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02	report	H. Rap Brown: Security Matter - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	C	170	1/12/68	A
		<i>open 12-22-08 NLJ/RAC 08-36</i>				
02a	report	H. Rap Brown: Security Matter - SNCC	C	1	1/12/68	A
		"				
03	report	Black Peoples Convention (BPC)-Internal Security-Misc.: Hubert Geroid Brown, also known as H. Rap Brown-Internal Security-Student Non-Violent Coord. Comm.	C	10	9/8/67	A
		"				
05	report	Black Peoples Convention (BPC)-Internal Security-Misc.: Hubert Geroid Brown, also known as H. Rap Brown-Internal Security-Student Non-Violent Coord. Comm.	C	22	9/6/67	A
		"				
		<i>posted 9/18/23 JH</i>				

Collection Title Federal Records NACCD (Kerner Commission)

Folder Title Brown, H. Rap (aka Hubert Geroid Brown)

Box Number E7

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11/1/2007

JH
Initials



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: HUBERT BROWN

The captioned individual is possibly identifiable with Hubert Geroid Brown, also known as Hubert G. Brown, Hubert Gerard Brown, H. Rap Brown, who was born on October 4, 1943, at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and who was reportedly residing at 130 West 87th Street, New York City, New York, as of November 8, 1967.

Our files reveal the following travel or location of Hubert Geroid Brown during the year 1967:

DATE	TRAVEL OR LOCATION
April	
20-21	At Selma, Alabama
23-25	At Selma, Alabama
27	At Jackson, Alabama, as of 9:10 p.m. and later at Grove Hill, Alabama
28	At Selma, Alabama
29	At Montgomery, Alabama
May	
1	At Grove Hill, Alabama
12	At Atlanta, Georgia
18	At Jackson, Mississippi
25	Arrived at San Francisco, California, at approximately 2:30 a.m.
28	At Los Angeles, California
June	
9	At Chicago, Illinois
10	At Dayton, Ohio
13	Arrived at Montgomery, Alabama, from Atlanta, Georgia, at approximately 3:50 p.m. then traveled to Prattville, Alabama. Left Prattville at approximately 7:05 p.m. en route to Montgomery. →
14	<u>Arrived in Dayton, Ohio, at 3:38 p.m.</u>

Hubert Brown

15 Left Dayton, Ohio, in the early after-
noon en route to Cincinnati, Ohio.
16 Traveled from Cincinnati, Ohio, to
Atlanta, Georgia.
17 At Baton Rouge, Louisiana
18 Arrived at Jackson, Mississippi, at
7:00 a.m. from Atlanta, Georgia, then
traveled to Tougaloo, Mississippi.
Left Jackson, Mississippi, at 6:53 p.m.
en route to Shreveport, Louisiana.
Left Shreveport at 9:12 p.m. en route
to Houston, Texas.
19 At Houston, Texas
20 Arrived at Atlanta, Georgia, at approxi-
mately 4:50 p.m. from Cincinnati, Ohio.
21 Left Atlanta, Georgia, at approximately
5:15 p.m. en route to Washington, D. C.
22 At Washington, D. C.
23 Left Washington, D. C., at approximately
2:00 a.m. en route to Los Angeles,
California.
25 Left Los Angeles, California, at 11:00 p.m.
en route to Atlanta, Georgia.
28-29 At Washington, D. C.

July
3 Left Washington, D. C., en route to
Atlanta, Georgia.
13 At New York City, New York
19 At New York City, New York
20-23 At Newark, New Jersey
24 Arrived in Cambridge, Maryland, at approx-
imately 9:15 p.m.
25 At Cambridge, Maryland, and later at
Washington, D. C.
~~26~~ At Arlington and Alexandria, Virginia
27-28 At Washington, D. C.
30 Left Washington, D. C., at 1:30 p.m.
Arrived in New York City, New York, at
2:30 p.m.

Hubert Brown

31 Arrived in Dayton, Ohio, at 5:44 p.m.
from Washington, D. C.

August

1 - 3 At New York City, New York

6 At New York City, New York

7 Arrived at Los Angeles, California,
at 11:55 p.m.

8 At New York City, New York, as of
approximately 7:00 p.m. Visited
Montclair, New Jersey, and returned to
New York City at approximately 10:00 p.m.

9 Left New York City, New York, at 10:00 a.m.
Arrived in Washington, D. C. at 11:00 a.m.
Left Washington, D. C., at 12 noon.
Arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, at 1:23 p.m.
Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 2:15 p.m.
Arrived in Jacksonville, Florida, at
3:10 p.m. At Jacksonville as of 8:35 p.m.

10 Left Jacksonville, Florida, at 1:15 a.m.
Arrived at Atlanta, Georgia, at 2:10 a.m.
At Atlanta as of 4:00 p.m.

12 Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:40 a.m.
Arrived at Los Angeles, California, at
approximately 12:05 p.m.

13 At Los Angeles, California

14 Left Los Angeles, California, at 1:00 p.m.
Arrived in New York City, New York, at
9:48 p.m.

16 Left New York City, New York, at 4:00 p.m.
Arrived at New Orleans, Louisiana, at
6:45 p.m. Left New Orleans at 9:06 p.m.
en route to Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

17 Left Baton Rouge, Louisiana, at approxi-
mately 9:04 p.m.
Arrived at New Orleans, Louisiana, at
approximately 11:30 p.m.

18 Left New Orleans, Louisiana, at 12:22 a.m.
Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:20 a.m.
Arrived at New York City, New York, at
12:15 p.m.

19-25 At New York City, New York

Hubert Brown

- 27 Left New York City, New York, at 1:20 p.m.
Arrived at Detroit, Michigan, at 3:10 p.m.
Left Detroit at 10:50 p.m. en route to
New York City.
- 28 Arrived at New York City, New York, as
of 12:04 a.m. At New York City as of
10:00 a.m.
- 29 At New York City, New York
- 30 Left New York City, New York, at approxi-
mately 6:35 p.m. en route to Newark and
Camden, New Jersey. At Camden as of
10:15 p.m.
- 31 Arrived at New York City, New York, at
approximately 1:00 a.m.
- September
- 3 Left New York City, New York, at 8:30 a.m.
Arrived at Chicago, Illinois, at 9:43 a.m.
At Chicago as of 6:30 p.m.
- 4 Left Chicago, Illinois, at 3:08 p.m.
Arrived in New York City, New York, at
approximately 6:20 p.m.
- 5-6 At New York City, New York
- 7 Left New York City, New York, at 8:50 a.m.
Arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, at 11:28 a.m.
- 8 Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 6:29 a.m. local
time and arrived at New Orleans,
Louisiana, at 6:29 local time.
Left New Orleans at 4:10 p.m.
- 10 Arrived at Atlanta, Georgia, at 6:20 p.m.
Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:00 a.m.
Arrived at St. Louis, Missouri, at approx-
imately 11:00 a.m. As of 3:00 p.m. at
East St. Louis, Illinois.
Left East St. Louis at approximately
5:00 p.m.
Left St. Louis at 6:30 p.m.
Arrived at New York City, New York, at
9:05 p.m.
- 12 Left New York City, New York, at 8:00 p.m.
Arrived in Washington, D. C., at 9:10 p.m.

Hubert Brown

13-17 Under arrest at Alexandria and Richmond, Virginia.
18 Left Richmond, Virginia, and arrived in New York City, New York, at 7:55 p.m.
22 Left New York City, New York, at 9:00 p.m. Arrived at Atlanta, Georgia, at 11:16 p.m.
23-25 At Atlanta, Georgia
26 Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 11:45 p.m.
27 Arrived at Newark, New Jersey, at 1:33 a.m.

October
2 Arrived at Washington, D. C., at 5:00 p.m. from New York City, New York.
3 Arrived at New York City, New York, at 3:15 p.m.
13 At New York City, New York
19 At New York City, New York
27 At New York City, New York
28 At Washington, D. C.
29-30 At New York City, New York

November
1 At New York City, New York
3 At New York City, New York
10 At New York City, New York
16 At New York City, New York

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: HUBERT BROWN

The captioned individual is possibly identifiable with Hubert Geroid Brown, also known as Hubert G. Brown, Hubert Gerard Brown, H. Rap Brown, who was born on October 4, 1943, at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and who was reportedly residing at 130 West 87th Street, New York City, New York, as of November 8, 1967.

Our files reveal the following travel or location of Hubert Geroid Brown during the year 1967:

DATE	TRAVEL OR LOCATION
April	
20-21	At Selma, Alabama
23-25	At Selma, Alabama
27	At Jackson, Alabama, as of 9:10 p.m. and later at Grove Hill, Alabama
28	At Selma, Alabama
29	At Montgomery, Alabama
May	
1	At Grove Hill, Alabama
12	At Atlanta, Georgia
18	At Jackson, Mississippi
25	Arrived at San Francisco, California, at approximately 2:30 a.m.
28	At Los Angeles, California
June	
9	At Chicago, Illinois
10	At Dayton, Ohio
13	Arrived at Montgomery, Alabama, from Atlanta, Georgia, at approximately 3:50 p.m. then traveled to Prattville, Alabama. Left Prattville at approximately 7:05 p.m. en route to Montgomery.
14	Arrived in Dayton, Ohio, at 3:38 p.m.

Hubert Brown

15 Left Dayton, Ohio, in the early afternoon en route to Cincinnati, Ohio.
16 Traveled from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Atlanta, Georgia.
17 At Baton Rouge, Louisiana
18 Arrived at Jackson, Mississippi, at 7:00 a.m. from Atlanta, Georgia, then traveled to Tougaloo, Mississippi. Left Jackson, Mississippi, at 6:53 p.m. en route to Shreveport, Louisiana. Left Shreveport at 9:12 p.m. en route to Houston, Texas.
19 At Houston, Texas
20 Arrived at Atlanta, Georgia, at approximately 4:50 p.m. from Cincinnati, Ohio.
21 Left Atlanta, Georgia, at approximately 5:15 p.m. en route to Washington, D. C.
22 At Washington, D. C.
23 Left Washington, D. C., at approximately 2:00 a.m. en route to Los Angeles, California.
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3 Left Washington, D. C., en route to Atlanta, Georgia.
13 At New York City, New York
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24 Arrived in Cambridge, Maryland, at approximately 9:15 p.m.
25 At Cambridge, Maryland, and later at Washington, D. C.
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27-28 At Washington, D. C.
30 Left Washington, D. C., at 1:30 p.m. Arrived in New York City, New York, at 2:30 p.m.

Hubert Brown

31 Arrived in Dayton, Ohio, at 5:44 p.m.
from Washington, D. C.

August

1 - 3

At New York City, New York

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At New York City, New York

7

Arrived at Los Angeles, California,
at 11:55 p.m.

8

At New York City, New York, as of
approximately 7:00 p.m. Visited
Montclair, New Jersey, and returned to
New York City at approximately 10:00 p.m.

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Arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, at 1:25 p.m.
Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 3:15 p.m.
Arrived in Jacksonville, Florida, at
3:10 p.m. At Jacksonville as of 8:35 p.m.
Left Jacksonville, Florida, at 1:15 a.m.
Arrived at Atlanta, Georgia, at 2:10 a.m.
At Atlanta as of 4:00 p.m.

12

Left Atlanta, Georgia, at 10:40 a.m.
Arrived at Los Angeles, California, at
approximately 12:05 p.m.

13

At Los Angeles, California

14

Left Los Angeles, California, at 1:00 p.m.
Arrived in New York City, New York, at
9:48 p.m.

16

Left New York City, New York, at 4:00 p.m.
Arrived at New Orleans, Louisiana, at
6:45 p.m. Left New Orleans at 9:05 p.m.
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mately 9:04 p.m.
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19-25

At New York City, New York

Hubert Brown

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East St. Louis, Illinois.
Left East St. Louis at approximately
5:00 p.m.
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18 Left Richmond, Virginia, and arrived in New York City, New York, at 7:55 p.m.
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29-30 At New York City, New York

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AT 100-7098

DETAILS

I. EMPLOYMENT

AT T-35 advised that in May, 1967, H. RAP BROWN was elected National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by the Central Committee of that organization at its regular annual meeting, which was held in Atlanta, Georgia.

II. RESIDENCE

On August 8, 1967, Detective MC QUADE, New York City Police Department, Bureau of Special Services, advised that as of that date, BROWN was utilizing the address of 324 W. 19th Street, as his New York City address.

AT T-35 advised on January 2, 1968, that while in Atlanta, BROWN utilizes the address of Apartment 18, 850 West End Avenue, S. W.

Information received from the Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department reflects that as of August 24, 1967, BROWN was registered at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Room 412, under the name L. HOLT.

On October 3, 1967, AT T-5 advised that BROWN was utilizing the address of 130 W. 87th Street, the apartment of MATT JONES, as his residence. Investigation in Washington, D. C. reflects that when BROWN visited that City in October, 1967, he was staying at the apartment of his sister, PATRICIA ANN BROWN, who resided at 1230 - 13th Street, N. W., Apartment 111.

On November 2, 1967, AT T-4 advised that while in New York City during the recent past, BROWN used the address of 530 Manhattan Avenue.

AT 100-7098

**III. IDENTIFICATION RECORD AND PARTICIPATION OF
COMMUNIST PARTY ASSOCIATES IN RAISING BAIL
BOND FOR SUBJECT**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

SEP 28 1967 94

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director

The following FBI record, NUMBER 11 867 F, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Baton Rouge La	Hubert Geroid Brown #30271	12-10-63	CCW	\$25 or 10 das & C Paid
CSC	Hubert Geroid Brown #NY-65 21491	10-15-64		terminated 1-8-65
<i>ad 10/10/67</i> PD Demopolis Ala	Hubert Geroid Brown #888	8-18-66	carrying pistols in veh on public hwy without lic	<i>Penalty \$100. 27.00 back</i>
<i>ad 10/10/67</i> Dept of Public Safety Montgomery Ala	Hubert Geroid Brown #303135-X	8-18-66	Carrying pistols in car without a permit	<i>Penalty \$100.00 \$8.00 back.</i>
<i>ad 10/10/67</i> Dept of Public Safety Montgomery Ala	Hubert G Brown #303135-X	11-2-66	GL	<i>Record sent to Fed. - list. as of 11-15-67 state posting</i>
PD Selma Ala	Hubert G. Brown #11837	1-21-67 1-24-67	burg uttering a forg instrument	Nolle Pross
<i>ad 10/10/67</i> SO Grove Hill Ala	Hubert Gerard Brown	4-27-67	V.P.L., T.U.D.V.	
FBI Richmond Va	H. Rapp Brown	7-26-67	UFAP-Arson	TOF USM Alexandria Va
<i>ad 10/10/67</i> PD Alexandria Va	H. Rapp Brown #67-G2-2152	7-26-67	fugitive from	<i>c/</i>

Information shown on this Identification Record represents contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investi-

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

SEP 28 1967 9

2

J. Edgar Hoover
 Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 11 867 F, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Fed Det Hdqtrs NY NY	Rap H. Brown #27651	8-19-67	Federal Firearms Act 5K	
USM NY NY	Hubert Geroid Brown	8-19-67	Title 15 USC #902 transporting in interstate of firearms.	
A & TTD NY NY	Hubert Geroid Brown #NYS 3991	8-19-67	Title 15 USC #902	

-6-

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

AT 100-7098

Colonel THOMAS BURBANK, Louisiana State Police, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, advised that during the morning of August 17, 1967, BROWN entered Steinberts Sporting Goods Store, Baton Rouge, and purchased \$10 worth of .30 caliber carbine ammunition and subsequently loaded this ammunition into banana clips.

Regarding BROWN's arrest on August 19, 1967, by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, New York City, on a charge of violation Title 15, United States Code #902, it is noted that this arrest was effected at 2:00 A.M., August 19, 1967, and subject was incarcerated in the Federal Detention Center, New York City. On August 19, 1967, STEPHEN E. KAUFMAN, Assistant United States Attorney, (AUSA) Southern District of New York (SDNY), advised that at a hearing in Federal Court on that date, BROWN was held in \$25,000 bail for a hearing to be had August 25, 1967. KAUFMAN advised that a warrant for subject's arrest was issued at New Orleans, Louisiana, on August 19, 1967, for violation Title 15, Section 902E, United States Code, that he did knowingly cause to be transported in interstate commerce a semi-automatic carbine rifle from New York, New York to New Orleans, Louisiana, and back, while under indictment in Dorchester County, Maryland, for inciting to riot and arson. BROWN did not make bail, was present at the hearing and represented by attorney WILLIAM KUNSTLER.

On August 21, 1967, AT T-5 advised that three law students from Howard University, Washington, D. C., one of whom is identified as BARBARA BIRNBAUM, New York, New York, as assisting in the defense of BROWN. BIRNBAUM reportedly donated \$100 toward the bail fund to secure the release of BROWN. AT T-5 further advised that ABE WEISBURD, a motion picture operator and BOB LANGSTON, 320 W.87th Street, New York City, have donated \$2,500 each toward the bail fund for BROWN.

AT T-6 advised in June, 1948, that ABRAHAM ISAAC WEISBURD, 300 W. 49th Street, New York City, employed as

AT 100-7098

a sound projectionist, had been a member of the Communist Party (CP) for 11 years and has held position on the Executive Committee.

AT T-7 advised that on July 27, 1967, that WEISBURD was in attendance at the Executive meeting of the Trade Unionists for Peace on July 17, 1967, as the labor delegate to the Fifth Avenue Viet Nam Peace Parade Committee, having been active in Viet Nam peace protests in 1965 and 1966.

A characterization of the Trade Unionists for Peace is included in the Appendix of this report.

On May 20, 1966, AT T-8 advised that ROBERT H. LANGSTON, 320 W. 87th Street, New York City, was accepted as a member of the New York Local Socialist Workers Party.

A characterization of the New York Local Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is included in the Appendix of this report.

The Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On August 21, 1967, AT T-5 advised that STANLEY WISE, Executive Secretary of SNCC, recommended to BROWN's lawyers that efforts be curtailed to secure BROWN's release on bail, as his incarceration would then compel the

AT 100-7098

Government to afford all necessary transportation to hearings to be conducted with respect to charges presently outstanding against him.

According to AT T-5, an additional \$5,000 to \$7,000 in Series E bonds have been pledged by one ALFRED HARRIS, Yonkers, New York, a white, male, employed by the Equitable Life Insurance Company, New York, New York.

On August 21, 1967, AT T-9 advised that ABE WESIBURD had contacted HENRY WINSTON on that date requesting of WINSTON the identity of people capable of making donations to the bail bond fund of BROWN. WINSTON reportedly replied "We're on the job. There will be definite commitments."

The June 28, 1966, issue of "The Worker" reports the election of HENRY WINSTON as National Chairman of the CP, USA, at its Eighteenth National Convention held on June 26, 1966, in New York City.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

Concerning WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER, identified as the attorney for BROWN, the following is set forth:

On October 29, 1962, AT T10 advised that WILLIAM KUNSTLER was a speaker at a rally sponsored by the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) held in New York City on October 24, 1962.

A characterization of the NYCAHUAC appears in the Appendix of this report.

AT 100-7098

On November 10, 1964, AT T-11 advised that KUNSTLER was one of the attorneys retained by the Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL (CSJMS).

A characterization of the CSJMS appears in the Appendix of this report.

On April 19, 1967, AT T-12 advised that WILLIAM KUNSTLER was introduced as one of the Committee to Free MORTON SOBELL held at Hunter College, New York, New York, on April 11, 1967.

On August 19, 1967, AUSA KAUFMAN advised that a hearing to reduce bail for the subject was held before Judge INZER B. WYATT, United States District Court, SDNY, at 3:00 P.M., August 19, 1967. BROWN's request for a reduction of bail was denied and he was retained in Federal custody.

On August 20, 1967, AT T-5 advised that as of Midnight, August 19, 1967, the SNCC, New York City, had received \$9,000 in contributions and \$4,000 in pledges toward the \$25,000 bail set for the subject's release. According to this source, a representative of the SWP furnished the names of possible contributors to SNCC.

On August 22, 1967, STEPHEN E. KAUFMAN, AUSA, SDNY, advised that BROWN was released from custody on this date at 5:30 P.M. after posting a \$15,000 bond, returnable United States District Court, SDNY. The bond terms prohibit BROWN from leaving the area without approval of the District Court of the SDNY.

On August 23, 1967, Assistant U. S. Attorney PIERRE LEVAL advised that BROWN's removal hearing at the Southern District is set for approximately 2:00 P.M., August 25, 1967.

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On September 8, 1967, BROWN appeared in the United States District Court, New Orleans, Louisiana, and entered a not guilty plea to the outstanding Federal Firearms Act indictment against him. He was continued on a \$15,000 bond returnable to the Eastern District of Louisiana, rather than the SDNY.

An article appearing in the "Morning Sun" of Baltimore, Maryland, dated November 29, 1967, under date line of Richmond, Virginia, reflects that a Federal Appeals Court upheld travel restrictions placed on the subject. The ruling by the Federal District Judge ROBERT R. MERHIGE, JR. restricted BROWN to the SDNY, except for court appearance for travel in connection with his defense against criminal charges. BROWN had been charged in Maryland with inciting to riot and to arson after demonstrations earlier this year at Cambridge, Maryland. He was later arrested in Virginia. BROWN's lawyers had sought to have the travel restrictions modified so that he could fulfill speaking engagements in the United States and England. A split opinion was handed down by the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals, stemming from a ruling by a lower court freeing BROWN on bail pending the outcome of his legal fight to avoid extradition to Maryland. An article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal", Atlanta, Georgia, of December 22, 1967, reflects that Supreme Court Justice WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS would not lift a court-imposed travel ban that restricts BROWN to portions of New York State. The article indicates that in bringing the case to DOUGLAS, BROWN's attorneys argued the restriction deprived their client of the right to free speech. DOUGLAS made no comment in rejecting the request.

IV. SUBJECT'S PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING OF OR ORGANIZING MEETS

The following article appears in the September-October, 1967 issue of the "SNCC Newsletter:"

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"WHO ARE THE REAL OUTLAWS?" "By H. Rap Brown"

"BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

"White people are saying that the uprisings of our people in almost 100 American cities, 'must be a conspiracy.' Where is the real conspiracy? Black people across this country have known that the real conspiracy in this country is to run us out, keep us down, or kill us, if we don't act like the honky wants us to act.

"We're fighting for our survival and for this, we are called criminals, outlaws and murderers. Who are the real criminals? Who stole us from Africa? Who has been stealing our labor these past 400 years to build this country? Who are the real murderers? Why don't they call the police who gun us down in the streets every day, all year 'round,.... why don't they call them murderers?

"Why don't they call Lyndon Johnson a murderer and an outlaw? He fights an illegal war with our brothers and our sons. He sends them to fight against other colored people who are also fighting for their freedom.

"Who are the real outlaws in this country? They say I am an outlaw. I am charged with inciting black people to 'riot'. It is against the 'law' to riot. But did you or I have any say in passing this law? Do we have much of a say in any of the laws passed in this country? I consider myself neither morally or legally bound to obey laws which were made by a group of white 'lawmakers' who do not let my people be represented in making those laws.

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"The government which makes laws that you and I are supposed to obey, without letting us be a part of that government...is an illegal government. The man who pass those laws are outlaws; the police who enforce those laws are outlaws and murderers.

"It should be understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with out consent and which seek to keep up down and keep us in our place. Nor can we be expected to have confidence in the white man's court which interprets and enforces those laws. The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts, he accuses us, and hesits in judgement over us.

"White America should not fool itself into believing that if it comes down harder on us... that will keep us from doing what we believe is right. Histpry has shown that when a man's conscience is aroused, when a man rally believes what he is doing, threats of jail and death do not turn that man back. The threat of jail or death will not turn me nor others like me from the path we have taken.

Morepowerful than my fear of what could happen to me in prison, is my hatred for what happens to my people in those outside prisons called the black ghettos of this country. I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred, I am supported by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. There is nothing any court can do to me that will change that hatred in me; it can only be changed by the removal of the racism and inhumanity which exists in this country.

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"We stand on the eve of black revolution. These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal for real revolution. For to men, freedom in their own land is the pinnacle of their ambitions, and nothing can turn men aside who have conviction and a strong sense of freedom.

"A society which can mount a huge military action against a black youth who breaks a window, and at the same time pleads that it is powerless to protect black youths who are being murdered each year because they seek to make democracy in America a reality...is a sick, criminal and insane society. They talk about violence in the country's streets! Each time a black church is bombed or burned, that is violence in our streets! Where are the troops?

"Each time a black body is found in the swamps of Mississippi or Alabama, that is violence in our land! Where are those murderers?

"Each time black human rights workers are refused protection by the Government, that is anarchy!

"Each time a police officer shoots and kills a black teen-ager, that is urban crime! Where is the national leader who will go on T.V. and condemn police crime?

"Black people see America for what it is. It is clear now that white America cannot see the reality of its crimes against mankind. We see America and we recognize our course of action."

An article appearing on page 1 of "The Enquirer," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, issue of August 31, 1967, captioned "Do violence, Brown says in Camden" stated that

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a recent Plainfield, New Jersey, riot was a "high water mark in the black revolution because 'one white-faced, red-necked cop was killed' while there was no Negro casualties." The article continued that BROWN stated, "The only thing you can do now is to help the Negro community to get some guns. You've got to stop being violent against one another and get that violence out into the community."

This article continued that BROWN's speech was greeted wildly with cheers and applause although other speakers were booed and jeered.

The article also stated that an attempt to get an injunction to prohibit BROWN from making inflammatory statements was refused by Superior Court Judge NORMAN HEINE.

An article appearing in the "Courier Post" issue of August 31, 1967, published at Camden, New Jersey, captioned "Brown rattles sabers at Convention Hall rally" stated H. RAP BROWN, National Black Power Advocate, "rattled his sabers in Convention Hall last night for the benefit of thirty-five hundred cheering disciples." The article stated that BROWN's followers, many of them reportedly from New York and Philadelphia, chanted a litany of hate to fill an hour's wait before BROWN's arrival. The article stated they chorused in a sing-song voice, "Vietnam, hell no," "LBJ, hell no," "Whitney Young, hell no," "Luther King, hell no," "Uncle Tom, hell no," "Black Power, hell yes."

The article continued that BROWN repeated most of what he has said on other occasions, telling the crowd "that the country is in a revolution and that 'the only way to defend yourselves is to go out and get guns.'"

The article stated that BROWN insisted that all "honky cameramen" had to leave the Hall and that his followers ejected several photographers, television crews, destroyed one tape recorder and ripped a reporter's notes to shreds. The article mentioned that BROWN insisted that the American flags be lowered from the staff before he spoke.

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The article stated that BROWN repeated
"chinese Red leader Mao's philosophy that 'power comes from
a barrel of a gun.' "

On September 10, 1967, VIRGIL BALTEZOR, Chief, East St. Louis (ESL), Illinois, Police Department, stated as follows:

HUBERT GEROID BROWN, better known as H. RAP BROWN, the National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), spoke to approximately 1,000 persons at a rally at 3:00 PM, September 10, 1967. This rally was sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), ESL, and was held at Lincoln Senior High School, East St. Louis, Illinois.

In his speech, BROWN declared that America was committing Genocide against its black people. He urged the negroes present to obtain guns for the black revolution and said the black people are going to have to fight and it is going to be a bloody fight.

BROWN departed East St. Louis at 5:00 PM, September 10, enroute to St. Louis, Missouri, to travel to New York City.

During BROWN's speech, officers of the ESLPD arrested HENRY THOMAS, Vice Chairman of the St. Louis, Missouri, Chapter of CORE, who threatened another negro in the audience with a knife because a man made a derogatory remark concerning "RAP" BROWN.

THOMAS was charged with carrying a concealed weapon and disorderly conduct and was released on bond September 10, 1967. This information was furnished on September 10, to Deputy JOSEPH RODRIGUEZ, St. Clair County Sheriff's Office, Belleville, Illinois; Captain EMIL TOFFANT, District 11, Illinois State Highway Police; ROBERT OMUNDSON, MF Group, Edwardsville.

Illinois, G. DOUGLAS COLQUHOUN, Secret Service, St. Louis, Missouri, and JOEL KUNIN, Assistant United States Attorney, East St. Louis, Illinois.

Chief BALTEZOR (ESLPD) subsequently advised that at approximately 6:00 PM, September 10, 1967, TAYLOR JONES, III., Chairman, North-Central Region, CORE, made a speech at 15th Street and Broadway, East St. Louis, Illinois, protesting the arrest by ESLPD of HENRY THOMAS, above identified, and a crowd of about 100 young negroes gathered to hear JONES' speech. When one young negro male was seen breaking the window of a liquor store at 15th and Broadway, ESL, police officers attempted to put him in a patrol car but the crowd of negroes took the young man away from the police and during the scuffle Lieutenant SANDERS, an ESL policeman, was stabbed in the shoulder by an unknown person and sustained superficial wounds.

Two suspects, arrested by ESLPD at 9:35 PM, September 10, 1967, were LUCIOUS JONES, age 21, 1227 Gaty, ESL, and THEODIS LIGRONE, age 23, 1006 Gaty, ESL. Both were male negroes.

Immediately after these arrests, approximately 100 negroes, age 15-25, gathered at the ESL police station demanding the release of JONES and LIGRONE.

At 10:05 PM, JONES and LIGRONE were released to CLYDE JORDAN, who agreed to talk to the group and attempt to get them to disburse.

JORDAN, a negro, is Administrative Assistant to the Mayor of ESL and is Editor and Publisher of the East St. Louis "Monitor", a militant negro weekly newspaper.

JORDAN is also a sponsor of "IMPACT", Office of Economic Opportunity Funded Recreation Hall, located at 1207 Missouri Avenue, ESL.

For the past two months, IMPACT has been a gathering place for young militant negroes who have been meeting periodically with the Mayor of ESL demanding more and better jobs and housing for ESL negroes.

During the evening of September 10, 1967, other incidents occurred in ESL which may have been triggered by the speech of H. RAP BROWN in ESL, during the evening of September 10.

A fire of unknown origin occurred in Coffman's Market, a grocery store located at 12th Street and Piggott Avenue, ESL.

A fire of unknown origin occurred in a vacant apartment building at 14th Street and Missouri Avenue.

Windows were shot out with an automatic weapon in the Ohio Market, located 16th and Central Avenue, ESL.

A used car on the used car lot of Mixon Buick Company, State Street, ESL, was set on fire.

Windows were broken at the Houss Chevrolet Company, State Street, ESL, and Kramer's Market, 15th Street and Piggott Avenue, ESL, had the windows broken and set on fire.

The foregoing information was furnished on September 10, 1967, to Agent COLQUHOUN, Secret Service, St. Louis, Missouri; Agent OMUNDSON, MI Group, Edwardsville, Illinois, and AUSA KUNIN, ESL.

On September 11, 1967, BALTEZOR, ESLPD, advised as follows:

The following incidents occurred during the early morning of September 11, 1967, and appeared to be an aftermath of the speech made by H. RAP BROWN, SNCC Chairman.

A shed and some trucks were burned at the Consolidated Gasoline Company, 1101 Missouri Avenue, ESL, and an empty building at 17th and Russell Streets was burned.

ROOSEVELT YOUNG, JR., a male negro, age 18, resident of 715 N. 9th Street, ESL, was shot and killed by ERNEST BOVINETTE, a white officer, of the ESLPD. The shooting occurred after a high speed chase by police of a suspected stolen car, which was occupied by YOUNG. During the chase the police car was wrecked. YOUNG scuffled with BOVINETTE and tore off the officers gun and holster. YOUNG has a robbery record with the ESLPD.

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V. INDICATION OF CONSPIRACY ON PART OF
SUBJECT WITH OTHERS ADVOCATING FORCE
AND VIOLENCE, REBELLION OR INSURRECTION

AT T-5 advised that the National Conference On Black Power was held in Newark, New Jersey, July 20 - 23, 1967, and registration ended at about 3:30 P.M. The conference then convened in the Grand Ballroom of the Military Park Hotel. The rally featured many speakers, including H. RAP BROWN. One of the speakers was DICK GREGORY, who spoke of the war in Viet Nam and how he was against it. The rally featured speakers who were militant and outspoken in the anti-U. S. Government views.

A article appearing in the "Los Angeles Times" dated August 14, 1967, entitled, "Violence May Benefit Negroes, Rap Brown says at Rally Here," indicated that BROWN spoke to an estimated 5,000 persons in Los Angeles on August 13, 1967. The "Los Angeles Herald-Examiner" on August 14, 1967, noted only about 400 persons heard BROWN's talk. Excerpts from the "Los Angeles Times" article are as follows:

"The violence on the part of Negroes can forestall their annihilation by white people."

"There has been too much looting during the rebellions and not enough shootings."

BROWN assailed the Civil Rights Movement as having been set up to destroy the black people.

"The Civil Rights Movement is dead, thank goodness," BROWN said. BROWN indicated that "Detroit is a lesson to the nation."

On September 3, 1967, AT T-15 advised that subject spoke at a Black Peoples Convention, which was held at

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Christ Methodist Church, 6401 South Sangamon Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, on September 3, 1967. BROWN spoke from approximately 4:30 P.M. to 5:00 P.M., and called for individuals present to arm themselves against the white people and stated that Negroes are not rioting in the United States, but rather are having a rebellion. BROWN called for more unity among the Negroes in order to fight the white man and stated if Negroes do not fight now they will always be in slavery. BROWN stated the riots in Detroit, Michigan, have shown that the Negroes are staying together and are not "snitching" on other Negroes. BROWN commented that if anything happens to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former head of SNCC, the Negro people will not let this pass like they did when MALCOLM X was killed. He stated further that Negroes should refuse to go to Viet Nam to fight, because they should not be killing other black people.

AT T-17 advised that during a speech given by BROWN at the Black Peoples Convention, which was held at the Hyde Park Methodist Church in Chicago, Illinois, on September 3, 1967, he told the people present that the black men living in white America must align themselves with the black man's problems all over the world. He said that the white man in the United States had constructed 13 concentration camps against this country for the purpose of putting all of "you niggers" in whenever they start acting up. He said "Whitey" does not need concentration camps for himself or STOKELY CARMICHAEL and he had built them for those present. He said "Whitey" intended to close the black people off from society the same way he did with the Indians. He continued saying that is what "Whitey" is doing in Rhodesia and South Africa. He said that "Whitey" tried the same thing in Cuba, but failed. He also stated in the near future the people present would be reading about a revolution in Guatemala. He indicated that white men are trying to do to the black men the same thing that HITLER did to the Jews; however, if "Whitey" wants to play HITLER, the black men will not be his JEW.

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BROWN stated now is the time for all black people to condition themselves for a black revolution. He said the beautiful thing about all the rebellions in Watts, Detroit and Newark, as well as other cities, but not Chicago, is that not one sniper has been identified or arrested. BROWN said the black man is finally beginning to get together with his black brother. He said the Negroes had better form an alliance with the Black Stone Rangers, the Disciples, Negro Youth gangs operating on Chicago's Southside, and teach these youths to stop killing each other and learn to fight not for neighborhoods, but for the entire black community.

On August 14, 1967, AT T-19 advised that H. RAP BROWN was scheduled to speak on August 29, 1967, at the Village Theatre, 2nd Avenue at 6th Street, New York City, at 8:00 P.M. on the topics, Viet Nam and Black America. The rally was being sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Viet Nam Peace Parade Committee, National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam and the Student Mobilization To End the War in Viet Nam.

On August 30, 1967, AT T-7 advised that about 3,000 persons filled the Village Theatre on August 29, 1967, for the above-mentioned rally. "The Worker" was sold outside the Theatre. DAVE DELLINGER was the rally Chairman.

On August 29, 1967, AT T-20 advised the final speaker of the evening was H. RAP BROWN. As he spoke a number of his aides strolled up and down the theatre watching the audience and their reaction as BROWN spoke. He said that there was a revolution taking place in America which very few white people understood. He said that Negroes were getting impossible to control, and cited the fact that of all the disturbances, the only

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successful one was the one in Plainfield, New Jersey, because there, Negroes had armed themselves, and when the word got out as to what was happening, the white cops were afraid to go into the area, and as a result made a deal. He said it was successful, because there was only one casualty, a white policeman.

He said the Negroes should get guns to protect themselves and unite and not inform on each other. His talk consisted of a series of short statements covering a wide variety of issues in the 'social revolution'. He said that the issue was to get the boys home from Viet Nam so that they could take part in the struggle for justice and equality here at home. He said that in view of the fact that 30% of the casualty in Viet Nam were Negroes, proved that the war was designed to rid the world of black people.

He urged the white people who wanted to help in the black liberation to help Negroes to get guns to prepare themselves and for them to declare themselves now on the side of the black liberation movement. He said that when the Negro soldiers returned from Viet Nam there would be trouble in every major city in the United States. He said that only black men should lead the black revolution, and that no white man or group should tell black people how to conduct the struggle for their liberation.

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On August 14, 1967, Lt. MARION B. PHILLIPS, Los Angeles Police Department, Intelligence Division, furnished a tape recording on a speech given by BROWN on August 13, 1967, at the "Freedom Day Rally" which was held at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California.

This speech is set out as follows:

"OK, thanks a lot, but before we begin though I've got somethin to tell you. A lot of people are wondering about the fires that are breaking out across the country. Well, that we can attribute to President Johnson, or, if you believe in the Bible you remember what he said, that God gave Noah the rainbow and this will be a sign that there will be no more water; you will remember he said that there will be a sign... (applause). Black folks are confused because the man told him that spooks are going to come down and burn the country up and you'all been lookin' up in the air and your brothers have burned it down from here. They were the spooks that they was talking about. (applause.)

"What I have to say today is...I want you to go into your pockets and bring out a five-dollar bill, 'cuz it takes money to run a movement. Before the brothers go into their pockets, we want the honkies to go into their pockets (applause). You honkies took the money from us and now we want to get a little back from you. (applause.) So, then you honkies start off giving right over here. Come on, right over here. We aren't asking for too much, we're just asking for \$5.00 a piece. (applause.) There's no way to get out without your head. (applause.) If you wanna you can come up here and sing, you can if you want to. OK folks, we want everybody. We need money for the movement. That's the way we make it...that way. You know our movement will not

"falter and will not die, because it is the movement of the people. The money will not be used for just us, but the things that I'm saying... (Negroes heckling in the background), OK, will everybody just sit down. (Continued heckling.) Don't be alarmed brothers, it's just a misguided colored man. Keep on givin' and don't stop. (pause), Do you have buckets in the back? Will you hold them up? The buckets is bein' passed, the buckets is bein' passed. All those with green bills, hold'em up out there. Just hold up those green bills in the air. That's all you have to do. Hold those green bills up. All we want to see is green bills. Just hold'em up. All right. We have some buck in the rear collecting money. We have some buckets all right. There are a whole lot of folks, about a thousand over in this parking lot. A lot of people, don't let'em go. How do you'all like this Freedom Day Rally? (applause) Everybody likes it so well... lift them up high. Just hold'em high, and show those bills. We aren't gonna let them out of here.

"Say it was called Detroit." It's now called 'Destroit'. We left a message there in Detroit. It also comes out to Los Angeles. It's wise, Watts; do not worry, because there's a picnic and a Rally Day. But, the people did not burn Watts down so that we could have a Watts Festival. You understand that Detroit was not burned down in order that we could have a festival. If you want a party you can go out to a party, but we've got to start in our community. Before we do that I want to talk about the past a little more. The WPP, the White Power Paper and the White Power Press, that's them over there. Their jobs have been, over the years, to make black people enemies of the black people. (Unable to transcribe)...now protected as enemy of the black people, so they may now be killed

"and the black people do not revolt, 'cuz they aren't friendly to the black people. (applause) Robert E. Lee is an enemy of the black people. He was givin' the maximum sentence and black people did not revolt because none of them thought of Lee as an enemy of the black people. Stokely Carmichael is fastly becoming an enemy of black people and you can interpret that to news media. Also, black people have more power than Huntley and Brinkley or the Pope. (applause) Don't let them ever tell you or kid you that the news media and so-called liberal press ever call for the answering of the dignity of the black people; but what they call for is the guillotining of the Negro area. Upon that they call for my head and if Carmichael was here, they would call for his head. I believe that he may yet even lose his. They call for the heads of all black people. This war against black people is no accident. It's no accident that 30 percent of the casualties in Vietnam are black. It's also not accident that 500 kids die if starvation in Alabama, and it's time we stop shooting rockets to the moon. It's no accident that colored people go before the courts and the maximum fines and penalties are received by the black people.

America has escalated its war against black people. The black people are still running around with their Civil Rights and their (unable to transcribe)...mentality. The Civil Rights movement is dead and thank goodness. (applause) Whenever you talk about the Civil Rights movement be sure to speak most seriously. Here's what the movement did: It conditioned black people for genocides; we understand that the whole concept of non-violence has become a virtue of black people (unable to transcribe). I say be non-violent to one another...because violence is a value in America;

"We were taught to be violent people. Violence is as American as the Fourth of July. If there is any value that black people should possess, if there is any value that we choose to keep in America...America taught us it should be the value to be violent. Because we are going to have to use this violence too, and this oppression in America makes that clear. Now the most successful rebellion that has been here in America today was in around Plainfield, New Jersey...One casualty, a white honkie pepperwood cop. (Unable to transcribe.) The only reason that Plainfield succeeded was because the brothers had guns. The man told you everyday in his paper that we can't move against those Niggers because they got 46 automatic weapons. One of the brothers' guns would shoot 9,000 times and (not clear)...for half an hour. (applause) Arms is the only thing that America recognizes. She doesn't recognize anything but arms. She has no conscience as far as black people are concerned. The only reason America will not move against China is because China has a bomb, and she has all of those armed forces. That's all that it takes. Black folks have to get together and arm themselves, and you cannot just talk about it. Political control can't be in the form of legality unless you're able to control your community. You cannot talk about the Democratic and the Republican Parties, no such animal exists. What's the Democratic Party...Lyndon B. Johnson. George Wallace. The only business between Lyndon Johnson and George Wallace is that one of 'em's wife's got cancer. You know about Reagan. I don't have to tell you about Reagan. As I was saying, the only reason, the only reason Lyndon Johnson beat Goldwater was because Goldwater was for fighting...Johnson out-Goldwatered Goldwater. He did everything that Goldwater was going to do and more. And, black

"people are talking about re-electing 'Lynchin' Johnson, the 'honkie outlaw protector.' Now understand you have to understand, it has been said that politics is war without bloodshed, or war is politics with bloodshed. Understand what the people of Detroit did. They took their war and their politics to the street. People were in open revolt. That was rebellion and not a riot. You have to be able to distinguish between what the honkie kids did in Lauderdale, Florida, which was rioting...what kids do from New York to Detroit to Florida is rebellion, and they are rebelling against conditions. Understand no one is responsible for the rebellion but conditions do. Congress has never addressed itself to the conditions. They talk about an anti-riot bill which has no meaning to me. I don't object to it to the least little bit because I'm going where I'm going. Now what it does do is it restricts me to everybody in the country. That's a move towards the concentration camps. They can tell you where to go and when to go, and then they know where you are. Black people are prepared for genocides. Not as much as a few years ago it was possible to join Kennedy and send a letter out with the President's seal on it for all Negroes to report to concentration camps (unable to transcribe)...in their own times. (applause) You have been conditioned to genocides and following that same logic as to throw you in the showers and be baptized as they turned on the gas. But, understand brothers, we are engaged in rebellion. This is a black revolution. People across the world are oppressed (not clear)...striking out their oppressions like America. These people are oppressed more than any country has ever been before. President Johnson comes out--he makes a statement--it makes me prouder to see our flag flying over a foreign country. I wonder if he is talking about the Texas flag or the American flag. That's where America is going. Those concentration camps are real.

"All across the country they are real, and they aint for the Indians, 'cuz the Indians is on the reservations. They not for the Chinese because we are scared of Mao, so they got to be for black people because (not clear)...fill up 13 or 29 concentration camps. I wonder when you black people are going to get serious about rebellion and stop talking about revolution. As long as you got the WPP here I know you aint serious about raising an army and engaging in war, because what you serious about now is wanting to see yourself on T.V. That's the trouble with the rebellions now. Too much lootin' and not enough shootin' (applause)...so, if you're going to loot, loot a gun store. That's the only thing you need to do. Loot a gun store because they've got guns and ammunition there. That's what you're gonna need; don't you go looting no T.V. stores and running home and seein' yourself. That's why more brothers get shot. People don't put down rebellions if they're really hip. As soon as they start they give everybody a T.V. and a case of beer so they can go home and watch it. You've got to understand, brothers, that men are beyond that point. The man who's thinkin' seriously (unable to transcribe). It is no accident that the brothers in New York, around fifteen, got busted. Look at the times it happened. It was carried out when there was an anti-riot bill being introduced into the House, and there was a gun bill in Congress. That was a deliberate move. The brothers were set up, and most people there had no guns. The brothers were set up just like the people at the Statue of Liberty case. CIA and FBI action: Understand this, the brothers of the Statue of Liberty case were convicted for 15 years publicly. They were released in one year. Now, that's significant. They never had a case, but what they were trying to do is scare black people.

"They made an attempt to scare black people. I was apprehended under the Fugitive Slave Law. (applause) You must know one thing, these people call you a slave, they gave you second-class citizenship. There is no such thing as second-class citizenship. You can't be a second-class citizen. Either you're a citizen or you're not. That's like sayin' to me you can't get pregnant. (a lot of laughter) Either you're free or a slave. Black people are not free. Black people have got into the habit of equating progress with concessions. You say we're making progress. They gave you an astronaut this year and I say it's getting a little black in space. (applause) You know what happened to progress, so what do they do...(unable to transcribe). They give you Thurgood Marshall and look what happens to him. He's subjected to a type of questioning...(not clear)...that the Government has subjected him to. J. O. Eastern, a honkie redneck (unable to transcribe) (applause) Thurgood Marshall, subject of all kinds of questions, as if to say you're a Nigger; in other words, Marshall, you are the top Nigger. But still, you're Nigger to us; and you say we're making progress. And now the truth comes out. The Chief Justice said that black people are worse off now than they were 30 years ago, and we talk about them making progress and we're getting there. We're going to war to fight the yellow man for the white man. Brother, if you're gonna fight the war ...because, if you can die, die for your motherland, you can die defending your mothers. (a lot of applause) If everyone came here...(too much applause, unable to transcribe) The only reason America is in Vietnam is not because of natural resources, but it is because of the strategic area in relation to China. If we were really interested in stopping Communism we would be in Poland, which is a white Communist country; and Czechoslovakia, a white Communist country; and Russia which is a white

Communist country; but, no, we go to the black Communist countries and drop bombs. We see how America is racist through and through. The only reason that America dropped the bomb in Hiroshima and not in Germany is because Japanese people were yellow. (applause) They dropped it on yellow people but the good thing about America is that the black people tend to run around and talk about the black middle class, there's no such animal. The land sees you as black. I don't care how much money you got, and there's no movement against black people that will not move against black people with Cadillacs or black people with Fords. They'll move against Niggers as a whole (a lot of applause)... (not clear). They're talking about a glass structure in the black community. America does not view the black community as a glass structure or organization of unity of people.

(switched to new tape)

"America kills the black man because he's black. I believe the first Negro will be in a concentration camp while the people talk about praying. White man doesn't care about prayer, but right out there are the cops, right out there and they are the ones who need the prayers, (applause) and the white man is so strict he might even put him on a plane with first class accommodations (unable to transcribe) (applause). The whole question is what role must we play in the rebellion because that's what they are. (unable to understand) The question is what happened to bein' deferred. He never answered the question: Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun; or do you dress it like a sore; or does it explode? Detroit answered that question, Newark answered that question, and the ghettos of America are beginning to explode. America owes the black people 450 years worth of dues. (applause) You can't afford to give a little

"luxury and we've got people talking about that down there in Congress. We've got no black people in Congress. You hit those folks with the white knight.(applause) It started with the Ajax knight and he started it too. And JOHNSON could be out of his mind with the war in Vietnam (unable to transcribe). He needs some more black people to come over to Vietnam to fight. What kind of idiot is this? (unable to understand) You don't have to tell a man when he is sold. He can't get a worse master than a white cop. White people are moving against black people and have identified their enemies as the Yanks who move against their enemies. Understand that the people who were so allusive for years were the black people. This has been forced upon black people because of a lack of racism. It's important to note that in Newark and Detroit that the black resisted. Yes. But that no sniper was turned in and where did they snipe from...from other black apartments. That means that black people have condoned and legitimized it. I don't have to predict it to happen. I don't have to be there for it to happen. Black people have legitimized it as a tactic as was non-violence, which was legitimized as a tactic.

"Black people are showing that America is overdue and recognizes what America respects and that's force. We don't want America to love us. We want them to respect us. (applause) We are refugees. There are refugees everywhere. Everyone talks about the respect that we need. They also say you can't get that respect unless you take care of babies. Black folks don't even understand, you don't even understand the black music that is being played. Like playing music with the blues (unable to transcribe).

"Black people are going to have to recognize

"that it's important to be black and essential to be black. In the question...(unable to transcribe next few sentences).

"We are not talking about equality because white folks will never be equal for another 40 years. (applause) We are going to be free by any means necessary. We're gonna be known and we're putting America on notice. Jack, we built you up, and we will burn you down. (applause) Don't tell me about lootin' brother, you looted this country from the Indians. (not clear)...but I tell you what brothers; we are going to take hardware. We gonna let you keep your T.V.'s because that's counter-revolution. That T.V. set is the worse thing black people got, because of what happened and because that's Foster's white supremacy. When you turn on your T.V. set you've got a show that tells you that black is bad. Black folks don't buy Cadillacs. We don't drink RC Cola. We don't do nothin'. It's just like the history book. The history book has told the black people for years that anything black is bad. Black cows don't give good milk. Black hens don't lay eggs. You talk about blackmail; that's bad. Fools are black. Ladies are white. Angel cake is white. Angels are white. Humus is black. We haven't won one yet. (applause and laughter) A brother went out to buy, he went out to buy some flesh colored bandaids, glued it on his arm and thought something must be wrong with his skin. (laughter) They don't make none for us black folk. Black folks don't get cut, we don't bleed. America does not speak for black people and as recourse we don't control, we don't control ourselves.

"If Los Angeles gives Watts control and if they had had that control, they wouldn't have had horse manuer in the middle of the streets where we had to march today. Black people had to march through

"horse manuer. You would have clean streets if you did control your community. Mayor Yorty controls Watts. (applause) Understand brothers, you will never control unless you move to seize control. Freedom is not a well-grasped commodity. It cannot be distributed to you. They can't give us a card that says 'free'. That's what happened to the slaves. That's why we're still slaves. You got to take your freedom. You got to exercise your right to be free. (applause) You were born free. That was the trouble with the Civil Rights movement. They told white folks that we wanted them to do something for me. They can't do nothin' for me. What they better do is civilize some of them honkies. They better go back and civilize their communities. I'll tell you what this is, what another white man thinks of. George Bernard Shaw said if America and its white people, that America is the only country he knows that changed barbarianism to democratism without going through civilization. (applause) If he thought that of the honkies, you know what I think of 'em. I think Lyndon Johnson is the biggest outlaw the world has ever known and I think his mama was a Communist. And if you don't know it, Nixon is a sadist. And he has nerve enough to talk about morality. What is America coming to when society is so sick it cannot survive. I want violence because I'm gonna use it to free myself. They can't give me anything else when society will pass a law to prevent people from burning a flag and not pass a law against people from burning people in Vietnam. It has to be sick.

"In a society that talks about but can't pass an anti-rat bill; but, then again, we don't need a anti-rat bill. This is the thing that exterminated the buffalo and the Indiana. For what. We don't have to worry about them passing the anti-rat bill. Why worry, 'cuz how is a man going to exterminate the

"buffalo when he can't deal with a rat. (laughter)

"America does not address itself to black people and it never will until you begin to control your communities and control your lives. I'm for George Wallace for President this year because there ain't no doubt about where he's at. A lot of folks went around here talking about bad white folks. There ain't no such thing. They didn't say some Nigger stunk, they didn't say some Niggers were lazy. How in the world can you take time to distinguish between an enemy in time of war. America declared war. We are responding. We must move from a position where we respond to a position where we can act and endorse our war. I am not confined morally or legally to the laws of America because I did not create those laws...the very laws that keep the white man up and keep the black man down.

"So, in closing brothers, I would like to say ours might be to do or die, but for the little brothers it is to reason why. Black Power brothers."

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On September 19, 1967, AT T-29 advised that on September 13, 1967, a staff meeting of the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights, was held at 12:00 Noon to 2:30 P.M., at 326 West 3rd Street, Room 318, Los Angeles, California. ROSE CHERNIN spoke. She said she had just returned from the Conference on New Politics, which was held at Chicago, Illinois, from August 31, to September 4, 1967. She said she was present at a special meeting when BROWN spoke and there were only four white people among the many Negroes at the meeting. She said that BROWN reported that black power people are going right now through intensive military training through the United States and specializing in guerrilla warfare and using all necessary weapons which they have at their disposal. CHERNIN said that BROWN said that when they are ready they will burn America from end to end, and this will be done by the black power people alone. The Black people do not want any help or advice from white people and when black power is through with America, America will be in ashes. CHERNIN said that when BROWN was asked what will happen to the white people, BROWN said they were not concerned about the white people, our goal is black power and that is the way it is going to be.

A characterization of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights appears in the Appendix of this report.

On October 25, 1967, AT T-30 advised that a meeting of the Jewish Commission of the CP of Illinois was held on October 24, 1967, at 7730 North Palmyra, Chicago, Illinois. According to the informant, leaders of the CP, USA, had in the recent past been in contact with H. RAP BROWN and that BROWN had said that as far as he was concerned the Capitalist system offers absolutely nothing and he wanted socialism to come to the United States. According to the informant, a high-level member of the CP

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said that these people, meaning BROWN, are not Marxists, therefore, they will not be able to culminate their views and will not be able to lead the Negroes without the help of the CP, USA. The source added that the identities of the CP, USA leaders who had been in contact with BROWN, are not known, but did state that the comment that these people are not Marxists means that they are not organizationally affiliated with the CP, USA.

VI. SPONSORSHIP OF AND ASSOCIATION OF SUBJECT
WITH VARIOUS GROUPS OR ORGANIZATIONS

On August 3, 1967, AT T-4 advised that BROWN had been with Minister FARRAKHAN of the Nation of Islam (NOI), Mosque #7, New York City, on August 2, 1967, and that BROWN was scheduled to have dinner at FARRAKHAN's home in Queens, New York, during the evening of August 3, 1967. Source also reported that BROWN had talked with CHARLES 37X MORRIS of the Mau Mau's on August 2, 1967.

A characterization of the NOI appears in the Appendix of this report.

AT T-22 advised on September 28, 1967, that BENEDICT HOLDEN, of West Hartford, Connecticut, President of the University of Hartford Chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), had invited H. RAP BROWN to speak at the University of Hartford on October 16, 1967. The source said that HOLDEN had stated he had received verbal commitments for BROWN's appearance and that BROWN would appear at 8:00 P.M., September 28, 1967, in the school gym without the \$1,000 fee he had demanded for an appearance at Yale University on October 15, 1967, which appearance was cancelled when the fee was requested. HOLDEN stated that the appearance without a fee will be made because of the close ties between SNCC and SDS.

A characterization of the SDS and the University of Hartford Chapter of SDS appear in the Appendix of this report.

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On August 8, 1967, AT T-23 advised that at a meeting of the Secretariat of the CP, USA, held at the CP National Headquarters, 23 W. 26th Street, New York City, on August 3, 1967, GIL GREEN, GEORGE MEYER and CARL BLOICE called for the CP to rally behind H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, whom these individuals said would soon be victims of "frame-ups."

On September 27, 1967, AT T-24 advised that a meeting of Muhammad's Mosque #15 was held in Atlanta on September 24, 1967, and that Minister JOHNNIE talked about how the philosophy of Islam cleans black people up and then he introduced RAP BROWN. BROWN talked about the war in Viet Nam and the New Jersey riots. BROWN described the "hunkie" (white man) as a coward. He made reference to the National Guard Unit having gone into Newark, but that they had left when they found that the Negroes had guns and were using them. He said that the National Guard went into the Negro community to search for the guns but the Negro had stashed them away. BROWN said the Negroes are no longer afraid of white man and the Negroes will burn this country down as it was built on the Negro. BROWN said the Negro is going to have a good life here or the United States will be burned down. He ended his speech with the phrase "Black Power."

On October 28, 1967, AT T-12 advised that on the night of October 27, 1967, a nineteenth anniversary celebration of the "National Guardian" was held in the Imperial Ballroom of the Americana Hotel, Seventh Avenue and 52nd Street, New York City. The program title was "The Third World."

A characterization of the "National Guardian" is contained in the Appendix of this report.

According to the source, JANE MC MANUS, Acting Chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the "National Guardian," introduced H. RAP BROWN as one of the speakers at this affair.

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This source advised that BROWN spoke about the survival, fight for freedom and rebellion of the black people. He also spoke about the need for revolutionaries and not liberals. He made reference to President JOHNSON as being a HITLER. He said the fight is also against Standard Oil and Chase Manhattan Bank who are also enemies of the black people. BROWN said that the black people need revolutionary journalism and that the "Guardian", who promotes this type of journalism, has taught the people to be violent. BROWN mentioned the "New York Times" newspaper and said that it is controlled by the Government, and is used as a weapon against the people. BROWN claimed the Plainfield, New Jersey riot during the summer of 1967, was a success because the people had arms. According to BROWN, America must come around and change or it will be burned down. BROWN then advised the religious people present who did not believe in fighting or violence to lend their support by contributing their dollars to persons who would buy the guns.

BROWN said that violence is as American as cherry pie.

According to this source, the speech was of fifteen minutes duration.

When BROWN was introduced he said:
"Bad breath and body odor is not the problem in America today. It is the problem of survival. Black people are rebelling because of conditions they have been under for many years. Watts, Detroit are examples where black people are not talking about freedom. They are going to be free and by any means necessary. White people are talking about joining but we don't need liberals. We can't afford to talk about politics. How can you choose between only a black movement. It is a movement of dispossessed in America. The black people are the Vanguards because we are the most dispossessed. We are in favor of wars of liberation. JOHNSON is a Hitler and his half brother is HOOVER. People said it couldn't happen in Detroit but it did. The power structure

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serves the ruling class like WESTMORELAND in Viet Nam. Liberation of people is now dependent on black people liberation. We wonder what happened to LEE HARVEY OSWALD when we need him, Our fight is as much against Standard Oil and Chase Manhattan. They are as much our enemy as LYNDON JOHNSON. My advice to the left is, 'don't get left'. The revolution is going on with or without you. We need revolutionary journalism. We need the Guardian. You taught us to be violent. We talk about need for alliances. Coalitions won't do. The New York Times is a weapon against people. It is controlled by the Government. They say I teach hate. You can't teach hate. The black movement is about freedom and we are going to be free by any means necessary. The only difference between JOYNSON and WALLACE is one's wife has cancer. They both are preaching the same talk. GEORGE WASHINGTON is not a hero of mine. He had 12 children and not by his wife MARTHA. LINCOLN didn't free the slaves. There's still slavery. The creation of the Third World came as a denial of the dispossessed, as a result of the other two worlds. JOHNSON serves the ruling class. Why do black people need guns? America only respects counterforce. Plainfield, New Jersey, was successful because they had arms. If you choose to oppose me, you are my enemy. JOHNSON says if Viet Nam doesn't come around it should be burned down. I say the same thing about America. As our oppressor you will be destroyed. The hippies are a lesson of a rejecting of America. Black people are saying the same thing but not by drugs. We must choose who we are going to ally with. The black movement has taken the leadership. Sonny and Cher were with us but now they are our oppressors.

On November 6, 1967, AT T-31 advised that BROWN would be one of the guest speakers at a meeting sponsored by the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), on November 10, 1967, at 8:00 P.M. at Casa de las Americas, 870 Broadway, New York City.

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On November 10, 1967, AT T-32 advised that on that date, BROWN spoke at an affair sponsored by the MPIPR from 8:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., at the Casa de las Americas, 870 Broadway, New York City, before an audience of 250 to 300 persons.

A characterization of the MPIPR is included in the Appendix of this report.

According to the source, BROWN told the audience which was primarily Puerto Ricans, that the Negro and Puerto Rican communities must unite in the revolution. He further said that Black Harlem should cross over to East Harlem when this area is burning and help to keep the fire burning.

BROWN told the audience that Puerto Ricans and Negroes should arm themselves for the constant surveillance on him.

BROWN called for unification against the aggressors and referred to the capitalists, JOHNSON and HUMPHREY, as being aggressors.

BROWN brought up the name of ERNESTO (CHE) GUEVARA, the former Cuban Guerrilla Fighter and advised the people should follow GUEVARA's teachings on guerrilla fighting.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS ASSOCIATION OF AND CONFERENCES
ATTENDED BY SUBJECT, INCLUDING SPEECH
MADE BY HIM

On July 26, 1967, AT T-1 advised that the Black Power Conference which was held in Newark, New Jersey from July 20 - 24, 1967, was attended by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC. Source advised that one DONALD WASHINGTON became somewhat boisterous and obnoxious on one occasion and challenged BROWN to a fight, but BROWN merely ignored him.

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On August 7, 1967, AT T-2 advised that a rally was held at the Linden Plaza Theater, 190-01 Linden Boulevard, Queens, New York, from 3:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. During the rally, BROWN spoke and referred to Senator EDWARD BROOKE of Massachusetts as "the White Knight", who is in for some trouble in the future, but he did not elaborate on this statement. BROWN said Negroes should arm themselves against the white conspiracy of genocide and when the riots start the Negroes should go to jail and free all of the Negro prisoners. The source stated that LEROI JONES, Negro playwright, advised the rally that during riots Negroes should not bother with stealing liquor or televisions, but should get things to protect themselves with in the future.

AT T-3 advised on August 15, 1962, that as of August, 1962, LEROY JONES was President of the Fair Play For Cuba Committee.

A characterization of the Fair Play For Cuba Committee is included in the Appendix of this report.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Journal" on August 14, 1967, reflecting that BROWN drew a cheer from approximately 2,000 Negroes on August 13, 1967, who were gathered in a vacant lot in the Watts area of Los Angeles when he warned the crowd, "You better shape up America or we'll burn you down."

The article reflects that the crowd dispersed in an orderly fashion after BROWN's 15 minute speech which had been made across the street from the headquarters of the Negro Nationalist Organization, US.

On August 18, 1967, AT T-5 attended a press conference held by BROWN at the Church Center for the United Nations, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York. The source furnished a copy

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of BROWN's speech, which had been released immediately prior to the press conference. This speech is as follows:

We would like to announce that our representative, Mr. Stokely Carmichael, will arrive today in Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Mr. Carmichael is in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to investigate and see for himself the savage aggression being carried out against that country by the United States. Previous investigators of our's who have visited the country have reported that the United States is experimenting with weapons there that would be effective in destroying black people in the ghetto, without damaging the property. Mr. Carmichael will see for himself the atrocities being perpetrated against the people of Vietnam, a people who are heroically defending their right to self-determination.

By this visit to Southeast Asia, Mr. Carmichael joins the list of other black leaders, such as Mrs. Floyd McKissick and Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., who have visited this area, America's testing ground for how it will try to crush wars of national liberation around the world, including the one developing in this country. For, in Mr. Carmichael's own words, "We see that what happens in Vietnam affects our own struggle, and what we do affects the struggle of the Vietnamese people". At the present time our people are a colonized people within the United States. There are over 30 million of us in this country, 30 million black people who live in sharply defined areas in the rural black belt areas and shanty towns of the South, and in the ghettos of the northern and western industrial cities. In neither place do we control the resources of our communities. We do not control the land, the houses or the stores. These are all owned by whites who live outside our communities. These are very real colonies which exist as a result of the exploitation and racism which this country fosters at home and abroad.

Mr. Carmichael's recent visits to England and Cuba have stirred an undue amount of comment. Such negative comment from press and public officials alike

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raises a fundamental question: Who in this country has the right to travel? Mr. Carmichael has been publicly denounced for his recent visit to Cuba. Does this criticism stem in reality from an assumption by whites that black people must travel only to places approved by whites, that black people must limit their conclusions to those based on information furnished by whites? If such incorrect and racist assumptions are in fact held by whites, they have serious problems which they themselves will have to solve. As long as imperialism is raping, plundering and murdering in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is our responsibility to meet with anyone who is fighting against this. Imperialism is international. The United States thinks that it has the right to interfere in the affairs of any country in the world. We therefore reserve the right to meet with the leaders of those countries who are fighting against this intrusion and who, like us, are struggling to liberate their people.

The United States has its days of celebrations such as the Fourth of July — the white man's Independence Day — and expects us to celebrate these national holidays, salute the white man's flag, and sing the white man's national anthem. This is as ridiculous as thinking that we will achieve our own independence under an economic and political system whose existence depends upon oppression, exploitation and the resultant degradation, poverty, and racism we have been subjected to. Our own struggle for independence did not begin on July 4, 1776. We were slaves before July 4th, on July 4th and after July 4th. That great document of democracy, the United States Constitution, defined us as three-fifths of a person. We remained slaves until August 18, 1965. That day marks the day the blacks of Watts picked up guns to fight for their freedom. Since that time armed struggle has taken place in practically every major city in the United States and we can add Newark, Detroit and Plainfield to the list of great events in the history of black people in North America.

For 400 years we had begged, pleaded, cried, marched and died for just a little taste of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". The Watts Insurrection signalled the end of begging, crying, marching and dying. If we had to die, we realized that we should die in the act of killing and taking that which was our's. On August 18, 1965, blacks stopped moaning "we shall overcome" and started swinging to "Burn, Baby, Burn". That was our Declaration of Independence, and we signed it with molotov cocktails and rifles.

We are calling on all black people to celebrate this day, August 18th, and pay homage to the heroes and heroines of Watts, who signalled the beginning of this new day.

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On August 25, 1967, AT T-13 advised that on this date, Tanzanian representative to the United Nations W. MALECELA escorted BROWN into the United Nations after BROWN had been refused admittance by the United Nations guard.

Afterwards, BROWN and MALECELA drove to 100 Fifth Avenue, where the New York SNCC headquarters are located.

The New York City newspaper, "New York Post" final edition dated August 26, 1967, page four, displays a photograph of BROWN and MALECELA together. Beneath this photograph a paragraph mentioned that JOHN W. S. MALECELA is the Tanzania Ambassador to the United Nations and is Chairman of the Special Committee on Colonialism and that MALECELA and BROWN conferred for nearly an hour. The article also mentioned that BROWN has mentioned in the past that he plans to bring the problem of the United States Negroes before the United Nations.

On July 28, 1967, AT T-14 advised that a rally sponsored by the SNCC was held at St. Stephens Incarnation Church, 16th and Newton Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., on the evening of July 27, 1967. Approximately 700 persons were in attendance with about 150 being white. BROWN encouraged all Negroes at this rally to get themselves a gun, for this is the beginning of a war. He said that the war in Viet Nam was a white man's war. He said the Negroes should organize themselves at all levels and carry on guerrilla warfare in all the cities in such a big way so as to make the Viet Cong look like Sunday school teachers. BROWN was very critical of MARTIN LUTHER KING and said he did not know where KING had learned that the Negro was non-violent. He said that the Negroes beat and cut each other up and it is time they stopped doing this to each other and started doing it to the white man.

The following is a transcript of a speech made by captioned individual at Jacksonville, Florida, on August 9, 1967. This speech was taped on August 9, 1967, by W. Murr, WFGA Television, Jacksonville, Florida, and a copy was made on August 10, 1967, by J. H. Cripe, WFGA Television, who in turn made this copy available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

It is noted that this transcript is incomplete, as certain portions of the speech were inaudible due to noise from the audience and bad microphones pickup.

The speech is as follows:

"What has happened is that the man has got us doing exactly what he want us to do...fighting among each other...

He got a thing thats called divide and conquer. You know, way back when the Israelites were slaves and Pharoah they were getting too strong, he sent a crowd of people down there to divide 'em and then he would conquer them again. You see, black people serve the same role. They divide and, therefore, your man can conquer you. These people who are here are not all in favor of debate, but I don't want to put on a show for the hunkies and that's what they are here for. A lot of people

run down, they run down on me, that I start riots. I didn't create the condition that black people live in, conditions cause riots, not individuals. If they want to blame somebody for starting riots, it should be Lyndon Johnson, that outlaw from Texas who is sitting in Washington, D.C. He causes riots. Now, I want to talk about the brothers and why people don't understand their role. I understand that here in Duval County twenty black boys have died in Viet Nam, seventeen from the same high school that most of you attended. Now, you have got to understand that America is not doing this accidentally, they are practicing genocide against black people. In case you don't know what genocide is, that is what the Germans did to the Jews when they killed off six million people. Look what happened with the civil rights movement. The whole civil rights movement was a plot built for genocide. They told you to be nonviolent and black folks are nonviolent towards white people, but they ain't never been nonviolent towards each other. Everybody said they might, everybody said they might satisfy themselves..... We ain't never been nonviolent. We have been nonviolent toward white people and with that in mind the man tells you to be nonviolent toward white people and he comes into your community

and shoots your brother and you feel nonviolent toward him. He gets cops. He gets black cops. He gets cops with black skins and white minds with mantels (phonetic) on their heads and nothing on their mind. And these cops they don't get trigger happy til they get around a black brother. That's genocide, brother, that's killing you off for the man. Any time the man can tell you just because I'm going to be here he is going to give you jobs from now on, something's wrong. Howcome he don't give you jobs before? (That's a type of brainwash. Not Brown) The black folks wanta know, I'm gone tell you how important it is for black folks to get themselves together and quit fighting and organize. The man has renovated. He done built thirteen concentration camps across the country and me and Carmichael can't fill no thirteen concentration camps. They have got to be for somebody else and the Indians are on reservations, so it ain't for them, so you better wake up, brother. These concentration camps are gonna be put into use and black people are gone still be fighting among themselves. See, black people were so conditioned a few years ago in the civil rights movement that if President Kennedy had sent out a letter with the President's seal on it saying report to concentration camps at 9 o'clock, niggers would have been there

on time. Your man is telling you, don't go against the law. Black people in Detroit were not rioting. They were rebelling. They were rebelling because of conditions. You see, they use to tell me that white folks used to come down to Florida to tan and burn up. Now they go to Detroit to burn up. I wasn't in Detroit when it started. I did not start that rebellion. Conditions, the rats that bite your babies every night, the white cops that beats your mother and your sister - he starte rebellion. Johnson perpetuates rebellions because he don't do nothing about it and he got the power, brothers. We are in the position where Johnson's got the power and all we can do is cry. We are tired of crying, brother. We are sick and tired of being sick and tired. Let me tell you this. A lot of brothers running around here talk about we gonna pray til it gets better. Prayers are good at prayer meetings, broth, but it ain't worth a dam_ in a bare meeting.

"You better get yourself some guns, brother. You better get some guns. I don't care if its a BB gun gun or... in and... The only successful rebellion that has been held to date was in Plainsfield, New Jersey. The only reason that rebellion was successful was that they had fortysix automatic

weapons and the white folks said no, we ain't going in there with no niggers that's got guns.

"We want black power. (Boos and chanting) (Chanting- we want black power)

"Let's don't play that stuff. He is a brother. He has got something to say. Let's listen to him, will you. (Boos drowning Brown out.)

(Chanting - he's a white man, a white brother, boo...)

(Chanting - we want black power)

(Boos) Are you gonna let that man take over your meeting? (Apparently Kirk arrives; Kirk inaudible.)

"That's the same thing that Lyndon Johnson did with the civil rights movement. He told all the black people to vote for the people he called and then he threw it up in their faces. I have overcome, brother. I know where I am at and we know what you hunkies respect. You respect force. The only reason the City Council began to talk about jobs was they were scared that you would take this town apart. Brother, you got black power and you are scared to use it. You have got black power. You are running around here scared of black power. What

are you gonna do then brothers, use it. Just like I say. You are being acclimated. You are being acclimated just because Detroit shows the way black folks work. Detroit heads the movement. People are running around talking about Negro leaders. There are no Negro leaders. People are leading the movement. I don't lead the movement. I can't expect it. I talk about the movement. Detroit exemplifies who leads the movement. Nobody can go in Detroit and tell folks to start riots. Nobody. Nobody can go in Newark and tell them to start riots. Brother, the people are doing this on their own. They are sick and tired of being sick and tired. Understand this brother, there is a difference between telling people what's going on and telling people what to do.

"(inaudible) I don't tell people to do anything because they know what to do. They know what to do. Understand this... I don't know what's going on...up there...(screaming).... (Brown drowned out by the crowd.)

"(something about jobs)... and they don't want black people and they don't want to stop him...that's why they don't want black people to be free. And we are talking about freedom. We are talking about freedom and if only you understand you can

can be free or you can be a slave. There are...to be free, but we got to prepare to fight this matter for all black people of America and not for ourselves. The fight is not that; you must recognize who your enemy is. The Viet Cong is not your enemy. The Viet Cong never called you a nigger. He never sold nigger (inaudible). The Viet Cong never killed your brother. You got to understand who your enemy is. Lyndon Johnson tells you to go over there and fight the Viet Cong. If Lyndon Johnson can stay in the United States and keep the Viet Cong off of their heads, I can stand here and keep the hunkies off my women.

"If you die defending your motherland, you can die defending your brother. Which is most important? Which is most important? American ain't never stand up for black people, but enslave 'em. Your mother brought you here, so you got to decide who your enemy is. Because, believe me, brother, it's the white man who has been stealing from the black man for years, which is the white power structure. Like the Governor of Florida that was just here tonight...When me and Carmichael come to town. He knew we needed jobs. Why didn't

he adjust himself to it before? He is as scared of black power as you were scared of it. You have got to stop being scared of yourself, brother. You have got to have self-respect. White folks got black minds so tied up that he can't do anything. Black power can put more black men...(inaudible) (chanting).

(Inaudible here) A lady: What was your purpose in coming here tonight?

Governor Kirk: To hear his speech. So far he hasn't said anything but wanted everybody to be quiet so he could hear and then I'll try and maybe he'll hear. If he is here in good faith, fine. And if he is here for any other purpose, we know how to enforce the law.

"Someone Brown, Yes I'm doing alright, too.

"Brothers, you've got to start thinking, that's the important thing; these whites control the world.

Lyndon Johnson is in Viet Nam for the natural resources. He's not over there to stop Communist aggression. If he was so hard on Communism, why didn't he stop Communism in the white communist countries, Poland, Czech...(interrupted by cheering)...you ain't got no business in Viet Nam, your war is here; this is your war; this is your war...first you got to start organizing (phonetic) in your community, and the only

way to deter them (phonetic) is to get you a gun. Plainfield had fortysix automatic weapons and they turned around the National Guard, the State Police and the City Police, because none of 'em wanted to get shot and there wasn't but one casualty brother, a white hunkie pecker wood cousin (phonetic)..... (cheering, unable to understand)...was that they were running, they didn't wanta get shot, puppet (phonetic)...puppets (phonetic) had guns which you could defend your community; to community. It's important that you get guns - whether you use them or not. The brothers in the Klan (phonetic) don't have no honor, they make weapons that would shoot a thousand times and...(unable to understand)...(for a half hour)...that's the whole thing. You've got to get you'self ready. You can get yo'self some type of gun from the man in the street and some shells and carry it. You can't get yourself no respect unless you take care of... (inaudible)...you gotta' take care of that...(inaudible, briefly.)

"That's what you got to start doing, get 28 - 29 guys talk about fighting....(inaudible)... Black people. The man is your enemy; the man has always been your enemy; the man who enslaved you is the man who enslaves you now. Your Governor has droven (phonetic) out here tonight to take over

your meeting. You ran him out...(inaudible)...you ran him out. Now I'll tell you this like brothers. There in Detroit... (inaudible)...burned down to the ground. They controlled the community for two days and then, then damn bosses, they slap people half poor...(inaudible)... You were born free. You got to exercise your right to be free. Freedom is not a welfare commodity. You can't go down there and pick it up brother. You were born free. You got to exercise your right to be free. If you believe that God is just a hunkie daddy that hears (phonetic) people, the Declaration of Independence tells you when the time to fight comes, after long years of enslavement and imprisonment (phonetic), it becomes the duty of the people oppressed to fight for whatever oppresses him and its the power structure that oppresses black people and that's how it got to be with white folks, to forget. They got Thurgood Marshall, but Eustland (phonetic) told Thurgood Marshall what to do...(inaudible)... he(Marshall), to ask him what to say, never asked another person before. They got the Negro astronaut and the only reason I indicate (phonetic) that astronaut is about moving into space, moving into space...(laughs)... Look what happened to this last space project, just two of them that

got killed trying to get somebody to...(inaudible)...and who they got, Leroy - double O so (phonetic)...(laughs)...

"We running around here talking about we making progress. The man shore ain't. No more -- he opposes us and he's going to keep slow (phonetic) in every race you get further behind. You can't run too fast. You can't run too fast 'cause you behind at the beginning. Black folks can't keep in tune. They're marking time. The man has built thirteen concentration camps. The reason that the Jews were taken in concentration camp is because they were nonviolent. They went into those camps nonviolent and they died nonviolently. If America is going to be against us black folks, they going to break you !!! When we start to walk in those concentration camps...(inaudible)...and they turn that gas on. They're going to be that cruel (phonetic). Black people are going to have to wake up and understand brother. You have to understand that it's you the whites against. Yourself, and your son. If a rebellion comes, brother, you better be ready. Now, I'm not making rebellion because you must decide when it's time to rebel and I ain't make it for you before I go back, but when you decide, make it a successful rebellion. You gotta' beat 'em !!!

"...pause...(speech distorted by heckling and noise from crowd..sounds like he says)...we're your brothers. We come down here to help you, not to get laughed at.

"I'm going to tell you something Jesus (phonetic) said, he said, turn daughter against mother, father against son until there is justice on the land, there will be no peace. Until there is justice, there will be no peace. America talks about law and order, but it never talks about justice, brother. I tell you black people, our plan (phonetic) is do or die. When it's one of your brothers, there must be the reason why. That's why we must begin to get ready. Fight the man whenever it comes. Just for example, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. Therefore,...(inaudible)...your people.

"The color of your brother shot down that skinny old nigger Noah (phonetic) who was killed, skinny old boy. There was another old boy, nineteen years old, shot thirtynine times, four times in the head, by an M-1 rifle. Understand, it only takes one bullet to killed a man, but this war, a practive of homosexuality (phonetic) who engaged in it. They are shooting,

they shot him. Old brother, he got to be humanized, right. So he it thirtynine times in the skull with an M-1 rifle. This was a hunkie and you gave them the right to kill, brother, you did it. You gave them that right to kill. You gave them the right to kill, brother, and you'd better starting examining some of the legal twentynine (phonetic) cause he killed your brother. 'Cause everybody ain't your brother, everybody ain't your brother, they out to get you, understand that !! A lot of people who don't understand want to separate you from the ... (inaudible)...

"We'll go on with you or without you because Detroit is healed (phonetic), Newark was healed (phonetic), Plainfield was heald, Tampa was healed.

"The only thing, thing about Tampa though, brother, in New York, they went over there and they whipped them white yorkers (phonetic) off their street...(few words inaudible)... that's what black people need, they don't need white help to pick up arms (phonetic), they need guns. White people won't give 'em no guns. That's what black people need, not white help. (Sounds like he says white people are)... making

war. Black...people...(inaudible)... to the people and one day,
you gona' wake up and you gona' right in a concentration camp.
You gone be right in a concentration camp...(few words inaudible)...
not your head, it's gone mine. It's what's in your head.
You know the truth. You recognize the truth when it's said...
(inaudible)... lying, then you can forget about what I'm saying,
but you gone be black tomorrow. You see, when I'm gone, you
still gone be black and that man is still going to hate you
'cause he don't like nothing black. Cadillacs and shoes--
that's the only thing he likes black. Himself, a black Cadillac
and black shoes and don't forget it, brother. Hitler...Hitler
was an example of a white man. He said if he could get his
hands on all them niggers -he'd make shoe leather out of 'em.
Johnson say exactly the same thing, if he could get his hands
on all them niggers, he'd put 'em in Viet Nam. Put 'em all
together and make one big...(inaudible)... and ship it...
(inaudible)... and if you want it to happen, brother, you keep
on running round here fooling yourself like the white man
ain't your enemy. Keep on running around here litting the
Governor come in and take over your meetings...(inaudible)...

and keep on votin' for that hunkie, hear? I'm gone tell you brothers, black folks down in Florida better be worried; 'cause you're too close to de ocean. All y'all may end up (phonetic) in it one day. (Inaudible)...be a black people and you still stand together. All the black people in Florida, there'll be a posted (phonetic) bulletin says all the black people in Florida are missing and naturally, all the black folks gone think y'all went back to Africa, but I'm gone know better. I'm gone know where y'all at. Y'all gone be somewhere out there in the ocean between Cuba and the United States swimming. Don't let the man get your mind. That's what he's working for because if he gets your mind, he can control your body. He can send you to Viet Nam if he can get your mind. If he can get you...Hell no, we ain't going! (Cheers). Hell no, we ain't going, Jack. If Lyndon Johnson wants to fight the Viet Cong, let him take old ugly Lady Bird over there...(Cheers). That's the ugliest family in America, all of them could be anything but...of their mothers. All of 'em. These people, these are the mad people of the world and you run around talking about my President, my President and every time Johnson gets on TV, he gets up there, he says (mocking), every night before I go to bed, I ask myself what have I done to preserve

freedom, and old bald headed Humphrey don't go to bed...(cheers)...
Johnson ain't never did nothing to preserve freedom (phonetic).
Johnson said there's nothing in the world that makes him prouder
than seeing the flag of his country flying in a foreign land.
That mean this cat is out to dominate the world that means he's
out to take the world. If that makes him proud seeing his flag
flying over in Viet Nam, if he's willing to sacrifice the lives
of all the black people to get it, then smething got to be wrong.
Don't run around here talking about the Democratic Party gone save
you, brother, 'cause the Democratic Party is the evil. There is
no difference between the Democratic Party and Republican Party.
There is no difference between...(inaudible).
There is one difference between George Wallace and Lyndon Johnson.
One of 'em's wife had cancer and that's all...that's all the difference.
every time Wallace decided to kill, he gets the order from Johnson.
Johnson ain't interested in black folks. He's interested in
Democrats. He's interested in votes. When they passed the Voting
Rights Bill, Johnson told people to go Mississippi and register
me some Democrats. That's what he did, he didn't say register me
no black votes. The black people running around here talking about
my President. You kidding (phonetic) him baby, you kidding him, because

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this is the man who's going to give the word. He's going to give the word to send the black people to concentration camps. You see, I believe that the way the Congress is moving now in a few years, they're gonna' put a curfew on all black people across the country. Y'all gonna' have to be in at 9:00 o'clock... (boos) ... Look at South Africa, South Africa, what happened over there after twenty-three years. Later, black people enslaved by six million white people, that's what happened. They can do it if they get your mind, brother, it is your kids who're going to be free. That's what we're to bring about. Maybe it's not such a dangerous decision. Don't let America run the game now... (inaudible)... America is the biggest looter known (phonetic). They looted us from Africa. They looted the country from the Indian. You can't steal from a thief, brother. You can steal from a thief, but my saying is that if you gonna' loot, loot a gun store. Don't be running around here looting no liquor, 'cause liquor is for celebrating. We ain't got a thing to celebrate about. Don't get yourself stoned, brother. