



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NORTH CAROLINA

PART 12 OF 15

BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 4/22/71	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/12/70 - 4/14/71
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY GS
		CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITION CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte reports of SA [REDACTED] dated 11/25/70 and 1/22/71.

Director letter to Charlotte, 2/2/71.

Classified by
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

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

It is noted referenced letter instructed that a revised report be submitted. An effort was made to obtain

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

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
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11 - Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8) (RM)

2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM) 17 APR 29 1971

3 - Charlotte (157-6171)

REQ-23

EX-100

RACIAL INT. TEST.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ATC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
Request Recd.	DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO, FBI, CD
Date Fwd.	DATE FWD: APR 29 1971
How Fwd.	BY: [REDACTED]
By	57 MAR 1971

Notations

TIME-SEC.

better copies of some of the information for Xeroxing, however, this was not successful, and the extensive investigative period of this report is necessary to include information in the report which was to be revised and additional evidentiary data obtained since that time.

Identity

Location

[illegible]

Identity

Location

[REDACTED]

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

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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

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

Will follow activities of Black Panther Party.

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

D*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

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

Office: CHARLOTTE

Field Office File #: 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706
Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

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

Synopsis:

The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) was elevated to the status of a Black Panther Party Chapter and furnishes leadership for organizational activities at Winston-Salem, High Point, Chapel Hill, and Lumberton, N. C. Former headquarters 1602 East 14th St., burned on 11/27/70, and activities moved to 1616 East 23rd Street, 1127 East 23rd Street, and 1386 Wilson St. The group follows ten point and other programs of Black Panther Party, maintains weapons, and fortified their headquarters and receive and sell the Black Panther party newspaper.

- P -

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP
3-4-71 T.S./LFC

DECLASSIFIED BY 6030
ON 3/1/71 [signature]

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DETAILS:

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

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

On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED]

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

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

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

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

[REDACTED] reported the following information:

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

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

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

Among those observed outside the church were the following:

X D.C.

[REDACTED]

D.C. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Women's Liberation

Gay Liberation

Women In General

E. C. Women

Means of Production

Control of Land

Control of Military

Internationalism

Self-Determination for Street People

Self-Determination for National Minorities

Children's Rights

Revolutionary Artists

Religious Repression

Drugs

Health

Education

Legal System

Political Prisons

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

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

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

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

*D.C.
N.C.* On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES ARTHUR POWERS and RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD were the only known individuals from the Lumberton, North Carolina, area, who attended the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention during the Thanksgiving weekend. As of [REDACTED] 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.

RUSSELL MC DONALD

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

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

LARRY LITTLE

JULIUS CORNELL

N.C. X BATESTI

N.C. X JESSE STITT

[REDACTED] Winston-Salem, N. C. [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] File # [REDACTED]
by SA [REDACTED] 022
SA [REDACTED] Date dictated [REDACTED]

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.

ROBERT GREER

NELSON HALLOY

HAZEL MACK

DANIEL SMITH

ED McQUEEN

LEE FAYE MACK

RICKIE HOOPER

NANCY SMITH

JAMES FORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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105-165706-8-502 pages 15-16

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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX
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105-165706-8-502 pages 18-24

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On December 9, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
property at 1602 East 14th Street [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and in the presence of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] with his permission, this building was searched and
the following items obtained:

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

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

(Political Education Classes for the Community)

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

Existing Programs

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

1. Handguns con't.

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

1. 357 Mag. (this piece will crack an engine block on a car when loaded with armor piccing.)
2. 41 Mag.
3. 44 Mag.

2. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.)

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

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

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

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

A. Short Barrels-----use OOB

1. 20 inches--24 inches effective up to 75 yds.
(3/4 block)

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2. 18 inches-shortest legal length that can be bought in gun store.
3. Sawed off-very effective for ripping off and close combat 9-25 yds (1/4 block)
- B. Long Barrel-----OOB or Rifled slugs.
 1. 26-28 inches---Range 100 yds (one block)
 2. 28-32 inches---Goose guns effective up to 1½ blocks.
3. RIFLES: Here we stress military type over civilian type. The military have a larger magazine capacity and hold more shells.
 - A. Bolt actions: These should be equipped with scopes and used for special purpose weapons.

ESSAYS FROM
THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE
HUEY P. NEWTON

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

June 20, 1967

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

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

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

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

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

MAR 17 1972

RECEIVED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

July 2, 1967

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

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

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

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

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

Their oppressor must to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

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

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

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

The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40, 000 home; being able to dine comfortably in a restaurant while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a \$40.00 rat-infested hovel).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MAXIMUMALISM: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party

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

**All Power to the People
Black Power to Black People**

To see no one harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him to reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

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

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

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

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TOWARD A NEW CONSTITUTION

by

Hucy P. Newton

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

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS. PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES, AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHOWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUPPORTABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

Plenary Session

Workshop: Control and Use of the Educational System

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

Students' Rights

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

All Power to the People!

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

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

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

WE DEMAND:

1. THE RIGHT TO BE GAY ANYTIME, ANYPLACE.
2. THE RIGHT TO FREE PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGE AND MODIFICATION OF SEX UPON DEMAND.
3. THE RIGHT OF FREE DRESS AND ADORNMENT.
4. THAT ALL FORMS OF HUMAN SEXUAL SELF-EXPRESSION DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE LAW, AND SOCIAL SANCTION.
5. EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT TO GROW UP IN A NON-SEXIST, NON-POSSESSIVE ATMOSPHERE, WHICH IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL PEOPLE TO CHILDREN.
6. THAT A FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM PRESENT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF HUMAN SEXUALITY, WITHOUT ADVOCATING ANY ONE FORM OR STYLE; THAT SEX ROLES AND SEX DETERMINED SKILLS BE NOT IMPOSED BY THE SCHOOLS.
7. THAT LANGUAGE BE MODIFIED SO THAT NO GENDER TAKE PRECEDENCE.
8. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM BE RUN BY THE PEOPLE THROUGH PEOPLE'S COURTS; THAT ALL PEOPLE BE TRIED BY JURYING OF THEIR PEER GROUP.
9. THAT GAYS BE REPRESENTED IN ALL GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.
10. THAT ORGANIZED RELIGIONS BE COMPELLED FOR ADGORE IN THE GRACIOS OF GAY PEOPLE, AND EXCLUDED FROM LEACHES HATED AND CONDEMNATION.
11. THAT PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY BE DEPRIVED FROM ADVOCATING A PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORM OF SEXUALITY, AND THE DEPRIVATION OF THAT PREFERENCE BY SLOOT THEATERS, HOMOGENEITY, HOMOGENEITY, ETC.
12. THE ABOLITION OF THE BUREAU WHICH BECAUSE IT IMPOSES THE FALSE CATEGORIES OF HOMOGENEITY AND HOMOGENEITY.
13. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF AND REMITTANCE FOR GAY AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM PRISONS AND MILITARY INSTITUTIONS, THE SUPPORT BY GAY POLITICAL PRISONERS OF ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS.
14. THAT GAY PEOPLE BE THE ONLY OF THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES.
15. THAT ALL PEOPLE BEIN THROUGH THE LABOR AND PROGRESS OF SOCIETY, REPRESENTS OF SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION.
16. THAT EVERYONE BE FREE TO ABANDON ALL MEMBERS OF THE WORLD FROM DURESS.
17. THAT FULL REPRESENTATION OF GAYS IN THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.
18. FINALLY, THE END OF DOMINATION OF ONE PERSON BY ANOTHER.

GAY POWER TO GAY PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

SINCE THE TIME

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STATEMENT OF THE NEW HENKINALL WORKSHOP

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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

SEXISM IS A BELIEF OR PRACTICE THAT THE SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION OF HUMAN BEINGS GIVES TO SOME THE RIGHT TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES, POWERS, OR ROLES, WHILE DENYING TO OTHERS THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR SOCIETY, SEXISM IS MOST VIVIDLY MANIFESTED THROUGH RACE SUPREMACY AND HETEROSEXUAL ORIENTATION. SINCE IN THE SHORT RUN SEXISM IMPEDES CERTAIN PERSONS OR GROUPS, IN THE LONG RUN IT CANNOT SERVE ALL THE PEOPLE, AND PREVENTS THE FORMING OF COMPLETE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG STRAITENED MEN.

SEXISM IS IRATIONAL, UNJUST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. SEXISM PREVENTS THE REVOLUTIONARY SCHISM OF THE PEOPLE.

WE DEMAND THAT THE STRONG ACADemy SEXISM BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY. WE DEMAND THAT ALL REVOLUTIONARIES BEAL INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, WITH THEIR OWN SEXISM.

WE PRODUCE AS A VAGUE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION THE NEW P. LEARN STATEMENT ON GAY IDENTIFICATION. WE PRODUCE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS BEING THE VAGUE OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

NO REVOLUTIONARY WORKSHOP 1971.11

AN ACT OF LOVE'S CANNOT LOVE.

ALL THE POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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

Asian peoples are well familiar with the methods of fascist repression and enslavement. Asians within America are a colonized people. Ever since the 1800's when we have been kidnapped, indentured, and tricked into coming to this so-called mountain of gold, Asian-Americans have suffered all possible forms of oppression under this capitalist system. Chinese were brought to California to work as forced laborers in railroads, mines, swamps, plantations and cities of the white imperialists. By 1890 from railroad, road and land reclamation projects alone, Chinese people were responsible for \$200,000,000 that the state of California stole from the people. Not only did these honky pigs steal from us but they did everything else conceivable to oppress us. Asians have been beaten, massacred and humiliated by mobs of racist white dogs. When we finished building up the west, the herds of greedy expansionist white people crowded into California and forced us into isolated urban ghettos where we have had to struggle for a meager existence ever since.

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

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

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

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

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

I Wor Huen finds that there are many contradictions among the people with regard to the racist attitudes towards our brothers and sisters. As brother Huey states, "we recognize our brothers' liberation struggle as our own and we bring about the speediest possible destruction of the American fascist state. Because of the racist stereotypes which this system has forced upon us Asians as well as our Third World brothers and sisters tend to see Asians as non-revolutionary people and find it hard to relate to revolutionary China which actively support the world wide struggle against our common enemy. The division within the Third World racist attitudes towards each other must be ended and struggled against and resolved in order to achieve true Third World unity which is essential for the revolution. It is the spirit of the internationalism from which every revolutionary must learn. Learning teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if all Third World Peoples support each other's liberation struggle in the colonies and semi colonies. No revolutionary action must put this into practice. We must educate this concept to our peoples. This is our internationalism, the internationalism which opposes both narrow minded racism and narrow minded nationalism. People of the World unite and defeat U.S. aggression and the American ruling class. Unity is Strength

Chairman Mao and Chairman Bobby

in solidarity.

~~XXXX~~
I Wor Huen (Nightclub Anonymous)

24 Market St., New York City, N.Y.

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REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES' CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
PLENARY SESSION

Workshop: Control and Use of Military and Police
Reggie

Proposals on the Military

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

Organization, Use of, and Control of the Police

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