVER HARVEY, the President of Local 77 at Duke University in Durham. These gentlemen are going to, you know, talk about their work and the struggles of the people they're working with.

(The following speech was made by FRANCIS PARKER.)

Thank you sir. I'm a former worker right here at the university and Mr. SMITH and Mr. BROOKS asked me to come over and relate to y'all just how conditions were over there, that's at Lenoir Hall, downstairs and other places. And conditions are pretty bad. Now, during the strike, I know after the strike, the biggest bag was this guy O'BRIEN and people like PULLMAN (phonetic) that make promises and things and never keep them. Like one promise he

made, and this was after SATTER (phonetic) came in. He said that everybody who was hired, you know, everybody who was working under the administration of SATTER would be hired back in September. And it has not been proven like that.

I know I tried to get my job back and Duke wouldn't let me have it back. And so like, I know in the _____ (unintelligible) right now, this thing was they had about 17 workers and now there are only 6. And 6 people going to _____ (unintelligible). So therefore, there are six people to work on the hot dog stand, the talker thing and then the guy will sweep, the janitorial work, and everything. Six people, six people to do that when it used to be 17.

And that's another bad part about it. He said after the strike if they caught any of the employees talking to any of the black students, if they saw them talking to anybody with long hair, white, he said that man, you're going to be dismissed, that you were fired. So you have to watch who you are talking to. That's no O'BRIEN thing. He would definitely fire you if he saw you talking to _____ (unintelligible).

And so, another bad part was, this cat they got now, his name is YOUNG. I think he's the overall guy. He took O'BRIEN's place. And she just wrote me anote and told me that this dude is sort of like, you know, he does this thing behind the curtain. He sends this cat named HAWAYNE (phonetic) out to do all the dirty work, to fire people and tell them that you can't get a job because of this and that. You know he's behind the curtain. He comes out clean. And O'BRIEN, like in my opinion, was not a direct choice. Like in YOUNG is indirect. YOUNG will send HAWAYNE to do his thing, you know, and this cat YOUNG stays behind the curtain. He won't come out in the open and do his thing.

And so in the demands that were presented by the employees, they wanted a black manager to come out of the ranks of the employees. And this thing came up. They have one black manager, but he's been working I think about seven years. So, there is no black manager from the ranks of the employees and this was promised. This was definitely promised. And so all I can say, all these promises that _____ (unintelligible) or O'BRIEN or YOUNG and HAWAYNE and all

those people made when we were voting have not stuck to their promises. And nobody ever sees YOUNG. This guy, nobody ever sees him. He sends HAWAYNE to do all his dirty work.

And also, they have no job classification as of now, they have no job classification. If you are, way up until about May, all the employees were classified maybe as dishroom workers, even the cooks were classified as dishwashers. And then they were classified sometime I think, during the strike, I think maybe in April or May and they have no classification as of now.

Question: When they are not classified does this mean everyone is paid the same?

PARKER: Yes, it does, right. They get paid the same thing. Everybody except the cooks. If you worked on the sidelines, you know, and you pushed a broom, you made the same thing. And the bad part about that was people who have been working there 30 years, 30 years, when SATTER (phonetic) came in he got rid of them and put students working in their place. And then he said well you be back in September. And he told the biggest lie.

(The following is a continuation of comments from hospital and food workers and comments from CLINT PINE and MARTHA SMITH. The following speakers were unidentified.)

So I mean it's really, you know, I don't see any gains. As far as degradation of employees, I mean like that hasn't stopped at all. I think it gets worse.

And so I think that these people, these managers and things, need to be, you know, dealt with. Because _____ (unintelligible) to stand and beat employees because they are black. They say if you're black you aren't nothing, you're savage and why should I take my time to deal with you, you know. So I think these people should be really dealt with in that way.

Question: Is the union here now, the American Federation of State and County Municipal Employees?

Answer: No, not as I know of.

Question: It was my understanding that they had a man down here. I just wondered, you know, what you knew about that.

Answer: No, no. I don't know anything about that. That's about all I have to say.

Question: Do you think that what the university is doing is what they are trying to do is spread out the students and I would assume scatter the workers, the black workers. What they are trying to do is probably separate the students from the workers and divide them against fighting . . . (not entirely intelligible).

Answer: Yeah, I thought about that too, now. Like they are getting students and like divide the workers up and this will put no communication among them. Like we say why do we need to strike and stuff like this, you know. They are saying there is no need to strike, and stuff like this.

Question: You said the only real result from the _____ (unintelligible) thing last year was the raise to $1.80, right?

Answer: No, I didn't say the only good thing, I said this was one of the things.

Question: Could you tell me what the other good things that came out of that?

Answer: Well, $1.80 . . . .

(The following comment was made by an unidentified male.)

We'll take more questions later on. Right now we'll hear from Mr. OLIVER HARVEY, from Local 77 at Duke.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

(The following speech was made by OLIVER HARVEY.)

Thank you. Well, as they said, I appreciate your inviting me here. And I stay in meetings so much, I'll only repeat this one time. I just came from one with the _____ (unintelligible). When I first came in I felt somewhat uncomfortable. I had met a few of the students (next few words unintelligible.) And I saw DICK LAMBERT and HARRY BOYD and became a little more comfortable. (Next few sentences unintelligible.)

I'd like to state here that you know what, what's his name? (Another voice answers "FREDDIE.") FREDDIE, what you are talking about. This would have to happen to us. You are somewhat in a better position to the extent that we were. Before we began we had to first in effect try to get this idea over to students. But that was very hard to do. As a matter of fact, they didn't get in on it until we began starting ourselves.

To make my point briefly, is that in the building I work now there is an elevator there. But I worked eleven years without giving nobody once an elevator. The building is five stories high and I had to walk the steps very quickly. And then I went to work in the building where I work now, and the elevator was broken down. And there was a dummy, and being spoiled by an elevator, I crawled up the dummy. But too lazy to walk up the steps. The next night I went to work, the elevator still would not run and I was told to use the dummy again tonight. And I went around to the dummy, and lo and behold, it was out of order. And I had to walk up the steps.

I want to tell you as I walked up those steps, something came to me. What about your fellow employees who work in the _____ (unintelligible) and still walk up steps? And I began to think that I was too concerned about myself and I decided that occasionally I would walk those steps. And finally, after I walked those steps I stopped. I became adjusted to this and prosperity.

So it is in the struggle that you're in. The main thing is getting the idea over to your fellow employees. And the most significant thing is when you start those too, that some nice things will be done for employees. If you will get them the decent things will be done.

One thing that's detrimental about this is that we're too easy to get whitewashed. You see, you get a black whitewashed you really got some trouble. We accomplished quite a few things at Duke University, but there are many more to be done. The same union, I believe you mentioned the same union, black history and union history. To many people the same union is one of the most massive words that exists, it is a mores massive thing than black power. But I may have to realize how much they gained and how rich they are from these union employees. One thing that _____ (unintelligible) I think that when unionization light was given.

I remember reading a book in the library at Duke University nine years ago about a white man in Kentucky named Joe Hale. He went to his boss and asked his boss for a $2 raise. He had five children and his wife, and he kept insisting and his boss fired him. When his boss fired him his other fellow employees asked him what he had been fired for. And he said I asked my boss for a $2 raise. I didn't ask him for a dollar for myself. I only asked for a dollar for my children and my wife. And his wife was expecting a baby, and he said he was asking for a dollar for that, for the baby they were expecting.

They said Joe, what can you do? What do you have in mind? He said let's organize and make a union. And he began to organize a labor union. The people organized with him and other people got fired. They put Joe Hale in jail. They put Joe Hale in jail, they carried him to court and sentenced him to die in the electric chair. The state, the municipal government in that city said that Joe was trying to overthrow that government. And when this occurred people began to write.

I want to say at this point that Joe Hale gave his life that the possibility that the union organization by all people could be organized. And I would like to recall, last year on the 4th of April, remember, that the same union we created, the State _____ (unintelligible) union, not only a committee or a state or a national union, but a federation. A man you may forget, _____ (next few words unintelligible), was Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, in Memphis, Tennessee, gave his life to protect workers and employees represented in this same union. (Not entirely intelligible.)

And I tell the people at Duke University, and I said to the people at the University at Chapel Hill, they should be trying to come in and try to help you organize. Any people should be proud to belong to an organization that the Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING gave his life for.

Another thing that is said, that is about people used ideas about their needs and how concerned you are. _____ (unintelligible) said this first. Working at Duke University, I talked to many students and I learned much in working at the university about when they get their training and their education from Duke, when you go out in the public segment what will your subjects mean? What are you going to do to help the people of the state?

Now, right in your classroom and around town are clean white schools and classrooms. I hear those professors teach these students that you should be proud that you are a student at Duke University. And this biggest university tells them what they can do with themselves and their families.

Not only does this exist at Duke University, an all white institution, but the same thing occurred in the power structure in all black institutions. Now, this to me is come to the point that if we rely on these people that have taught this kind of philosophy, we're still going to degraded and we're still being _____ (unintelligible) by the system.

I think that the last two years that the students have taken an active part integrating black and white, you are criticized because what your views are. Self-experience has been a tremendous help in the past at Duke University. (Next few words unintelligible.) is if it had not been for the students who signed a petition, over 2,000 people, we 400 people could start out with 2,200 people, (rest unintelligible). It was stated to us by the _____ staff (rest unintelligible.) If you leave all our students alone then we can agree but see, I knew that was talk. You see, they want to keep the same system, the students in one respect for education, and forget about the people that are employed at Duke University.

And from that, when we got their views over to the students and they saw the centralization of the situation at Duke University this is when they became involved. They're still involved. And they have meant much to us.

It matters not what your views are, whether you are hippie, yippie, or black power, it doesn't matter to me, but if you're on my side I'm with you. I'm like the old story was about the black man who was having such a hard time once with his _____ (unintelligible) and he prayed to die so he could _____ (unintelligible). And you know people about 20 or 30 years ago, he was scared to be praying too much because he didn't know much about that, I mean about going to hell. So he told this black man, no use in your going praying to go to heaven because there aren't any niggers in heaven. God is not going to have you up there.

