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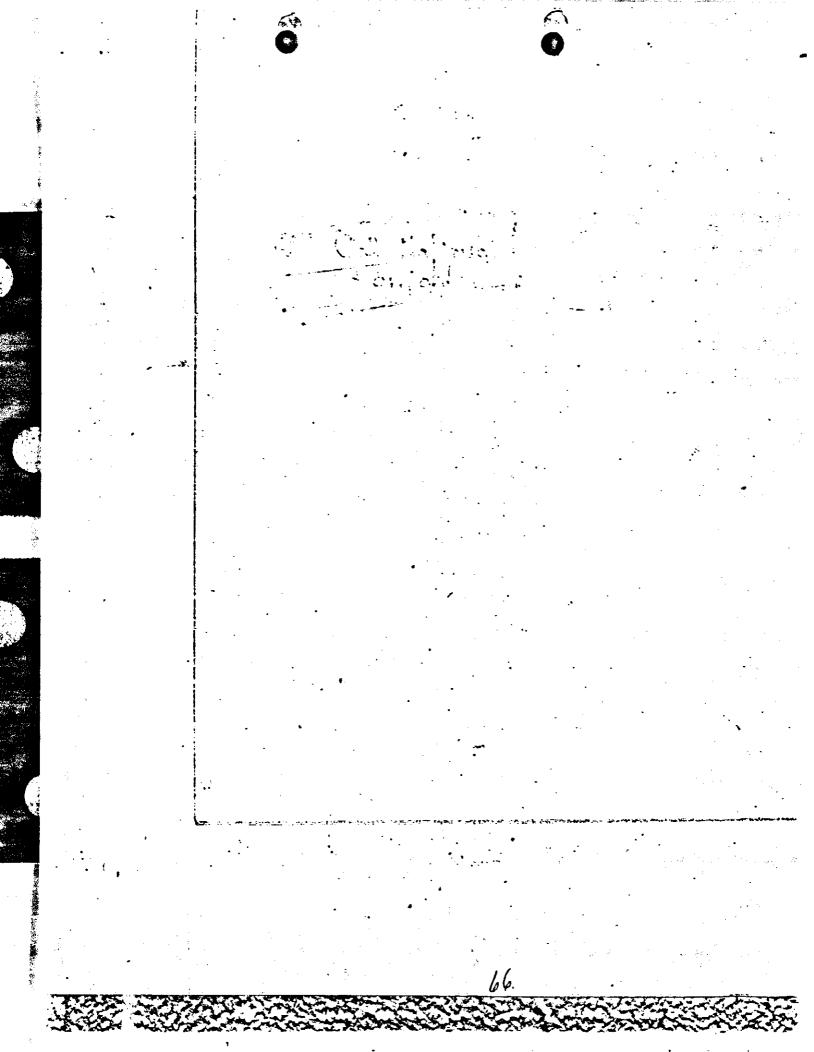
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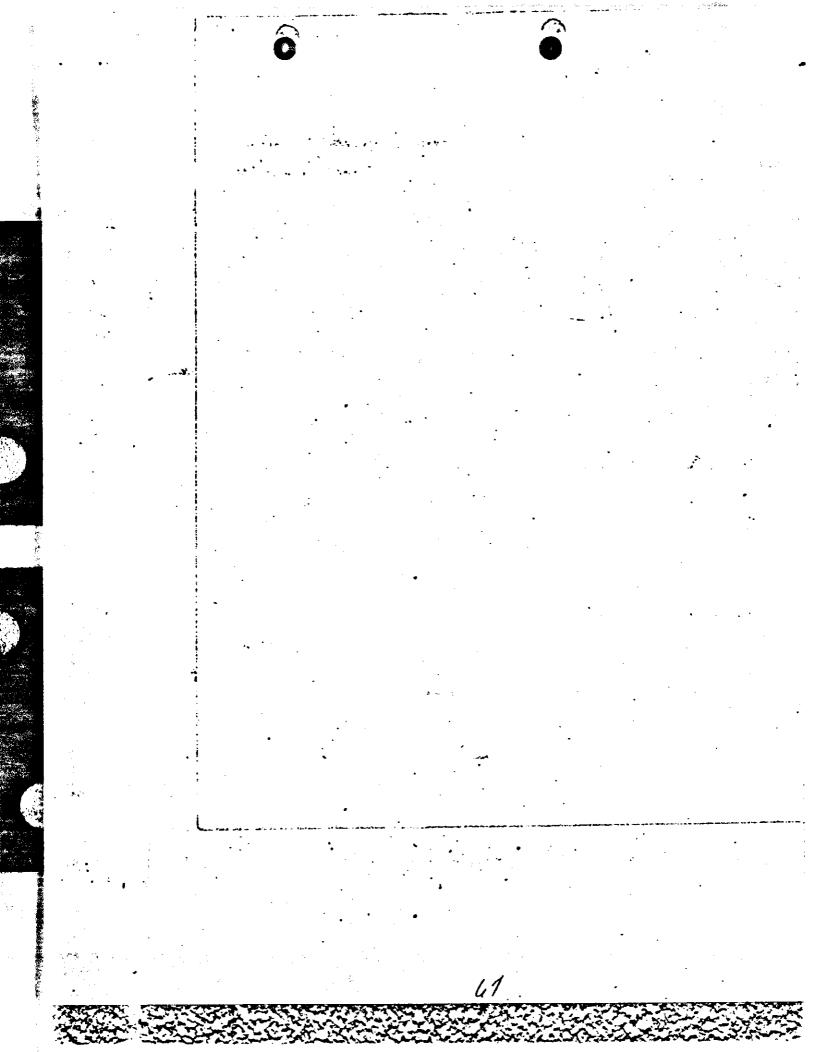
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Would you please have this published in your school newspaper.

It has been proven through the social practice of the administrative apparatus of this present government, ever since it's inception one-hundred ninety-four years ago that it has been non-functional for Black people in particular and poor oppressed people in general.

All minority ethnic groups, Blacks, Peurto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, Red and yellow people, all poor oppressed people in general in this country find themselves embladed from all decision making processes.

There is no doubt that justice and peace belong to these able to afford it, those people within a particular class, the ruling class.

Por too long in the past we have haphozurdly 55% by and watched others, that didn't have our interest at heart, determine our destiny. We have allowed them to send us to wars we know nothing about as to the reason why or for what. We have let this non-representative government so far as poor people are concerned, to deny us our human right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Repressive measures against the people that violate their most basic rights of privacy are being infringed upon by constitutional amendments such as the "No Knock Bill". Preventive Detention" and excessive bail (ransom) are other repressive measures that people are subjected to in the realms of the present Constitution.

When over people attempt to use so-called legal channels of redress, their pleas sounding of agony and pain fall on deaf ears. At this time we are calling for a new constitution. A constitution written by the masses of people throughout this racist country that is representative of them and that will give all power to the people.

November 26 in Washington, D.C. there will be held a Revolutionary
People's Constitutional Convention. This occasion will mark the
coming together of all progressive people and organizations that
desire a more representative governmentand see the need for a new
constitution. Tolk presence at the Constitutional Convention is
greatly needed to assist us in building for a better society.

Resources are alson heeded. Donations of money mimeograph paper or office supplies to get information out to the people. If you can assist us in getting transportation, that would also be a great help.

Send Contributions To: National Committee to Combat Fascism
1602 E. 14yh Street
Winston-SAlem, N.C. 27105
or call
7257026

Towards a New Constitution
Nelson Melloy

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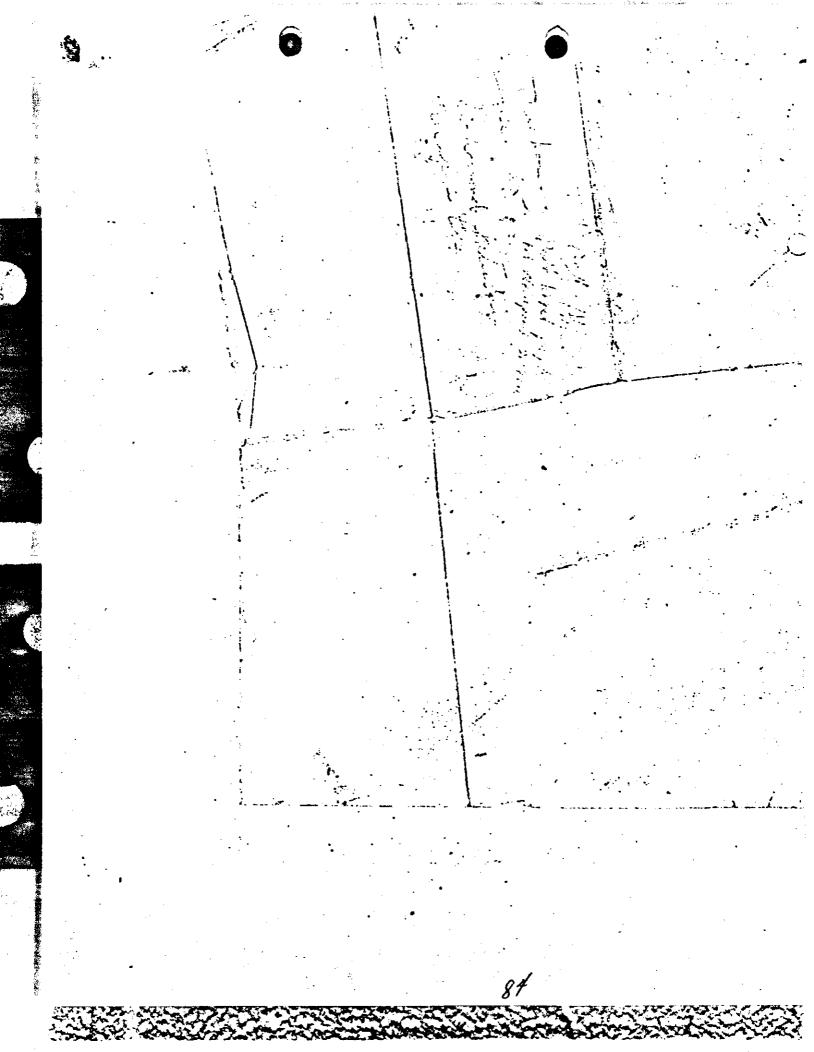


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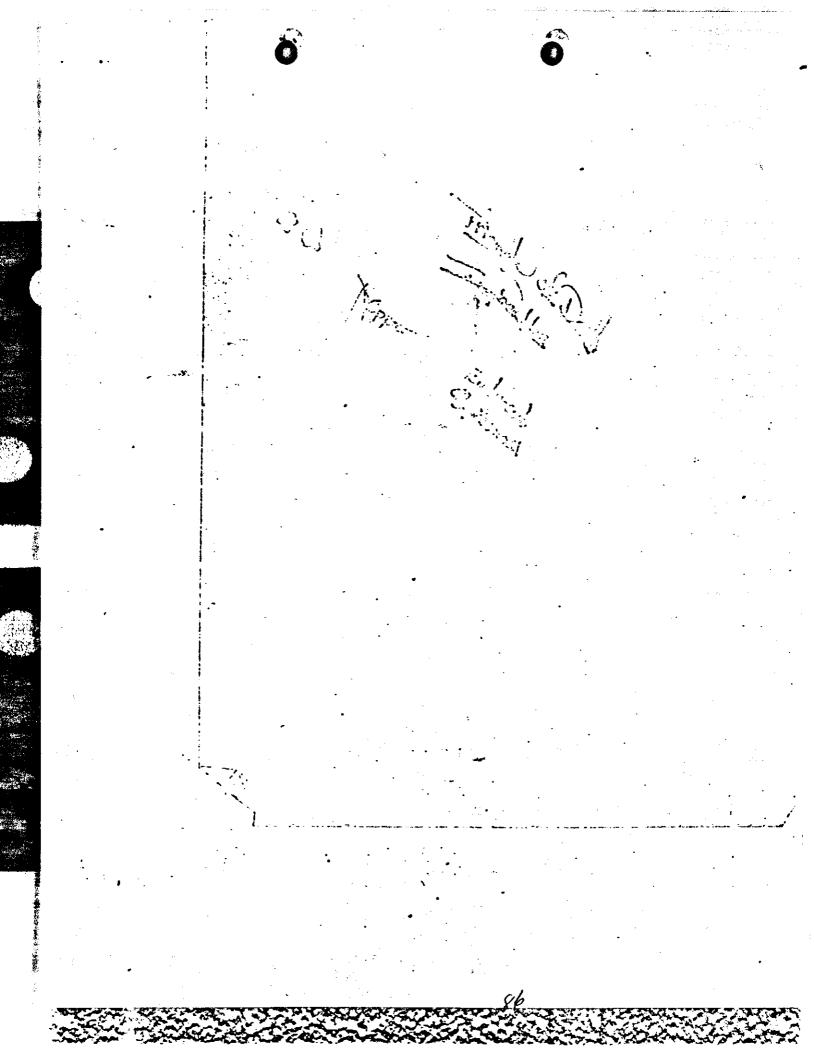


- Panthers should never become arrogant, but remain humble and servants of the people.
- 2. Members of the Vanguard Party tend to become big headed when a victory is won and are no larger willing to make progress, but lap all the praises that the people, and the throw at them. This is a dangerous practice because when the enemies are able to conquer us with sugar-coated bullets, we wast always guard ourselves against such matters.
- 3. Occassionally mistakes will be made, but we mustn't let them not us down because we learn from our mistakes. On the other hand if we have not made any mistakes let us not set ourselves up on pedistals as being perfect for no one is. We should not look down upon our brothers and sisters who do error, because we are all in the process of learning the correct revolutionary procedures. Whether we be young or old, educated, or illiterate we must learn to forget our petty greivences and unite together to achive our goals.
- 4. Party members in leadership positions and therefore critize other party member and never seem to be able to see their own shortcomings. This is a bad practice that must be eradicated for the betterment of the party.
- 5. The work that is facing us is a challenge that must be met and defeated by all party members. We all should take our work in stride and not hand the difficult work out to someone clse and take the light work. The brothers and sisters who do take the hand work and do not complain about their work are true revolutionaries in the full sense and their example should be followed by everyone.
- 6. Some revolutionaries tend to put their load on the shoulders of their brothers and sisters, perferring not to carry their work because their heart is not to carry their work because of their half stepping tendencies.
- 7. Panthers who look out for their own good and have no regard for the party itself, cannot be called panthers because of their countervolutionary tendencies they are only after the public's eye, by bragging and soliciting for power. As members of the Venguard Party we should be honest in all endeavors and activities.
- 8. When considering the situation as a whole, Panthers should always carry out their actions for the betterment of all, including party members and the masses themselves.
- 9. As members of the Black Liberation Army we are not here to half-step. There are times and places for everything but while doing Functional Party work that is where our heart and soul should be, on our revolutionary functions, and not on pleasure seeking ventures.
- 10. We must always remember that we are all brothers and sisters in the revolution, therefore we should not let little clicks develop within our ranks but must be as one big family because you must clean your own house before you to abroad.
- 11. There are various aspect of Liberalism we must guard against. Having liberal principles within our framework is bad because it can cause the downfalls of the party.
- 12. If these liberal principles are not dismissed from among our mist they can eat away at the basic idealogy and philosopy of the Vanguard Party thus creating disunity not only in the party itself, but also between the party and the masses.
- 13. People who practice liberal principles look upon our revolutionary ideals as historical idealism, they support our ideals in words, but practice their liberal tendencies. They tell you its good to try to obtain power to determine your own destiny but want nothing to do with the obtaining of it. We as members of the black Liberation Army accept no compensives with these people, because as liberals they only want revisions within the power-structure and not a complete change.
- 14. We of the Vanguard Party dedicated our lives to the defense and liberation of Black people. Only when we have informed ourselves politically can we relate to and recducate the masses. We must know what we are here for and why, because various reactionary actions will be trying to undermine us and the masses we must be able to deal with this in a revolutionary manner.
- 15. The most victous struggle any party member will ever encounter is the struggle between his personal interest and the interest of the masses. But as party member we must always act in the interest of the masses.

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Parties out Page Work theat in that The song or we secretary pour mony theretes his Ald Labyer of group new latteraries. The a lawing the the past of additive days it operates openly the page work to their that their get of distrying the production will be a little easier. Pushers un pig hung of the people. We want an end to all forms of capitalistic explatation. . Many of the block who are adduted have Recome this way because they cont want deal with the officeron of the pays with level head So get high to they to escape all of this. Many of Them have serve with the ameritation faces in Vist Then where the menes push into using drugs after interesing the examp acts of fascion , generales, and acts of aggression by the U.S. tower. To these bloods I way your can't surpe oppression without dealing with the The prop use many taction to make people think that they are concerned about the coning pulling they are the doing problem They have fleeded the communities with nocos" who only are concerned with busting the young offenders and petty pucherer the big non never howe to mary great getting butt. In Whaten Soloms mind fiction have her released rejectly and over The house good mentaging in the who provident de the part mount of the Miller

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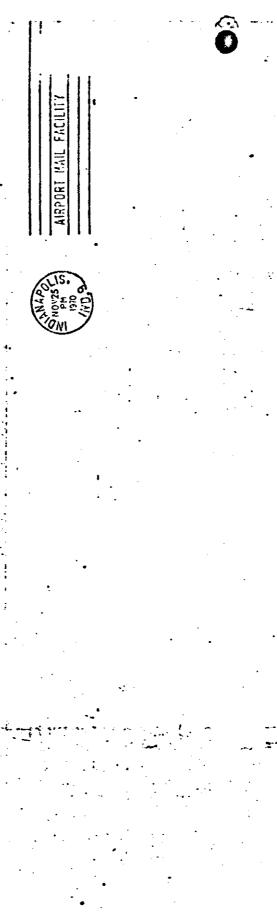
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DO ACT CRIVE AFTER THIS GAMER BUCCHES EFFECTIVE OR YOU WILL LOSE YOUR LICENSE FOR AN ADDITIONAL PERIOD OF ONE YEAR.

YOU ARE DIRECTED TO MAIL THE ITEMS INDICATED ABOVE TO THE DEPARTMENT ON THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF TRIS CHOFF IF YOU HAVE NOT ALKS ADVIOURE SO. SELF-ADDRESSED ENVILOPES ARE ENCLOSED. THE WHITE ENVELOPE IS FOR YOUR EPERATERYS AND CHAUFFEEDERS ELEGISE. THE ERBOR ENVILOPE IS FOR YOUR ELEANSE PLATE AND ALGISTRATION CERTIFICATE. FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THIS DEPER IS A VIOLATION OF G. S. 20-30-0 AND G. S. 20-312.

THIRTY DAYS AFTER THE PLATE IS RECEIVED BY THE GREAKTHENT YOU WILL BE SENT AN APPLICATION CARD WITH MOTCH ANOTHER PLATE MAY BE SECURED. THIRTY DAYS FROM THE EFFECTIVE LATE OF THIS GROBER YOUR DRIVERYS EIGHNSE MILL DE AUTCHATICALLY RETURNED IF A FURTHER SUSPENSION IS NOT INVOLVED.

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PLEASE DIRECT ANY INCUIRIES ALGORDING THE REVOCATION AND SUSPENSION TO THE DEPARTMENT OF NOTOR VEHICLES, REGISTRATION DIVISION, FINANCIAL SECURITY SECTION.

A.P. GHOWIN, JR. COMAISSIGNER

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CRITICISM AND SELF-CRUTYCISM

The Panther Party does not fear critisism because we are Marxicts, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; We hope that all our fellow fighters will countegeously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbucks or gibes, no hasitating to criticize us Panthers and give us their suggestions. The who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhore the emperor -- this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our commades' minds and our Farty's work may also collect dust, and also need oweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worn-eaten" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work , to four neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not "-- this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body or our Party.

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Farty's life would come to an end.

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight.

Every Communist and revolution weapon.

yould take up this

But liberation rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rice to a decadent, philisting attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organisations.

In opposing subjectivion, sectarismism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and second, "cure the sickness to save thepatient." Which is the only correct and effective method.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organization mistakes. As to personal shertcomings, unless they are related to political and organization mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a less as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the front danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, abitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should stress the political side.

Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attacks. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgaois individualism. The method of correction is to help Partymembers understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no natter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

As Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese People and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can be be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow pólitical dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms?

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pain as we the living think of them— an there be any personal
interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that
we would not discard?

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

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

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

LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the masses and yet fell indigmant, or dissuade or st thim or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

. ..

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

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

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

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- WELL DIGHT POINTS OF ANY SMAN AREAS ASSESSED.
- 1. SPEAR FOLT WEEK
- 2. PAY FAIRLY AT WINT YOU TEN
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- 4. PAY FOR ANY MUTG YOU LINE .
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CRIFICISM AND THE CRITICISM

The Canthar Tarry does not I ear critizism Lesausa we are Marxists, the jouth is on our side, and the masses, the workers and research are on our side.

Thoroughgaine naterialists are fearless; we hope that ellowed our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, feering no rethacked or gibes, no hasitating to criticize us Panthers and given us their suggestions. "May who is not afraid of weath by a thousand cuts dares to unhore the emperor"—this is the indemitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Conscientions practice of colf-criticism is still pnother? hallmark distinguishis our farty free ell other political racties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not, cleaned regularly, our faces will got firty if they are not washed regulariy. Dur comrades minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and mashing. The proverb "Running water is mover stale and a door-hinge is never worn-esten" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxing as "Say Elleyou know and say it without reserve, "Blame not the apeaker but be warned in his words" and "Cor oct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not "-- this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our farty. The Administration of the Control of the Con

Opposition and structle between that of different times constantly occur within the lety this is a reflection within the lety this is a reflection within the Party of contracted one with please the between the new and the old in specific the light have no contracted in the Party and no leave all structure to resolve them, the Party's light our code to an end.

We stand for an ive of blogical at usuals harders it is the waapon for entiring entry and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of opening the revolu-

him or reason not fell indigmant, or di Thin is an eighth ly but to allow him to contingo. To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and moddle along--- "So lead to one receins a monk, one goes on tolling the beil." This is a minth types. To regard oneself as having rendered great mervice to the revolution, to prideoneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being cuite unequal to major tacks, to be slopshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward cnoself. This is an cleventh type.

the interests of the people and openerts are filled with pain as we the living think of them——can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not secrifice or any error that we would not discard?

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

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

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

LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

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

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...

Every Communist and evolutionar chould take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stance for unprinciples passe, thus giving rise to a decadent, philiptine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and insividuals in the Party and the revolutionary expenizations.

In opposing subjectivism, secturianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and second, "cure the sickness to save thepatient." Which is the only correct and effective method.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organization mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organization mistakes, there is no need to be overemitical or the commades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the freat danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, abitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should stress the political side.

Innex-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attacks. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of patty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Partymenders understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to schieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no natter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

As Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese People and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can be be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms?

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mestem usen LOW RATES QUICK SERVICE MONEY ORDER MOTION PRRI Just uring Has Notice Firm You. We have received a telegraphic money order for you with the following message; To receive the numey, please call at our office at____ as soon as possible and in no case later than 72 hours, since at the end of that time we are required to cancel the order and return the amount to the sender. Please bring this notice with you and furnish evidence of your identity in accordance with the paragraph that has been checked below. Some of the following, or any other documentary evidence of your identity which you may have. Automobile license Letters addressed to you teraterchip cards Vestern Union collect card Bank book Receipted bills The sonder of the money has instructed up to require positive personal identification.

Pilaco, Aberefore, tring with you some instance to person before to us who can identify you.
Or failing this, bring such evidence as well serve to establish your identity bryond question-

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REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COMSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION WEEKLY PROGRESS REPORT

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Weekly Report (continued) personal Evaluation & thent come of the lay care antis hearted fairly weers were viry chapmatine So wire they Histolid and part come back (a) the lind distails exerce que any actions That They would thelp at ace Considering they there the Exilien wouldn't be there + Things would be daniaged Use come side if more space is needed) Survey and Comments Sthere Weddel Lleg Will this week we receive the tensi 1 case of park and Sians Icase of Plas bear of Gram Com, 3 Gno peanut Button, 15 know - air a 11/han of Sugar Lyn, gammer, Hall, Caryon, magic Mackens, Eplangery I teleplant from Ropes, stoples, Lugla, tothe Bush, Lance paid Tays, Their Brusher, Grilo Shot, Orgo, paper pendili, Lalyail, 1206 Doch Mills, Decorra, pipe, Willy pine,

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), also known as Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the BPP the BPP was started during December 1960 in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPF newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is...by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces...are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

APPENDIX





FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

19	Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.
	Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(b) with no segregable material available for release to you.
	Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
	Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
	Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies), was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.
	Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies);
	Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):
	For your information:
?	The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages: 105-165706-8-366 enclosure

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Vio	ATAREL	AIRMAIL (Priority)	. . !
	F90 /	TESTOR, PBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)	
REG /	YKOM:	JAC, JAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)	£
10	RE:	SUNCK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - CHARLOTTE DIVISION - NM-BPP	KIN P
	advised	(SF T-22), a highly confidential as iolicws on December 3, 1970.	
	Office i weak's B	of the Winston-Salem, North Carpter was in contact with the BPP National District San Francisco, regarding his shipment of the PP newspapers. (Data regarding this shipment hished by separate communication.)	tribution
Lo 1		then spoke with BPP and discussed present activities in Winston	-Salem.
	boycott a the NAAC into the went on a education	advised him that they were getting the organized and are trying to organize a school and set up their own school system. He said to and "those other boot lickers" have tried to meetings but the students have driven them out to say that they are giving some classes in post and want to get some "technical equipment" of students set up.	that get it. He Diriyal
1	able to : money to	They also discussed newspaper circulation and below to that he ought to raise \$1,000 from student donations and send so National Distribution to pay back paper bills on-Salem. EX 105	o be soπe s owed e.
		au (RM) REC43	8-36
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Atlanta, Georgia, and indicated that he wanted to go there in the next day or two. Told him that he should have been down there by Sunday to find out if they (in Atlanta) should be getting papers or not in order that harmonal bisholl tion could start sending them to Atlanta next week.

The above information is furnished for the assistance of Charlotte in coverage of BPP activities in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Charlotte should, through appropriate sources, attempt to determine all of the activities of the NCCY Chapter there. It is noted that the term "technical equipment" has been utilized in the past to refer to wearous and the classes discussed by may pertain to weapons nomenclature and practice classes of the students he is attempting to organize.

Charlotte should conduct specific investigation in this regard to determine if weapons technology is, in fact, being taught to students by the NCCF in Winston-Salem.

Charlotte should also furnish Atlanta any specific information regarding proposed trip to Atlanta as noted herein.

It will be recalled by Atlanta and Charlotte that prior to the initiation of the NCCF being organized by SAM GILLIAM in Atlanta, he was to be inspected in his operations by LARRY LITTLE from Winston-Salem.

San Francisco will furnish any additional information developed from BPP sources regarding operations in these areas.

DIRECTOR, FBI

105-165706-8

DATE:

DEC 1 5 1970

SAN FRANCISCO

157-2861

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

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

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

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

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

DEC 4 1970

4:27pm lri

REC-64 105-165706-8364 advised that he was calling from

Williams Salem, North Carolina and that he wanted to talk to JUNE

advised that he could be reached at home. HILLIARD.

DEC 18 19 0

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2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM

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		Date: 12/4/70)
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	FROM /	SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7711) (P)	
	SUBJECT:/	REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIO ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PAR RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PAR	TY_(BPP)
		Re Charlotte teletype to Bureau, 1	1/27/70.
HS.	disseminates	Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven captioned matter, copies of which ted locally to Military Intelligenc rvice. Information copies of this Atlanta, Columbia, New York, San F.	are being e Agencies and LHM are being
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The first source is

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Investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by SA at Durham, N. C., by SA and at Lumberton, N. C., by SA

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

AT WINSTON-SALEM, DURHAM, AND LUMBERTON, N. C.

Will maintain contact with appropriate informants for additional information concerning captioned convention.



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina December 4, 1970

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On November 27, 1970,

reported that at approximately 12:00 noon one rental truck bearing North Carolina License a white Thunderbird bearing North Carolina License a red Dodge bearing North Carolina License and a Volkswagen Station Wagon bearing North Carolina License departed the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Headquarters at Winston-Salem, apparently en route to Washington, D. C. No estimate could be made of the exact number of people in the group.

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

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

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REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

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

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

reported the following information:

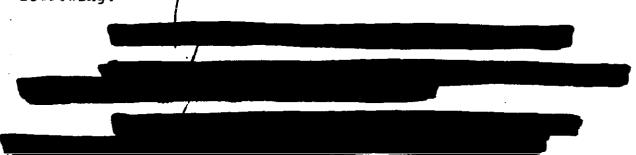
On November 27, 1970, the Southern Section of the RPCC registered at the All Saints Unitarian Church located at Sixteenth Street and Harvard Avenue, Washington, D. C. There were approximately seventy-five to one hundred persons there at about 9:00 AM, sixty percent of which were white.

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Among those observed outside the church were the following:



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

There were persons in the area selling books such as Education and Revolution by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, The Ideology of the RPP, Capitalism Dope Equals Genicide, and We The People.

Also being sold in the area were newspapers including Rise Up in Anger of the Women's Liberation, The Ouick Silver Times, The Militant, and the BPP paper.

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

There a person, referred to as "BIG MAN," spoke. He told how Howard University should have let the BPP hold the RPCC on campus free. His talk and the activities in the park concluded by about 9:00 PM.

"BIG MAN" appeared to be a Negro male, twenty-five to twenty-seven years of age, six feet three inches tall, weighing 200 pounds, with an Afro hairdo and a Vandyke beard with a very black complexion. On Saturday, November 28, 1970, approximately one thousand persons were gathered at the Unitarian Church. Most of those present, a large number of whom were white, broke into small discussion groups on an informal basis as there was again no formal program or workshop.

MEMBER OF EDELECT CHICANIZATION

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

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

Women's Liberation

Gay Liberation

Women In General

E. C. Women

Means of Production

Control of Land

Control of Military

Internationalism

Self-Determination for Street People

Self-Determination for National Minorities

Children's Rights

Revolutionary Artists

Religious Repression

Drugs

Health

Education

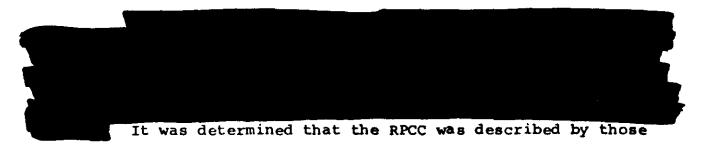
Legal System

Political Prisons

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

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

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



REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

in attendance as being a disorganized fiasco and most of the members from Winston-Salem were put to work on their arrival at such places as a medical clinic or typing, filing, and so forth.

On JAMES ARTHUR POWERS and RUSSELL EDWARD McDONALD were the only known individuals from the Lumberton, North Carolina, area, who attended the RPCC during the Thanksgiving weekend. As of 1970, these two had not returned to Lumberton and there was some indication that a Panther member from New York will come with them when they do return.

Characterizations of SDS, YSA, and BPP are attached as appendices to this memorandum.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

ety (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Mirxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam War stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of worldwide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Pach group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding Castro's position that the duty of revolutionaries, adventuristic, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the Pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of PLP is attached.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 19, 1965, under the name of the PLP which has been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's over-all revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the prople and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub. Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton. Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bi-monthly magazine; "World Revolution", a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio", a monthly newspaper.

The April, 1969, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "Challenge is dedicated to the people's fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women control useir own homes and factories; where they themselves make up the entire government on every level and control the schools, courts, police and all institutions which are now used to control them."

Source advised on May 8, 1969, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York,

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER

The "Daily Tar Heel," student newspaper published at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on November 7, 1968, published an article stating that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) would hold its first organizational meeting on November 7, 1968, at the University of North Carolina.

On February 20, 1969, a source advised the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee meeting on February 4, 1969, at New York City, approved the creation of a local Young Socialist Alliance at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP); also known as Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the BPP, the BPP was started during December 1966 in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G, SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of DeTense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DATID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPF newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is...by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces...are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

APPENDIX



Reply, Please Refer to a No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina December 4, 1970

Title

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL

CONVENTION ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK

PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference

Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina,

dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

The second source because insufficient contact has been had with this source to judge his reliability.

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

Date: 12/3/70

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Photo Refer to File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina December 3, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA RACIAL MATTERS

The following information was obtained from

On October 29, 1970, at a meeting of the Redevelopment Commission of the Municipality of the City of Lumberton, North Carolina, a group of Negroes claiming to be members of the Black Panther party (BPP) disrupted a meeting of the Commission and one individual identified as SAM WILLIAMSON, using his finger, repeatedly struck the speaker, GERALD B. HILL, in the nose advising him that he was a fat pig and that he, WILLIAMSON, was going to kill all the fascist pigs and chop off HILL's head.

The meeting was disbanded because of the disruptive tactics on the part of this group of Negroes who alleged to be members of the BPP. Sometime thereafter, gunfire was directed at the private building housing the Redevelopment Commission and armed guards within the building returned the fire.

police and deputies from the Sheriff's Office responded and three Negro males were seized at the scene of the shooting the Commission Building, one of them carrying a 30.30 caliber tifle.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

105-11-7/ -362

BLACK PANTHER PARTY LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA

It was noted that the SAM WILLIAMSON referred to above was the same SAM WILLIAMSON whose photograph appeared in Page 2 of the Black Panther newspaper, October 17, 1970.

Chief of Police WILBUR LOVETTE, Lumberton, North Carolina, advised that a total of six arrests were made in conjunction with the aforementioned shooting and that all six defendants were tried and convicted. They are currently appealing their sentences.

GERALD B. HILL, Executive Director of the Redevelopment Commission of the Municipality of the City of Lumberton, North Carolina, advised as follows:

Approximately two weeks prior to the shooting incident, he was approached by a group of Negroes who stated they were members of the BPP and demanded that he make available to them a vacant building so they could provide a breakfast program for indigent Negro children and also to provide these children with a good meal after school.

HILL did not deny their request, but requested they give him some assurances as to who they represented, how the breakfast program was to be financed, and who was to be in charge. This information was denied and HILL was told that some of the brothers from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, would come lown and talk to him.

Shortly thereafter, these individuals who alleged to be members of the BPP commenced harassment of his three female workers at the Redevelopment Commission's Office in the Negro area of Lumberton, North Carolina, 600 Fairmont Road. Hembers of the BPP commenced walking into the building, picking up items from the desks of the secretaries and dropping them on the floor and generally intimidating the girls. The girls requested they be moved from the Fairmont Road Building or given

BLACK PANTHER PARTY LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA

some protection. As a result of this, HILL closed the building at 600 Fairmont Road and moved all operations of the Commission to another building whereby the girls would have better protection.

On October 29, 1970, Mr. HILL was in the process of discussing the Redevelopment Commission's program with a group of local Negro inhabitants when half a dozen young Negro males walked into the meeting, shouting "Black Power, Power to the People, Death to the Pascist Pigs." These individuals demanded that the meeting start over so as they could hear what was going on.

SAM WILLIAMSON at this point seized control of the speaker's rostrum and stated that the constitution must be changed so the blacks have more power and the exploiters of the blacks be done away with. While WILLIAMSON was speaking, another Negro male, named JAMES POWERS, and other encircled Mr. HILL and started shoving him around. They shouted he was a fascist pig and they were going to kill the fascist pigs. More members of the BPP came into the meeting and at this point, SAM WILLIAMSON started to accuse HILL of being an exploiter of the people.

Another individual by the name of WILLIE, MC DOUGLAD took his finger and started to slap Mr. HILL on the nose, telling him that he was a fascist pig and an exploiter of the people and he was to be killed with all the fascist pigs.

By this time, police had arrived and the meeting was effectively destroyed for the evening as a result of the disruptive tactics.

Representatives of the Secret Service, Military Intelligence, State and local authorities were advised of the above facts.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA

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

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APPENDIX

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Referenced Bureau airtel states that "...The Department, in connection with efforts to develop a prosecutive theory against the BPP for the violation of sociarity statutes, has previously requested this Bureau to develop evidence regarding documents of the BPP which urge its revolutionary doctrines and to also develop evidence showing a cohesion or unity between national headquarters of the BPP and its chapters and affiliates.

"Information regarding the shipment of BPP newspapers and other publications falls within the above categories and it is essential that every effort is made to develop full and complete details concerning such shipments. This should include not only the ascertaining of information contained on shipping papers and invoices but; whenever possible through established sources, the confirmation of exactly what is included in the shipment.

"It is anticipated that in the event of prosecution of the BPP, it may be extremely important to be able to conclusively prove that a specific BPP publication containing revolutionary doctrines was in fact shipped by the BPP to various BPP members and/or supporters. Accordingly, it is essential that this Bureau develop evidence of this nature in order to support possible prosecution of the BPP..."

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information that is developed concerning instant shipment should be made a matter of record and included in your next BPP report and/or any other appropriate communication.