And this disturbed him more and he sure enough prayed. And he took his life, finally died and went to heaven. And it is true, when he got there, there wasn't a black man there. So Saint Peter gave him his wings and he flew around and the other white men looked at him. He said you better take it easy buddy, you'll get Saint Peter to take your wings away from you. He never said a thing, just kept flying, so glad to be there. So when he called for recess and he kept flying. Saint Peter took his wings. (rest unintelligible.)

And that's my point here is, it doesn't matter to me what your wings are, whether you're racist, liberal, militant, or what, if you're on my side, wade the devil with me, if you are going to stand up for five minutes, go get it done. The changes in labor.

Now, this is better, it's better to first, and people like the minority people whether black or white, is to have you own idea and knowledge of what you need. This I guess is one of the main reasons that we have got the forces that we have got at Duke University. And so the question comes up and you feel that way and investigate what you are in, it makes it hard for the person who is concerned about the job to be as much benefit to us as they could, as they could be. I advise you to find and search

and get all the information about the needs and write up your demands and give them to your needs and problems in one big lump and then draw your conclusion from there. This is what we're doing. The students don't know what you need, the students at Duke University didn't know until we gave it to them.

I want to give you an idea of some of the things you can accomplish (rest unintelligible). You have a nineteen-section agreement here and we have got just about half of them. Now, the major thing we haven't got. We've been stalling on the major thing because this is the way we had to do to get to the major thing. And it took powerful work at Duke University before we gave them this, they had to respond to some type of crisis. Now, we'll give the employees at UNC this one thing, that when they start out you move quicker than we did at Duke University. So whether you know it or not, if you keep this thing going you really can get it by the tail and get the people organized. It took us three years to come to the point actually that we came up to last year, and this is when you began to get things done.

Here are some of the things that we accomplished. First, I'll mention this thing called _____ (unintelligible) which doesn't mean very much. (Next sentence unintelligible). But then they went from five holidays to nine holidays a year. They went from two weeks vacation to four weeks vacation according to the length of time they had been in service at the university. Any person who completed a year's time at Duke University gets two weeks vacation. Before our organization began to move, you only got two weeks if you had been there 100 years, but now you get two weeks after one year, after four years you get three weeks, after nine years you get four weeks vacation.

Now, we also got _____ (unintelligible) and hospital insurance. Now, before our organization started, we didn't have any type of fringe benefits. We didn't have any hospitalization, any type of group life insurance at all. We got that. Both we got hospitalization, we got group life insurance. This is 60 cents on the dollar. They got this insurance only to the thousand that you get two thousand and two thousand off, three thousand on you, you get three thousand (rest unintelligible).

We got overtime pay. Not with 40 hours a week, but if you don't make but 30 hours a week and if you make over 8 hours a day, you get time and half for that eight hours that day you worked, time and a half for your work that day. No clause that you work 40 hours before your time and a half can be figured. Also, we got time and a half for particular holidays.

We got leave before we didn't have anything for _____ (unintelligible) leave. We got _____ (unintelligible) leave now that covers mother, father, husband, wife, son, daughter, and all the in-laws. This is three to five days.

We have maternity leave, which is for black people will have to work almost the full nine months before they could leave. We cut that down to leave at seven months. And we have it so that they can come back in time to be spent up to six months.

Also, we have six classifications, job descriptions. What your classification is, you get paid for that classification.

We have the six declarations and mainly, what we have is a voice, I said a voice, that's we have a voice to go to any part of the university no matter where you work, to protect and pursue the grievance or complaint of our employees.

We have a department and we have two personnel offices there. You can be in one department and go and pursue a complaint or grievance of any employee, which we had not had that before, which it took us three years and a strike to get that.

We also have free representation in our union. And this is where we get ready to carry into the office, we can carry any person in there to represent us that we want. Any type, in case we need professional _____ (unintelligible.) It doesn't care if it's _____ (unintelligible) or STOKELY CARMICHAEL, or anyone. And you know it is important for them to get anybody.

So I think this is the main office, first in making up your demands, make a demand for free representation, voice in all decision-making, and pick every aspect of the instituion and list

on all applications in this institution that not only can you speak with your employer in the department you work, but through the university.

Now, there are some other things that I'm going to mention to you that we are going to work on. Now, we got this on the table. One of the main things is something that you keep no matter how long you work with them, and that's seniority. Now, we got to be very careful about seniority. We have taken out _____ (unintelligible) because seniority at Duke University can be instrumental and can be detrimental. In numerous departments it is needed at the university. In the medical center alone they have 26 different departments. They have 18 departments throughout the_____ (unintelligible) university. When you go to see _____ (unintelligible) you can demand seniority. (next few words unintelligible.) Seniority within or seniority throughout. When I say seniority within, seniority would be more beneficial within the department that you work. If that's true then when the job breaks come, there is a little problem at the university, it may not be on a promotion, but it may be a more increase in pay within the department that you work in, you ought to get that job. But you only gor seniority within, then you are not eligible to go out of that department into another department to get this job.

Now seniority throughout, then you will be eligible to be promoted to be transferred from that department to any department in the university or the institution in which you work.

Now, you can ask some questions. If I can I'll give you some information today. (next sentence unintelligible.) This has to be agreed upon with the fellow employees and especially your white employees. Now, no one wants to take a position that will offend or be detrimental to a fellow employee. So this is very significant that we at Duke University declare what we want by all our fellow employees.

I'm going to stop here. I said that I am hoping that you and people that are really concerned about these situations . . . . (next few words unintelligible). I want to state to you

frankly, we need these people as our students (rest unintelligible). Students that are, if they can gain influence as many of your friends as you can. I'm quite sure we don't have the _____ (unintelligible) at UNC we have at Duke University because you don't have _____ (unintelligible). So, now don't forget the voice they got now. You need that. You need to tell people what it means to you and to them, that if they use their voice they're on. And one thing you've got here and at Duke University I don't know if they have all department (rest unintelligible). Because the only thing we have conquered at Duke is the power structure, a 36-man trustee board. They don't care anything about white people, black people, people, period. For their own community's sake is what controls them. Now the most problems we have at Duke University is getting our people to stop being so _____ (unintelligible) and so complacent and stop being so easy to be whitewashed.

Here in this institution we've got the instructor, we've got the lower level supervisors, we got their superiors, the administrative guys, we got 100 men on the trustee board and then you got _____ (unintelligible) legislation you got to have. So you see, you got to get back that's harder to move aside. Then you must think about this big law that's in North Carolina that stated the law of North Carolina. We don't talk to any investigators, that's against our state rights, our government rights.

Now you get your Gardner Law (phonetic), because if you don't get your Gardner law, you never get the 1964 Supreme Court decision, you neverwould have had the 1964 civil rights bill. That's the best thing you ever had because for the first time you ever had a bill passed. So if you regard this law of North Carolina, I guess you'd know it had been through two men in the state. There was a new resolution passed in Charlotte that now in Charlotte _____ (unintelligible) are now expecting a union of organization. It happened in the right place, the biggest city in the State of North Carolina. If that resolution can be passed in Charlotte, it can be done in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, and Chapel Hill, but it's going to take people to get it done.

These are most of the things I can think of to tell you now. Thank you very much and I'll be glad to come back to you again if you think I can be of any source of help to you and I would like to leave a copy of this here for people who are concerned. It can give you some views and ideas of how to draw up your proposal. Now, I want to tell you this, we're drawing up a new contract because there are some things in this one that we don't agree on. Like the _____ (unintelligible). Strike this out, it will be against you. So you can revise it into a framework.

(The following are speeches by BILL FESPERMAN and BOBBY LEE. BILL FESPERMAN is field secretary of the Young Patriots. BOBBY LEE is field secretary of the Illinois Black Panther Party.)

We been in Washington, D. C., the head of the octupus, the bud-sucker, and we gave Washington, D. C., the head of the monster, a toothache. We been in New York City in Harlem. We went to black harlem and Spanish harlem. You know in New York City, uptown New York is Harlem. But in Chicago, uptown Chicago is Hillbilly Harlem, is white harlem. Because we say there's two kinds of white people. There are honkeys and there are hillbillies. And hillbillies are not the white people who own Remington Arms and DuPont, and they're not the Kennedys, the Rockefellers, they're the oppressed people. They're the people down in the valley, you see.

We say a revolutionary is a person who comes down off the mountaintop into the valley. A lot of times you might have speakers here and you ask them what revolution means, and they won't answer you because they're not sure. But they got the words but they haven't got the practice to go with it.

A revolutionary is a man that comes from the mountaintop a cat who's got everything he needs in his grasp. He might be black, he might be a white nigger, might be an Indian, might be a middle-class, but he's got it in his grasp. Then he comes down into the valley and why does he come down there? He has to. Because this pig university here, you know what it does? This pig university will take a cat from a little town in North Carolina, take a cat whose mother and father have worked all their lives in the mill, a cat who understands what oppression is and who the oppressor is, and this university will turn him into an oppressor. This university will send him back home to oppress his mama and his daddy. That's a pig, that's a pig.

A revolutionary is a cat who sees what's happening and he comes down into the valley to be with the people. If he's black he comes down in the harlems all over the United States. If he's red, he comes down in the reservations. If he's brown

he comes down into the brown colonies. And if he's white, he comes down to places like Uptown Chicago, Oregon Hill in Richmond, Virginia, Tremont in Cleveland, Ohio. Because at uptown you got something going. You know, on the South side and West side of Chicago are oppressed blacks, but did you know brothers and sisters, on the North side are oppressed whites getting their ass beat every day by honkey cops? Beaten, shot at, shot, robbed, jailed. Half the jails, most of the jails in this country have two kinds of people in them. Blacks and hillbillies. You check out Folson Prison and San Quentin. Check them out. Check out what Johnny Cash says to them, why he goes there.

We say it's a class struggle. We say it's a class struggle because no more is it only a racial struggle. As long as we continue to say it is a race struggle, the man's got us. He's got us. Because that can work two ways. One way is that it builds capitalism. NIXON's program of black capitalism. And the second thing is that it fosters a race war. Now we get into the gateway of the South, Richmond, Virginia, and the reason we're so tired is because we had to run from them simple fools that work for J. Edgar Whoever, Super-Pit HOOVER.

Every minute we was in Richmond, Virginia, they were on our ass. They're here tonight, you know that. There's nowhere we go where the pigs don't show up. It's not because we're screaming racism either, dig, it is because we're screaming and shouting solidarity. We're for socialism and solidarity against capitalism and racism.

And here we are all of us out here paying their taxes to run our asses down and put us in jail. And we come down South trying to deal with racism and them son-of-a-bitches want to put us in jail. They want to put us in jail and they will put us in jail. Because the Vanguard Party knows that the first wave of revolution is wiped out, and when Brother LEE gets up to rap, he'll tell you some things that are fact about what's happened in the Black Panther Party.

I can tell you some things that happened to the Young Patriots since they become a political organization, allied themselves with the Black Panther Party and with the Young Lords,

a Puerto Rican group. We got some special things to say to white people and that's that brothers and sisters, it's about time that we decided who we identify with in this country. That we done been messed around so long and [illegible] on television that you got white kids running around here, man, that think they're superman. You know, that's right. They relate to superman. They think bullets are going to bounce off their chests if somebody fires down on them. And then you got a lot of white women today, members of the Lois Lane Liberation Front, who think that because they took off their brassiere they're free. See? There goes one now.

But we say, I say that just because I don't wear any underdrawers that don't make me a free man, because we understand revolutionary struggles across the world what it means to be a free man and a free woman. And on this trip we've understood it because we've had to stick together. It means that you are able to stand together arm in arm to bear arms, to do what must be done, to do something for God's sake, instead of just running your mouth about your liberation. It's a contradiction for men to get together and hold a conference on liberation, and it's a contradiction for women to get together and talk about their liberation. That's a contradiction because liberation seeks out no sex and no color.

So I say we're not identifying with superman and Lois Lane because they're, I don't take superman as a mark of my manhood because that cat never even went to bed with Lois Lane. And she didn't do too good either. And behind that, I don't dig Batman too much either. I don't dig Batman too much running around with that little kid.

But you got a lot of white people, all them pigs in that city of Chicago, that think they're Matt Dillon. That's right. And they think Chicago is Dodge City. And they march down the streets up there, just daring people to draw. And for years people hadn't been able to draw. But you know what a revolutionary vanguard is? A revolutionary vanguard is when a pig comes down and says draw, you're able to draw on him. See? That's what you're able to do. That's what revolution is. Revolution is armed struggle. It is armed struggle. It's not a dinner party.

You get cats who have been going through this school for four years. They'll study everything that MARX ever read, et, smoked, or shit and come out of here thinking MARX was just another cat who wrote a couple of books. You even have professors here who probably teach it that way. And I hope that next time you run into one of them you kick his ass. I hope you kick his ass, kick his ass for me, the Young Patriots, the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords. Because when we are getting our asses mowed down in the street and on stages like this, 31 Panthers have been killed this year, and everyone of them have been killed in situations like this. Some fool chuck who wants to be big stands up and starts firing. But we made it clear wherever we've been that, you know, we better be careful because wrath of the people get hold of his throat.

In Washington, D. C. 25 members of the Nazi Party ganged where we were talking. You know they were standing around bullying and shit, they thought that you know, they thought they would scare us off. So I told them, I said look here, if any of you people want to mess with us you might catch a bullet between your eyes. Now after all that three of them sissies came up afterwards crying, why should we say something like that, how could we say something like that? And talking peace and all this bullshit when they've already murdered millions of people. And then claim we're violent.

A revolutionary does not base his movement on violence. He bases it on love, that's right, love of the people. We don't travel around 400, 500, 600 miles leaving our families, leaving our homes, to come out to blow hot air to somebody all because we enjoy traveling or to tell people lies. Why in the hell would I want to come down here from Chicago and tell somebody a lie for? And have an FBI Agent following with a little old tape recorder so when he can get back to his office he can figure out just where he can snip the tape so he can send me to jail for crossing the state lines to incite a riot. We are inciting a riot all right in this country, we're inciting a riot of love among the people, among the people.

And the people are hip, man, let me tell you. You know this cat, who is he, Tricky No-Dick Nixon, who's a simple fool sitting up there in some classy place called White House. And you know, how in the hell did that simple fool ever get elected? Like ELDRIDGE CLEAVER said, that shows how low this country's done went. He's sitting up there and so we're walking around and we're going to people and saying to them, dig, we're coming down South and saying this. The South will rise again in a new way because all oppressed people, they're going to swim across the Potomac with blades in their teeth, crawl up on the bank, walk up to the White House door, bust it down, and run up to that simple fool and say, Hey Tricky Dic, how come you're sitting in the people's chair? That chair belongs to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, DEWEY NEWTON, and BOBBY SEAL. It belongs to the people, so look we got a cat outside with 100 gallons of red paint, 100 gallons of white paint, 100 gallons of brown paint, 100 gallons of black paint, and why don't you just get on out there and start painting this place. Because we're just about to turn it into a day care center for the people, and you can stay here, we'll give you a job cleaning the toilets. Yeah.

But we don't run around, brothers and sisters, white brothers and sisters in particular, I bet somewhere along the line white brothers and sisters here if you come from the South, either your parents or their parents or some of their relatives have been in the Klan. And I hope you still ain't propagating the madness. I hope you still ain't buying the lines that those dudes bought. See, we run around here, the Young Patriots, we use the Confederate flag as our symbol. That's because we snatched it away from the ruling class. It don't belong to them. It belongs to the people.

And that's what you've got to do white brother and sisters, is go right on home and snatch the damn flag out of the hands of your people, out of the hands of your old man and your mama or whoever it is. You got to go down to the capital in Atlanta, Georgia, take it down, and ram it up LESTER MADDOX's ass. That's what you got to do.

Read back in this country, check it out, here you are in the university. Check out what this country is. Check it out. Let racism become a disease. I'm talking to the white brothers

and sisters because I know what it's done, I know what it done to me. I know what it does to people every day. And we're saying that's got to end, it's got to stop and we're doing it. And a lot of cats off the street in Chicago, off the streets, hillbilly cats who are doing it. And you got cats laying back in universities with more degrees than a thermometer, can't walk across the street and chew bubblegum at the same time, and still racist. Now what kind of shit is that? What kind is it?

And then you got fuzz over yonder in Raleigh, a gang keeping that shit going. Man, in Chicago as small as we are, and a vanguard is always small, we've been able to give Hog Jaws DALEY the biggest case of political diarrhea he's ever had.

And that has to happen here in North Carolina. It has to happen everywhere in this country. And how do we do it? We con't come in see, and just blow at people and then we don't have nothing to leave behind. That's been done too long by people like, you know, the superman democratic society or STOKELY CARMICHAEL. People like that swing in, take all the people's money, swing back out and there's nothing left. We institute programs. We institute programs. Black Panther Party instituted a free breakfast for children program which feeds 40,000 kids in this country. And in Chicago we have a food program. And we're about to develop or about to open free health clinics. And you better believe, man, that Mayor DALEY is running around there trying to figure out what to do. Because every four years, man, he depended, that old precinct cap come around there, sling a chicken on somebody and he's going to go out and vote for him. And now old precinct cap comes around with that chicken, people are going to say why I've already got about, you know, 20 or 25 chickens this month from the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots, and the Young Lords. I don't need your damn chicken, so why don't you take it and stick it up your ass and get out of here.

Mayor DALEY, when we started our food programs, he stood up on television there and he said, Oink. What did you expect him to say? He said, I'm going to feed the hungry people of Chicago

if I can find them. So he sent his pigs searching out people's houses. Check out some of these Nazi movies sometime on television, man you'll find out what Chicago is like or what it is in black and poor white neighborhoods. Sent pigs out to search out people's houses to see if they had any food there. And that program didn't last but two weeks, and then DALEY and all of his lackeys and running dogs put the needs of the people in a bureaucratic crawer and shut the drawer on the needs of the people.

But our programs are still going. We're all considered criminals. We're considered criminals for feeding hungry people, providing health care, that's right, that's why we're criminals. That's why they're going to lock us away.

In Richmond, Virginia, we instituted food programs, free breakfast for children programs, in the black colony and in the white colony. That's how come all them pigs was running around trying to stop it. They didn't waht to see that happen. They didn't want to see it happen.

So we relate to those programs. We relate to serving the needs of the people. And white brothers and sisters, let me tell you that if you want to make that ascent up to that mountain and you want to sit up on that mountain ll your life, then you go ahead and do it. Because in the valley the masses of the people are greater than the few that sit on that mountaintop. And they're going to scale that mountain just like the people of Cuba did, just like the people of China did, and when they get to the top of that mountain, you know what's going to happen to you. You know what's going to happen to you.

If you're from the working class relate to the working class. Don't hate your parents. That's what's wrong with people like, groups like SDS right now. They hate their parents. They hate them. They hate them. I love my parents, the one I got. And most of the people in our organization love, love their parents. Because that's where we come from. How can I turn around and kick the woman in the stomach whose stomach I come out of? If they fucked up, so are we. And any of these SDS people man, they are trying to run up to Chicago and want Mayor DALEY to be their psychiatrist by whopping their ass for a couple of days.

If you're from the working class, relate to the working class. You know how many Southern people I met up North that lose their accent? I ran into about, I guess about ten of them, up in American University. They lose their accent. They're ashamed to say if they are from a little old town in the South. That's right, ashamed. Now how in the hell can somebody make you ashamed of what you are? If somebody does, you ought to go up and snatch out their teeth. If you're from the working class, relate to the working class.

If you're from the middle class, you got a hell of a job laying on you because you got to relate to the middle class. That's right, you got to do it. You got to do it. Because dig, see, you got weird shit in this country. You got, you're not going to expect somebody from Hillbilly Harlem to come up and try to relate to the middle class are you? Huh? The middle class? Are you going to expect . . . Well I then expect the middle class cats like Students for a Democratic Society to run on down and try to relate to the working class and they never relate to it in their whole life. If you come from a lawyer's family you better be about understanding what it means to be a lawyer in a revolutionary time. Or to be a doctor, because in this country if you check it out at this university, you'll find out that we produce teachers that don't teach, doctors that hate their patients, chickens that don't lay eggs, judges or lawyers that is more interested in judgeships than they are justice.

So I say we better get on the case white brothers and sisters to relate to that route. And if this whole university here has to die, has to fall, relate to the people, relate to their blood into love of them, because the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology. If the masses of the people ever vamped on this place it would be all over with and you know that.

All the guns in the hands of the reactionary whites, how come you're allowing that to happen, huh? Is that because you go through a little social concern stage, you going to lay back in to cut, white brothers and sisters? Don't ever let it happen.

All power belongs to the people and when we say it we mean it, and we put it into practice, Marxist-Leninist theory into practice. And I'm sure there's going to be some professor here tonight to ask us what the Marxist-Leninist theory is, and I guess we'll probably take him out and show him the people in the pool hall, and people in the factories, and we'll show him the programs in the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots and the Young Lords, and then he's going to come back to his office and he's going to buy him a pipe that's real bit and stuff it full of hash, and he's going to sit there and grow his hair long, take acid, and freak out.

For all you white brothers and sisters that consider yourselves to be members of the hippy colony, or hippy culture, let me tell you, you don't even need, you don't even do it now. It's too late. Man, in New York City and Chicago, man hippies, you're in if you are a hippy up there. You can make money, man. These cats are running around the streets claiming that political power comes from love beads or something like that. That's right, that's something they're claiming. And in Old Town, Chicago, man, if you're a hippy you can open up a head shop, you can be bringing some dough, you can really be bringing in some dough. And people lay back and still dying in the streets, suffering from hunger, lousy wages in factories as a whole, all that shit is still going down, see, still happening. So if you want to freak out, you freak out. But when you come down off your high, you know where you might find yourself because a person that tends to sleep through a revolution wakes up dead. That's right, that's right.

So my white brothers and sisters, we got a hell of a job ahead of us and in the last ten months, it has been a very short time really, we found that out from being all over this country and receiving pleas from white people who have never had any hope, who have either been freaked out in one direction or freaked out in another direction, all hiding under a sheet in between. Had no hope. And now there is hope.

We entered a struggle, white brothers and sisters, at a high political leval without the organizing that goes with it, without the organizing that goes with it. Every city in this country where white people are oppressed are asking for

our help and we're going to be there. That's why we're down in here to check that out, listen to people and see what can we do. Can we build some programs for the people. I hope you go back to your community sometimes and relate and kick OEO in the ass. That's right. OEO, you know as well as I do objective fact that OEO is bullshit. It's as simple as that, and that the people theirself can do more. Look here at the director of OEO if you want to talk about contradictions, he comes from the richest congressional district in the world. It's in Chicago. It's up the street from where we live. A district that includes Kenilworth and Wilmett (phonetic) and Evanston, man, they got tombstones up there bigger than your crib, brother. That's how rich them people is. And this dude is coming out of there claiming, can he know anything about poor people? He can't even know nothing about working class people. He probably sleeps, you know, his wife probably sleeps over here and he probably sleeps way over here, in a bedroom about 100 feet away. And pays the servant to go in there and go to bed with her. That's how rich he is. Some weird people on Lakeshore Drive in Chicago.

If you ever, that's right, if you ever talk to some male prostitutes or some cats that are out pimping it up there, you'll find out. Some weird shit goes down in Carl Sandburg Village and you know, the Gold Coast. That's right.

So I'm going to quit blowing right now. I was tired, see. The only way that when we come on a situation we're always tired, see. From one to the other. But we depend on the spirit of the people to build us up. In Richmond, Virginia, we would be dead right now if it hadn't been for the people who surrounded us and protected us there because them FBI Agents were not on our ass. But we depend on the spirit of the people. We depend on it. And I'm sorry to say, maybe it's because the message is new, or it is bullshit to you, although me staking my life to me is not bullshit, feeding hungry people, building programs is not bullshit. All power belongs to the people. Red power to red people. Brown power to brown people. Yellow power to yellow people. Black power to black people. White power to white people. Political power to the vanguards. Bullshit power to the bullshitters who we will flush down the toilet of history. All power to the people.

Now I'd like to introduce, I'm through blowing. I'd like to introduce field secretary for the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, who is the only person from the central staff on the chapter in Illinois free to travel. The great revolutionary brother, we've been many places together and we're going to go to jail together, die together, or be exiled together, BOB LEE.

(The following speech was made by BOBBY LEE.)

The last ten months . . . well first I'll define field secretary. It's an organizer we call troubleshooter. And the majority of the cats who have gotten shot in the Black Panther Party are field secretaries. We have had 31 Panthers killed since January 18. We have 323 political prisoners in jails, local prisons, or whatever you want to call them. And I have counted numerous cats who have gone in exile to Cuba or Algiers, Africa, or Africa in general.

As far as I'm concerned now, I've reached the point where I'm just tired of talking to people, I really am. Because when you see these many cats ripped off, cats whose only crimes have been, and I'll correct preacherman, we fed 40,000 kids nationally in our free breakfast programs, and in Chicago we fed 4,000.

And when you see cats, 31 young brothers ripped off, by policemen or FBI agents or paid assassins and then when you try to come to a college campus and try to relate this to this thing, and you see people out in the audience themselves don't know where they are, don't even know where they are going. You see white people, man I've found out in the past ten months of traveling working in the white community and coming to the white college communities, I found that black people are not the ones that are confused. It's white people. It's white people.

And it's so evident when you, like sometimes you watch TV programs and they have programs where the man is walking down the street with his suit on and his tie, or the man by himself in

a boat or a ship, or the man sitting out on the beach, the poor white man trying to identify with that you know like, and can't get it is hell. I found that there is no such thing as togetherness among white people. Not at all. They're all individuals. They have no personalities at all. They have no personalities at all. It is just like a racist who don't even know why he's a racist. He's just been fed something. He was fed something in his institutions that you call a church, synagogues or cathedrals, institusions such as the University of North Carolina or his community. White people are really confused.

It's just like last night in Richmond, Virginia, as far as the black people were concerned, it took us about an hour to start a free breakfast for children program in Richmond. For white people nothing was there in that community, nothing because they feel that they have no need for these type things. They feel that they actually, some white cats actually feel that hell, he's going to be elected President, he's going to be another LINCOLN or something. Study and read by candlelight and maybe in the next ten years he may be the President of the United States. That thing about when you're white you're right. And we used to think that the system was destroying black people, but we found that it's white people who is really fucked around. White people are really confused, don't know where they're going, don't know what's happening because the system has set some sort of guideline for white people that has caused them to fight and struggle for a dream that is nothing. Fight for a suburban, a house out in suburbia, fight for a PhD., fight for the Brooks Brothers suit, fight for a wife who hopefully she comes from a background like the Rockefellers or the DuPonts. Marry a doctor or a lawyer. And it is white people who are really fucked around.

But then sometimes you can hear it on some brothers now, black people. Now I was here at this college and talked with some brothers around here and actually this is the first college I ever came to where I saw it as a clear line between black people. And this is why the Black Panther Party has come down South because we know in fact that there are some niggers here down South that know that their descendants came from a slave ship, when in fact you do have some niggers here that think they actually came over here on the Mayflower. That's funny to me. It's funny. You have some niggers that actually think that they came here on the Mayflower.

Now we were hoping that when we got here, we heard you had 160 black students here. But I see that the Negro students are outside and the black students are here. And the honkeys are outside and the hillbillies are here and don't even really know that they are hillbillies. Oppressed white people are here. They want to find out what's going on. But it's very, very hard to talk to a college audience especially when you don't have that, you're not college oriented yourself. You have to have a certain kind of rhetoric that you must talk. You know, you must use, relate to, to college students, you know. And like I said, last night coming from Richmond, that it's kind of hard to bring rhetoric and rarity and bring them together for college students, Jack. Because they are so programmed in a way that when truth hits them, you have to open a book up for them, you know. You have to take them and see it, and something like that, and when in fact they do see it they don't believe it. Like most of you don't believe the film.

For the pigs in the audience, my name is BOBBY LEE, and you know me, and for those of you that don't know me, I'm field secretary for the Black Panther Party, Chicago Chapter. And I would like to say something, that I called Chicago a couple of days ago and I talked with FRED HAMPTON and FRED told me that BOBBY RUSH was sentenced to six months in Vandania (phonetic). There's a prison there. And when we started out together in Chicago, the party, there were ten of us, now there is only three of us. And I'm the only one free to leave and travel and this is why this trip is so urgent to us. Not to juice you for no bread, not to recruit no Panthers, just to purely try to build some communications. To talk about the national conspiracy to destroy the Black Panthers.

And it is a fact, one Panther, BUGLE brothers, that's dead. And it is fact, there are 323 Panthers in jail, and it is a fact you have a lot of brothers who left their wives and their children and their homes and gone to Cuba and Africa.

And these are things that we are trying to express, that we are not a racist organization. That in fact we do feed 40,000 kids nationally. That we are opening the second free health clinic in Chicago, the only kind, the only program of its kind in the nation. It is purely run by the people, non-profit, no OEO money at all. We have one in Kansas City.

While I was talking with BOBBY, BOBBY told me, FRED rather, FRED told me he talked to lawyers, and the lawyers told FRED to be sure and tell me to be cool about what I say, because the FBI Agents have been taping everything I've been saying, because they really want to get behind me because of this film. This film has gone out to 7,000 colleges. It was shown at the Alphati (phonetic) conference in Algeria to those African brothers. It was shown in Cuba. And it's a dynamite film. And FRED said be sure and cool it, man, because when you come back, man, they might indict you on the Rap Brown Law, interstate traveling to incite riots.

So all I have to say to that, if we have an FBI Agent here, fuck that, fuck that. Because I'm not going to let anyone tell me what I can do or what I can say, see? Because I read something in a Constitution somewhere where it said there is freedom of speech.

But that's another thing I found out. They write so many laws but they never tell the people about them until they are arrested. Now I don't have time to go out and do some studying to find out what I can say and what I can't say, or where I can go. So pig, fuck you.

And if you want to hear me say that I dig, or going to say something about the overthrow of the government, or violence, well I'll say this. I adhere violence, I adhere violence, because my whole life consists of violence in the black community. I don't know about you white folks. But I do know that what happened to the Jews in World War II ain't nothing what's been happening to black people in the last 400 years in America and in Africa. All of the colored people, Jack. So no honkey come tell me something about I can't say nothing about violence when you all use violence. And you talk about slavery, bombings of churches in Birmingham, Alabama, lynchings, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Korea, North Vietnam,

genocide of American Indians, relocation of the Oriental people in World War II, don't you tell me that I can't say nothing about violence, nigger.

So I believe in that. I believe the only way you can take a gun from a fool is to kill him. I believe that the only way you can stop violence is through violence, and the only way you can stop a war is to declare war. I don't believe in picketing trying to stop a war in Vietnam. You declare war. You declare war.

Now preacherman hit on racism. And it is a very real thing, and don't you think because tonight that we're saying that we are not racists, white people, that you can come on the West Side any time you feel like it in Chicago. Because racism still exists on the West Side, and don't you brothers feel that because the Patriots say they are not racists, which they're not, that all the people feel that way. You get off.

Because that's the core thing in this country. That's the thing that we're trying to fight every day. That's the thing that the Patriots is trying to fight every day. It's the thing that we're trying to relate to you that even in this racist institution you're attending right now, that when you see racism or you see anyone, if you have the guts, which I doubt many of you dudes have, if you have the guts you better speak out against it. Because what we're trying to do every day is heighten the contradiction in this country and we're trying to make the situation so hot for this country that either you people are going to be part of the problem or you're going to be part of the solution. That's right, that's right.

And I might use some curse words. I had a lady last night tell me that she didn't like mother-fucker, but I don't see nothing wrong with that word when you are from the ghetto. Because mother-fucker is a functional word to me, Jack. And I know if I call ADOLPH EICHMANN a dirty mother-fucker you wouldn't disagree with me. If I called those simple mother-fuckers who bombed that church at Birmingham and killed those children, you wouldn't, yes, some of

you would. Some of you dug that. Some of you dug that when those kids got bombed. If I called HITLER a dirty mother-fucker, or Hirohito or Tojo, you'd dig that. So I'm saying anyone here don't like that word, before I start, come on up here right now. I'll deal with you first. Then I'll speak.

Because if they gave me a good education I'd be talking like you, so I'm doing the best I can with the education them simple mother-fuckers gave me. That's right, that's right. I'm doing the best I can with the education they gave me.

And when you work in the community, in the dirt and the filth of the ghetto like I do, like the Patriots do or the Young Lords do, that's all you hear. And when you see white ghettos and black ghettos, and like in New York Spanish ghettos, then the only thing that you'll say is that America is a dirty mother-fucker, a dirty mother-fucker. That's right.

When you read about 78 miners sealed down at the bottom of a mine, poor white cats, because some simple mother-fucker capitalist had them working in conditions that were just intolerable, Jack, he is a dirty mother-fucker. A dirty mother-fucker, Jack.

You have a cat like General HERSHEY who sends greetings to the brothers in the ghetto and has the audacity to endorse GEORGIE-BOY WALLACE, simple mother-fucker WALLACE, then that other mother-fucker, CURTIS LEMAY, white honkey mother-fucker, CURTIS LEMAY, strategic air guard or leader of the air force, has the audacity to run as his Vice-President is running flunky, dirty mother-fucker LEMAY, don't tell me not to use it. Because HERSHEY and LEMAY is some dirty mother-fuckers.

When brothers in the ghetto, Jack, go out and fight and they have the audacity to endorse that Fascist-pomp, simple mother-fucker WALLACE, who got poor white people confused, who is using poor, oppressed blue-collar and working class white people, Jack, got them confused. They don't know what to do now. They don't know where to go. And that other dirty mother-fucker MC CARTHY, who used these young brothers, he is a dirty mother-fucker. And HUMPHREY and NIXON who have the audacity to run on something called law and order, and where was law and order when all the

black people were getting lynched? Who spoke out then? Where is all the law and order when American Indians right now sitting on reservations get knocked off every day psychologically and physically?

And these God damn priests, who sprinkle holy water on an atom bomb, they're some dirty mother-fuckers too. Because you got priests, ministers, rabbis, who sit in these churches every Sunday and pray every day and if a black man or a hillbilly or someone outside his class steps on his front door, he won't let him in. You got cats like Father LAWLER (phonetic) in Chicago, who is racist as hell and wears a collar and a cross, makes statements that black people should be sent back to Africa, it's his mother-fucking ass that should be sent to Africa and given to the people in Mozambique, and they'll hang his ass.

You got lawyers and judges right here, lawyers that's only concerned about judgeships instead of justice. You got doctors that's concerned about personal wealth instead of people's health. These are dirty mother-fuckers. Think about that. Think about that.

So we didn't come too far. See, we've traveled too much and we know that time is running short on us. We was down here in a shoot-out last night. The only reason we weren't killed is that these people last night, was that the people rallied around us, and the people pulled out and left us alone. And I told these pigs not to follow us. Go out in the streets and follow some of these fools who call themselves policemen who are brutalizing people out on the streets. Do investigation on them. Do investigation on these cats like on the Chicago Police Department. Find some Ku Klux Klansmen on the Police Department.

We follow simple mother-fucker GEORGE WALLACE around. He's propagating all this racism around here. That's going to be responsible for a race war some day. And we're trying to counter WALLACE everywhere or every hill or valley he goes, we try to follow him. Follow him. Follow some of youniggers in here, some of you honkeys in here and some of you _____ (unintelligible) freaks in here talking about racism or talking about how to blow up some

nigger's house, or how to blow up some black man's church, or how to kill some hillbilly, or how to kill some Indian, or how to kill some Oriental. Follow some of y'all in here. You got some dirty, racist mother-fuckers in here, see?

Do investigation on these pigs who shot 31 Panthers. Cats walking in their doors and get a bullet in the back. Or cats like LARRY ROBERSON, number 31 who was killed in Chicago two weeks ago, the day after he left, show three times in the streets. Nobody knows yet who shot him. Find them.

MANUEL RAMOS (phonetic), MANUEL RAMOS, a beautiful Puerto Rican brother, married just two weeks, he is 21 years old, married just two weeks, having a birthday party, and shot on his front porch by an off-duty pig. And he went to court and they called it, what, involuntary manslaughter. What did they give him? Follow people like that, see?

I don't know, man, I'm really tired of talking. It's getting to a point where the pressure is so hard that it's very hard for me to distinguish, man, who was good and who was bad, because I'm to the point where I've seen so many people rapped off, I just don't even care no more, man. And I'm coming out very subjective real thing about myself now, that I'm to the point, man, where I'm ready to get my gun and just go out in the middle of the streets and hold court. Because I feel, man, that I love so many people and so many of these brothers so much that everyone of them that have died, everyone of them that have gone to jail and left me, so the only thing I want now is just to die with them, man, because contradictions in this country, we raise them so high, when we have to feed 4,000 kids alone in Chicago and the Patriots have to do it, when you got mother-fuckers in Washington. They initiate OEO community programs, they initiate all kinds of programs and got people dying, man.

We were in New York, man, and I saw a lady with buckets, man, getting water out of fire hydrants. People were standing in line, 1969 brother, eight days ago, standing at a fire plug, man, getting water. New York City, you still have junk men who go down alleys shouting rags and iron. That shit was going on in the twentieth century, in the 1920's man.

You still have cats putting up little stands to sell groceries, man, to make money. You still have prostitution. You still have pimps. You still have the mafia, the simple, dirty mother-fuckers in the mafia, who bring that shit to our community.

And here you cats is, trying to get a college diploma stamped pig, stamped pig. Because you know, man, this system is dependent upon you to keep this system going. They're dependent on the technicians, scientists, doctors, lawyers, educators. Now I'm not saying, don't get me wrong, I'm not saying I haven't said drop out of school, I'm not saying that. But what I am saying, man, is don't be programmed, man. Don't just read a book, man, just read a book for the sake of reading a book, man, don't just read what that simple mother-fucker in your class gives you, and I call him a simple mother-fucker if he's a teacher that don't teach. That's right, if he's a teacher that don't teach, he ain't nothing. If he's a teacher that's not teaching you your true role in this present day society, if he's not an instructor who's trying to teach you to be concerned about your fellow man, Jack, and uplifting your fellow man, if he's not a teacher that's trying to help you fight racism, see, y'all call them what, Communists? Right, when a cat do that, when a cat speak out against the war, when a cat speak out against racism, see, that's what y'all call them, right? Far left or something like that, or the teacher upstairs is kooky or something, like that because he likes niggers or something, or he digs working class whites, see, or he thinks Ho Chi Minh is cool, because Ho Chi Minh loves his people, or he thinks Mao-Tse-Tung, you know, is cool because he loves his people. He mets the needs of his people the best way he can with the best signs that he can. Or that Che Guevara and Castro is cool, see, y'all call him crazy. See, and what happens is he gets fired. And the very fact that this institution tells you that this cat is a Communist, in essence what they're telling you is not to be concerned about yellow people or black people or these people. You should be concerned about keeping America going.

And I tell brothers and sisters quick that if you're here to make the atom bomb, make it. But be a good atom bomb maker. If you're going to be a doctor, be a good doctor. If you're

here to be a teacher, be a good teacher. Let's go back to the atom bomb since I'm in a political framework. If you're going to make an atom bomb, brother, give it to me. Give it to me, because I damn sure know what to do with it. That's right. I know what to do with it. I'm not going to take it over to Hanoi. I'm at the point where I'd just rather go on and drop it and let us all go together.

For God done took a look around. That was all in nature's plan. God don't endorse this shit that's going on down here. He really don't. I know he don't. I know he don't Jack. And I hope you white people ain't thinking he's white, because if he is white well you've seen what he did to people's color. And I hope you don't think he's black, because if he's black and been letting all this shit go on for 400 years, and I go up to Heaven, I'm going to blow his mother-fucking brains out. That's right. So I'm thinking that he must be Chinese or Indian or something. That's right. And he couldn't be Chinese then, or Japanese. He couldn't be a man of color, he couldn't be yellow because look at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And he damn sure couldn't be Indian. Not with what happen d to Indian people here.

Man, look, America is a walking contradiction. It's a walking contradiction, Jack. Well right out here in this hall, you can sit right here and it's a walking contradiction, Jack. You can tell by just sitting here, just being here by the very fact that you have nearly 6,000 students or more or less, yet you have only 160 black students, 160 black students, token students. Token.

Is there a hillbilly in the audience? I mean, a hillbilly. No hillbillies?

Is there a Puerto Rican here? Show me an American Indian. Right. One token Indian.

Show me a Japanese. One token Japanese. Damn.

America, now we can hit on brothers, see, I been hitting white folks. Because I say things _____ (unintelligible), Jack. If you want to, what we call in the ghetto let the shit hit the fan, let's let it hit.

Now, I'm here also about some niggers in Charlotte, North Carolina, who call themselves Panthers. And they're not Panthers. And I got these niggers' names. I called Oakland today. And these niggers, I tell you what, now these niggers think they're getting away with murder. We know everyone of these niggers. We know their mamds name, their daddy's name. We know when they was born, how old they is, how they look. We know their sister's name if they have them. We know what school they went to, what elementary school they went to, when they was born.

Now we got some niggers in Charlotte, North Carolina and some niggers in Greensboro who's running around here propagating madness, propagating racism, calling themselves Panthers. And this first nigger mother-fucker name is GROVER BENNETT. The second mother-fucker name is BENJAMIN HAIRSTON. The other simple mother-fucker name is BEN CHAVIS.

(At this point the tape was changed, and the following is a continuation of the above speech.)

. . . of Greensboro nor down South period. Because they are out of order, Jack, when they come around talking racism, talking about all honkeys are racists. They're out of order. I know y'all know some of them. I know you know some of them. Some of them might be your friends. I'm sorry about that. Because we say you're either part of the problem or you're part of the solution and these niggers are part of the problem. These niggers have got to go, they've got to go. Yes, so they got to go, God damn it.

Okay, we'll take some questions now.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

(The following are the concluding comments made by BOBBY LEE in his speech of September 18, 1969.)

Some can't stand no female. But I found that most women bring this thing up, in fact women who ain't in no organization. They ain't in no organization, see. Now when you talk to a Panther or a Patriot or a Young Lord woman, these are women like MOLLY (phonetic) we travel, Jack, and she can deal, deal, deal, you know. That's the same way a Young Lord woman is, a Young Patriot woman is.

I'm talking about, I mean we know that, Jack, that society has a thing set up that oppresses women, that oppresses women. It has a certain role that women must play. But we know also that if we are talking about offering the man who got their boot on our neck, that if we free ourselves, then and I think about the women, then they are also going to be oppressed. They're going to have that same oppressive thing hanging over her.

So, we know we'll never be free until we can also alter psychological thing that oppresses women and she'll long fight it. And also that sort of life style that's set for women, we have to alter that also. But all the women bring this thing up ain't a member of nothing, nothing, ain't a member of no revolutionary organization. The Bread-Basket or something like that, or some urban progress center or historic center or something.

Okay, we say all power belongs to the people and we say white power belongs to white people and JOHN BROWN, the Young Patriots, brown power to Che Guevera and Castro and their people, yellow power to Ho Chi Minh and Mao, the National Liberation Front, and their people. Red power to Sitting Bull and Geronimo and their people. Black power to my people. Panther power to the Vanguard Party, whether the pigs of the power structure like it or not. Fuck if they don't like it. That's what we say.

(The following speech was made by BOBBY LEE.)

I'll take over where preacher left off now. My name is BOBBY LEE for those of you who don't know me. I'm field secretary for the Black Panther Party, the Chicago Chapter, and this is CRAIG WALTON (phonetic), the Minister of Defense of the Young Patriots, and CRAIG also spent four years in the Marine Corps and in Vietnam, and Preacherman who is field secretary for the Young Patriots organization, and national headquarters is in Chicago, and they're from the north side of Chicago. It's called uptown.

About 50 per cent of the people who live up there are from Appalachian, are southern whites who migrated from the South the same as my people did during the World War II. And the mines and factories and things closed down, and these people are without jobs. And we refer to uptown, like some people call Spanish Harlem, and like some people call black harlem, then we call uptown white harlem.

And the whole purpose of the trip on black panther's point of view was number one to build some communications, was to build some communications with, well with some of the universities who haven't had a chance to have exposure to the Black Panthers. To lay out our programs, let the people see the programs, to talk about what's happening in the country in general and in Chicago in particular.

Being that I'm the only one from the Chicago chapter who's free to leave and we're very certain now that that privilege will be taken away from me when I go back. The Patriots and Panthers being together, shows, you know, that the Black Panther Party is not a racist organization as most of the presses have been trying to portray that.

And we started out in Washington, D. C. and we spoke at American University, DuPont Circle, Malcolm X Park in Washington, D. C. We were on a couple of TV programs there and from Washington we went to New York City where the Patriots spoke in Harlem. We had a very warm reception there and we did a rally, like, for the New York Panthers.

We did a rally in New York, Harlem, where the Patriots were given a very warm reception. And we did a thing at the Diplomat Hotel in New York City for the Panther 21.

After New York City, we went to Richmond, Virginia, and we spoke at Virginia Junior College, the Free University, Richmond, Virginia, and also we worked in the communities there. We split up in Richmond, Virginia, where the Patriots went to a place called Argil Hills (phonetic), I think it is, sort of white working class community. And we went to a place called West End. There's a black community there, and we worked, after we left we set up a program for free breakfast for children program in Richmond, Virginia.

And we came here, the indication was in view you people invited us here to show American Revolution II, and we've shown it in the three states that we've been in. American Revolution II, as preacherman said, as these other fellows said, that it consists of working class whites and working class blacks, working together under a common cause. You know, _____ (unintelligible) in the community, police brutality, the housing, what the community needs.

Another aim we've been trying to work on going to universities is that we found that there's a big breakdown between so-called black students who go to school at the university, and the brothers out here in the streets. We find that the black students in the colleges don't relate to the brothers on the streets any more, to the cats on the corners. And we've tried to work with that, try to build some communications.

For instance, in Washington, D. C. brothers, well this is like a field nigger and a house nigger mentality, and we try to avoid the gap there. And I think we did very good at Richmond, Virginia, and it was a failure here. And so last night, didn't too many black students turn out. I guess they were too busy standing up holding hands on the sidewalks or something like that.

What it boils down to is what we said last night, that the mentality is that there are some people who know they came over here on slave ships, and there are some niggers who think they came here on the Mayflower. And that's the difference right there.

But we found out this morning that the FBI Agents have accumulated enough evidence, or they're trying to accumulate enough evidence, to get us on the Rap Brown Law. If you are not familiar with the Rap Brown Law, it is out-of-state travel where you are supposed to incite riots and stuff like that. RAP BROWN is the only man who ever did that, where he left there were riots. But where we left the place, we usually left communication between people. We've also left breakfast programs and things like that and preacherman just got a report that the FBI can't hit home and in Chicago either, our speeches that we made . . . (rest of sentence unintelligible). So to show that they're doing a thing, you know, trying to pick out certain things in our speeches and stuff, where they can get us on interstate travel. So that's why we know that we're just almost like, you know, whenever we turn back to Chicago we're sure that both of us will probably be indicted, being that all the other Panthers in Chicago have been indicted. We have the Panther 16 who were indicted; we have the Panther 8. And just two days ago BOBBY RUSH, who is Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, he was sentenced to six months in _____ (unintelligible). Five Young Patriots were arrested in Dayton (phonetic), Tennessee. They were going to work in the white community. They were going to work in a white working class community in Dayton (phonetic), Tennessee, and set up programs for the people, food distribution, and try to set up a free health clinic and things like that. And they weren't in town thirty minutes until they was arrested.

So if you can, get an idea of what we're going through. The Black Panther Party has had 30, 31 Panthers rather, killed since January 18. And we have 323 political prisoners already in jail not counting those in exile like ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. And I'm thinking if you want to ask some questions . . . (rest unintelligible).

(The following is a question and answer session following the above speech by BOBBY LEE; answers were given by both BOBBY LEE and BILL FESPERMAN.)

(It is noted that most of the questions were not entirely intelligible.)

Question: Yeah, last night you said that, I don't remember the exact words, but that the only way to kill or only way to stop a man with a gun in his hand was _____ (unintelligible) to kill them.

BOBBY LEE: Who said that?

Question: The only way to stop any (next few words unintelligible) the only to take a gun is to kill them. Okay, right.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah. You don't disarm no man, well if you see a man with a gun that's going to, well like in essence, what I said and I'll say it over again, the only way to stop war is by declaring war. You don't stop war by picketting. You know, you won't go in front of the Viet Cong to picket.

Question: (First words unintelligible) the black rangers, rather, you're called the Panthers and the rangers. It seems to me it complicates things worse, like you're trying to take the gun away from the idiot and then that idiot's friends decide well I better _____ (unintelligible), you know, puts sort of in a gang warfare type of thing.

BILL FESPERMAN: No. Listen, listen, man. The questions you're asking right now are questions, see, I was going to say before I left there are precious few white revolutionaries in this country, precious few. There's not any in SDS. There's not any in places like Young Socialist Alliance. There ain't any in universities. There are none, period. When you hear about being white, you see the predicament that we're in, that nobody has done shit in the white communities. Nobody has done shit. OEO, people over in Durham, or OEO people in Richmond, Virginia, don't make any difference where it is, they haven't done anything, they haven't done anything. And what we found out, if you're going to be, if you're going to move in that direction, see the Young Patriots brought the white movement in this country to a high political level without the organizing that went with it. We

brought it to both those together, the organizing and the high political consciousness. Nobody else has done that organizing work. We got a lot of people running around with rhetoric, supposed to be high political rhetoric. And so where I go now, and I found out by being in oppressed white communities all over this country, is that if you start out and you relate to this Red Book. Now some guy last night was saying he walked around with the Essential Works of Mao in his pocket, you know, talking to people. I said why don't you run around with the essential practice of MAO, essential practice of MARX, see? If you start out, you start out with Chapter 11 in this book, the "mass lion," because brother it says people and people alone are the motive force in making, the making of world history. The masses have boundless creative power. And you better believe it, they do.

As I said last night, you cats are going to the mountaintop, see, you're going to the mountaintop. And people ain't in the mountaintop. People are down in the valley, in coal mines of West Virginia, in cotton mills all over this state, in factories in oppressed communities, that's where the people are. And you see when they wipe out, when they wipe out the Young Patriots, white people ain't going to have nothing. And we found out by just, you know, being who we are and talking to people and building programs that white people didn't have shit. And that because white people didn't have shit there wasn't no sense in making alliances or coalitions with revolutionary blacks or revolutionary browns or anybody else, see. See, SDS never came to this point. This is why they talk about oppressed black and brown people and they never refer to oppressed white people because they've never been oppressed. So they're running around trying to figure out how to be oppressed.

Question: I just wanted to say something about the SDS. I realize what you said, the SDS has in the past made a lot of mistakes in the program. But after the recent split in SDS, I think the workers stood in alliance to give their motto as less talk, more action. Fight racism. They're going into the working communities and actually their program is to unite the working class by organizing in the community and the _____ (rest unintelligible.)

Question: The question is in the middle class, why in the middle class, or do you have to find somebody in the lower class _____ (rest unintelligible).

Question: That is the biggest single problem as far as I'm concerned that we have. Because the people on the street are harder to reach in the South for the simple reason that first the people on the street are fewer in number and second that they're in smaller areas. Like in Chicago it's pretty easy to find the street people _____ (unintelligible), the city crossroads where maybe 7, or 8, 9, 10, 15 million people in that area, you can find the street people. But like in the South, in the city I come from, 135,000 people, the poor are hard to find. Most of these people are _____ (rest unintelligible.)

BILL FESPERMAN: Well look here at Atlanta, Georgia a _____ (unintelligible) city in Atlanta, Georgia, Oregon Hill in Richmond. I bet if you checked out Knoxville, Tennessee, Charlotte, North Carolina, Nashville, Chattanooga, anywhere. See, I'm saying this is objective fact, man, that the people are there. And they have been ignored. There's been nobody there to love the people. There's only been somebody there to hate the people. You know, you hate values, or you hate people's life style, see, and you try to pull away from that. You know how many people in here are southerners, but I've seen this happen so many times, man, Southern people are the thing, see, that's similar to blacks. They try to pull out of that, you know, they don't want to be Southern. They don't want to talk like a Southerner. They don't want to act like a Southerner. They don't want to be called a hillbilly. They want to be on equal level. There is an imaginary great urban world outside of the South, see. And I say that's dangerous. I say that makes you sick, and if you ever ready WILLIAM STYRONS (pnonetic) book about NAT TURNER, you see how sick it makes you. You see how sick it makes you, for it leads you to do the thinking like Cash done, he wrote the Mind of the South. He couldn't stand it man, he had to blow up, he had to rip his neck off on a rope. Check that out, and that happens over and over again.

The important thing I'm trying to push right now is that the South, the white communities have not been brought to a higher level of the struggle.

Question: (Unintelligible)

BILL FESPERMAN: Why do you want to know?

Question: Where I live, in eastern North Carolina, we have poor blacks and poor whites but I don't think that _____ (next few words unintelligible) because the poor whites look down on _____ (unintelligible) and I think that even if you make both groups, and they ever get together, it is going to be so much grudges and . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well see, you just said the thing and that's all we been talking about, is fighting this type of shit. You talk about fighting racism, setting up a structure program, that each community can identify with, then that's when you're talking about fighting racism. Yeah, see this is true. I mean call him captain, your daddy called him captain, and why your daddy let him call him captain, why you let your daddy stand around and let the man call him captain, you know, is racism. It points down to the most deep core thing in this country, is racism. And when a black dude hate a thie cat, and a white cat hate a black cat, this is the core thing in this country. It's something we're talking about setting up programs to stop them. The very idea of this trip, to set up some kind of constructive programs.

Question: If you went to my home you conldn't even probably get into my hometown and talk like that without being shot. And I really don't think it's good.

BOBBY LEE: Well see what I mean, you understand this, sister, I'm aware of that. You see, that's, we mean we draw a care line, a real care line of demarcation. Either/or, you know, I mean either/or. And you know, and when we set up programs if the democrats were trying to make discussions in here with people, and when we leave this room we know either/or. The same way when we work with the Patriots, you know, the coalition was formed

with the Patriots, you know, we all had constructive programs, our programs connected. We all fight racism, have fought racism ourselves, the Patriots fought racism _____ (unintelligible.) And you got to fight it. You sit here know all this shit going on, you know, and you're just as guilty as the rest of them.

Question: (Unintelligible)

BOBBY LEE: Look here, I'm from Texas, see?

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: And I don't have to go to a small town to know what racism is. I don't have to get to your hometown to know where racism is, America is racism. We sit in it right here. This is your small town.

Question: I mean, how are you going to help it if you don't go down to help them out?

BOBBY LEE: Don't tell me, because it's your job to go down there.

Question: I realize that.

BOBBY LEE: It's your job to go down there, and see. . .

Question: And see, I'm going to school so I can help them better, so I can learn.

BOBBY LEE: Learn about what?

Question: Well I figure, I'm a sociology major, and I want to get a degree so I can be qualified to go there and get a job.

BOBBY LEE: Do you have to have a degree to be qualified to speak out against racism?

Question: No, not to speak out against it, but to get a job so I can help these people . . .

BOBBY LEE: To help them, like . . .

Question: I've got a job in the government, a job with the Education Department.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah. Well do you have a question, man?

Question: Yeah, you spoke a minute ago about the way the people in the South feel, you know, about _____ (unintelligible), white people trying to deny the way they speak, and the way they live, and so on like that. Now, do you think if we could eliminate that in Southern whites, that that would also eliminate much of their feelings of racism at the same time?

BOBBY LEE: Well you see, you don't understand. This is a middle class orientated society, right? So when you are talking about a middle class orientated society, then you're talking about a blue-blood type thing, speak the middle class jargon. You know, I mean, do everything middle class. You know, that's like when a cat from down, and it's a class thing also, you can tell a middle class word when you see it. Just like a cat come from down South maybe he may have a PH.D. but he come up North, he will be looked down upon because of the way he speaks. And you break up, you bust the system, and you smash that system man, that class system, man, then you going, that alone will help, man, fight racism. (rest unintelligible).

Question: How do you smash the system without totally smashing the people?

BOBBY LEE: You don't smash the people, man. You know, the people are the ones that smash the system once a clear line is drawn, about what you want to do in your program, see? You are, you sound like, well you sould like, well what are you, a senior?

Question: A junior.

BOBBY LEE: A junior. Where are you from?

Question: Lake Forest.

BOBBY LEE: Lake Forest, what?

Question: Illinois, that's you know . . .

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, I know Lake Forest. My old lady's parents was about from Lake Forest. And see, I don't know brother, see you're asking the question. You're right from Illinois and you ought to know the shit that's going on down there, through Chicago down there.

Question: Yeah, I'm well aware of the shit that's going on down in Chicago.

BOBBY LEE: I don't think you are, man, you know, because if you . . .

Question: Well you know, I don't go down to Chicago, I don't witness the stuff like you know, like klans and all that sort of stuff in with the cops there. Because my point is, that like some people, if you're going to start throwing a line, what about the people in between?

BOBBY LEE: Look here. Yeah, but see, this is the thing. Everybody wants to talk about the people in between, man, and you know, like there ain't no more damn more in-betweens. See that's what's been wrong in the past. There's always been people who're saying that they're going to sit back and say I'm not going to get involved. But the very fact that they did say I'm not going to get involved, they're involved man. That's just like people sit down and watch all the shit that happened to the Jews in World War II. They were in between, but look what happened. Look what happened. That's like people sitting down and watching the bombing of the churches, man, in Birmingham, and all over this country, man, they were in between. Yeah, I mean, no one spoke out. You know what I mean. And I feel that they are in between they are _____ (unintelligible) in the road.

Question: I feel that the bombing of churches is really a bad thing, especially in Birmingham, where a few bombs, like you know, certain bombs in the middle-class churches, or like some . . .

BOBBY LEE: That never has happened. Ain't nobody said nothing about that. Unless you've said anything about it.

Question: Well I see what you mean by destroying the whole middle class . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, no, no. You destroy a system, man. You destroy a system, man, a political machine, man.

Question: Yeah, but how, violently?

BOBBY LEE: What is a revolution?

Question: Violently.

BOBBY LEE: All right, see you get hung up on violence. Your whole ancestors consisted of violence. Every blood running in you consists of violence. You inherit it. Every violent blood in white America or western culture, been put into people, man. So don't get hung up on us because we talking about violence.

Question: Yeah, I know that. But what you're saying now, it's what the God damn Nazis are saying, now . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, we are not saying that . . . Now how in the hell are you going to rank us with Nazis? How you gonna, how in the hell are you going to rank us with Nazis man? How? Wait, shut up man, wait, hold it one minute. How in the hell you going to rank us with Nazis, man? Because, see, now wait, wait, let me finish, man. Because see, I don't like that. And what will happen anyhow, I will knock your mother-fucker head off if you rank a Panther, a Young Patriot, with Nazis. You can't do that. Now, wait, wait, wait, wait. Panthers and Young Patriots, man, are revolutionaries, see what I mean? You can't rank us with

no fucking Nazis man. And you're talking about a right to revolution, go back on all of black people's history, man, what happened to him. Go back in all our history in 400 years what has happened to us, man, here. See what I mean? You better be glad, God damn it, that we're just now starting to do this, man. Because if we were violent people, there would have been a lot of dead honkeys here a long time ago and you better be glad that the Panthers are not racists. So the next thing, let me finish man, because see you said the wrong God damn thing. Wrong, I don't find it funny a bit, man, because this is what shit getting us killed. 31 Panthers dead already from mother-fuckers like you going around talking we're like Nazis.

Question: I didn't say that exactly . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, you ran, just don't say it at all. Just skip your vocabulary. Look here, no it isn't.

Question: Yes it is.

BOBBY LEE: Well talk about the U. S. Army, mother-fucker, what they're doing now. See, talk what your daddy and them did. You know what I mean, talk about that, see. Talk about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. See, talk about the genocide of American Indians on the reservations right now, see? See what I mean? Talk about ghettos, talk about police brutality in our communities, what's happening. See what I mean? Talk about Napalm.

Question: Okay, you made your point.

BOBBY LEE: I made my point.

Question: Okay, what I'm saying is like, you get a Nazi pamphlet and what does it say, it says, you know, whites awaken, the blacks are trying to strip you of, you know, your violent nature which is a part of your nature, you know, like the survival of the fittest and so on. I've got the pamphlet, I've just read from it . . .

BOBBY LEE: Do you believe that?

Question: What?

BOBBY LEE: Do you believe what that pamphlet says?

Question: No.

BOBBY LEE: Do you believe that?

Question: No . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: I believe you do, I believe you do. I believe you're a racist mother-fucker. I believe, I know you're a racist mother-fucker if you come against rank up with the masses.

Question: But let me talk until I've made my point. My point is you're saying the same thing, you're saying that . . .

BOBBY LEE: We're not saying any such damn thing. We're not saying that, man. How in the hell did the Nazis, well listen, do the Nazis, listen, listen . . .

Question: Well you told (next few words unintelligible) . . . your whole history is based on violence . . .

BOBBY LEE: Listen, I said your history, your history, your history, with what you're people have done to my people.

Question: Right.

BOBBY LEE: And what you're people have been doing to white poor.

Question: . . . my people, what you do to anybody is violence, is the same as . . .

BOBBY LEE: I'm talking about the right to revolution. The right to rebel. I'm talking about the right to rebel. Nazis and white mother-fucking Nazis in this country ain't got no right to rebel. Because if they had the _____ (unintelligible) by themselves they would be doing better.

Question: I mean no one really has the right to rebel and like destroy and kill. But my point is that the Nazis are saying the same thing you are in a different form. They are saying, like become violent, become, recognize your own violent self, recognize that you are based on violence and that you must watch out or you will be stripped of this violence by some of the, you know, smooth-talking people. And that's what you're saying. That's what you just said. You just said our whole system is based on violence.

BOBBY LEE: Has anybody else got a question?

Question: You know there is a class problem (next few words unintelligible) than the lower class people getting ahead of them (next few words unintelligible). I would just like to say that I think . . . (unintelligible). They got the money, they get just a little bit of goods and they think . . . (unintelligible). I'd like to know what your ideas are on middle class going out and _____ (unintelligible) other middle-class people. How are they going to accomplish revolution on that level? Because I think it is going to be accomplished . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well you see, like you know, like you're talking about middle-class people relating to middle-class people about what's happening in this country, you know. Like well let's go back and think about it and deal with middle-class people like this cat here. You know. Like, there is no individuality in middle-class people, you know, they just . . . they're the most confused people in the world. Spend $700 or $800, the majority of them, a month, going to see the shrinks. This is the most confused people in the world. Their mamas, their daddies, their grandparents, every fucking thing, see? And this country even, I mean this country just feeds their confusion, you know what I mean? Like they sit up and watch TV programs, you know what I mean, like the man is walking down the street with a suit on and an attache case, and going in a big brick building and boats and things, you know what I mean. Middle-class society says in order to be middle class you got to have this, and you got to have that. You got to have credentials, credit card. And so, therefore, in

order for this cat to get those things, he forgets about himself, see. And it just becomes, he's just mentally dead really, just a robot. Tears come fucked up, you know. Wife frigid as hell. You know what I mean, you know, husband drinking every day. Can't even go to sleep unless he drinks, can't even go to work unless he drinks. Won't even go home unless he's drunk. You know, so middle-class society, if anybody is more fucked up, it's them.

Just like this brother right here. So, like the thing you should do about it is heighten this kind of contradictions. See, that's no self, there's no self in middle-class people, Jack. You know, we found like, oppressed poor white people, they do know what's wrong with that. The only problem they have is racism, Jack. And once they know who the real enemy is, see, they can change Jack. But [illegible], middle-class people will do like him, see. If he decides to make a change, he's going to have to snatch all his roots up, like turning his back on his mama, daddy, school, church, sister, brother, aunt, uncle. But for a person that's poor, a white person that's poor, it's not hard. Because his whole family is in that background. And when he makes a change he makes a change for them.

Question: I just, well first of all, before somebody else starts yelling again, I want him to say something about what you said last night about racism and then I want to ask a couple of questions. All right, what I thought you said about racism last night, they way you guys have gotten together, you know, unity in the working party, I think that's a real great thing. And I think the way you said it was real good. And I wanted to ask a question about the feeding children. Well I was at the thing last night with a friend of mine who is in the Worker Student Alliance Conference in Boston, and we were talking about you feeding those kids, and we had a real big hassle over it. Because, you know, in "Time" or someplace they had this big article where they showed the Panthers feeding these kids and "Time" said well, this is a good thing, even before that. And what we had an argument over was that he said that the thing is so publicized that actually what it's doing is co-opting the struggle, that it's taking the edge off of it. And I told him that I thought that it was actually helping building a mass base organization.

BOBBY LEE: Right, see that . . .

Question: But see, what I wanted to know was that see you have resolved this thing and what I think our problem was, we hadn't had any experience and hadn't practiced. And what we want to know is how to just work to build a mass organization . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well see, the first thing about starting, the Patriots got their food, we have ours, and the Young Lords have theirs, is one of the most important things is meeting the people's basic needs. Like you can't _____ (unintelligible), nobody hungry man, know what I mean? You can't bring anyone to a political level when they're hungry. You know, it's just like the people in Hanoi. I mean, the first thing they said, man, is Ho Chi Minh fed them first, and they ate every day. And that's the only way you're going to bring them people to a political level man, meet their basic needs, man. Then after their basic needs are met, then, man, the poor orientation goes on, man. And it goes on the mass scale. And once in turn they reach a political level, they're able to orientate others. I mean they're able to become a part of the padre (phonetic). You know, and they're able to go out and form other padres and things like that.

BILL FESPERMAN: See, probably the difference, like, a lot of the way SDS used to operate, what you do is make poorer and poorer and poorer and poorer, and you know, make certain they get their heads beat more and more and more. Then they become revolutionaries see? That's using the people. And if some mother-fucker stands up and says we take the edge off the struggle because we institute programs to meet the needs of the people, I'd just like to knock his fucking head off, man. Because if we're taking the edge off the struggle, how come 31 Panthers have been killed, most of the Central Staff been put in jail or exiled, and why is the FBI running you down in this country. Why are they doing that? We're not taking the edge off the struggle, we're raising contradictions everywhere we go when we create those programs. We just left Richmond, Virginia, man, created food programs in the oppressed white community and the black community. And don't you know that brought the struggle to a higher level?

Question: Well what I'm saying is that if the system can't fight your food programs, then why do they have this thing in "Time" magazine that's saying we're all for this?

BOBBY LEE: That's, well see, you know when MAO says a thing, man, but they're always trying to glorify the revolutionaries to pacify the people.

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: That's it, that's it. But we can't stop that. You know in the chapter in the Red Book, where it's saying that patriotism is heroism . . .

Question: Yeah, yeah.

BOBBY LEE: And how not to be fooled by the man's tricks.

Question. Right.

BOBBY LEE: He's always going to do that. He is always going to do that, man. He's always going to do that, Jack. You know, he's always. You see like it's always for us to always counter that, man. You know, it's always for us to counter that. It is always for us to purge ourselves, man, if we even feel like we get equal treatment. But you can't stop that, you can't stop that.

Question: But what you're saying is this thing is so important, that it's not worth taking the chance of having him placate the working class by saying well look, this is a good thing, we're all for it, you know? Is that what you're saying?

BOBBY LEE: He's going, he's going to try his best, man, see like one day you might hear "Time" right a bad article. I mean, like the coloring book, you know what I mean?

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: Okay. But when he sees that the people are really digging the breakfast program, then he is going to all of a sudden write something nice about it. You know what I mean. Therefore, the people will say, you know, the system is not bad, you know. They really like the Panthers too, you know.

Question: Yeah, yeah, that's what I'm saying.

BOBBY LEE: Well see, we can't. But see, we're always supposed to heighten that contracidtion, man, that this is the way to glorify the revolutionary, yet they try to paint us all kinds of beautiful colors. Well the people say, well the system is really not that bad. Look at "Time" magazine, wrote a nice article about the Panthers, a very nice article. That's just like an article, man, that was written on me in Chicago sometime, man, two pages long, with BOBBY LEE, nice, tall, good-looking, lanky Black Panther, you know, went to Southern University, was a VISTA volunteer, you know, worked at the Handicapped Center for Retarded Children, worked at the Halfway House of Delinquent Youths, was a track star, sounds like a paragon of American youth. See what I mean? So then what the people will say, well, you know, then we go out and see that the press is being used as an instrument to destroy us, and then the people will say that, and they will say the system is really nice. They're really with the Panthers all the way. So then what we have to do is let the people know what they're doing. Look what they did to MALCOLM X. Get an example. See, when MALCOLM was coming through, I mean he was raising all kinds of hell and all kinds of bad write-ups. As soon as MALCOLM got killed, his books were on every shelf in the country. Many were saying nice things about him, how intellectual he is, man, to be a cat that went far as High School. And what the people said, you know, the system really liked MALCOLM. Everything MALCOLM said about the system was a lie. They really like him. (Next few words unintelligible) . . . all tricks.

Question: How about a question from the press about that. You have spoken in a lot of generalities about your revolution so far. What specifically do you have in mind?

BOBBY LEE: Programs?

Question: MMM HMMM, specifically?

BOBBY LEE: Programs right now, we have going now?

Question: MMM HMMM.

BOBBY LEE: Right now that's functioning?

Question: Right now, and how do you hope these will implement your ends?

BOBBY LEE: Okay, well I answered that earlier, but I'll go over it again. All right now, the programs we have, I'll start with Chicago first. We have a food buying club in Chicago and this is for welfare mothers. This is where collectively we get the welfare mothers together and the reason we got them together is because the money they get once a month is not enough to buy food. See, that's the first thing. So they were given about $5 or $10 a week, and we had a long list of different groceries they could get, you know, and they would strike off what they wanted. And what we'd do is take all the money, go to the wholesale store, and buy Grade A, all Grade A, vegetables, meats, food, milk, and everyhing. On Fridays we would distribute them, you know. Now the Breakfast for Children Program, the Free Breakfast for Children Program, the Patriots have, the Lords have, the Panthers have, will collectively in Chicago, see, feed 4,000. See, 4,000 kids fed. And we put all our donations from places like _____ (unintelligible), A and T, national. _____ (unintelligible) gives a lot of stuff to help us. _____ (unintelligible) on Fridays, jello, meats, you know. And we feed these kids. Nationally we feed about 40,000 kids, nationally.

The next program we're opening up in Chicago is the free health clinic. And October 4 we'll speak at the doctor's conference in Cleveland, Ohio, asking for volunteers. Now there is one functioning in Kansas City right now, a free health clinic, see. And I hope that we just turned in another program for a free library that would be open in Chicago, it would be used as a model. Now the whole purpose of these programs is number one to heighten the contradictions. See, like when we set these programs up in certain alderman's wards and then a year ago when he was running to be alderman, and he used home base as poverty, what he would do for you, what he would do for you if you would vote him in, see, then once he gets in there's still poverty, what happened, the people see . . .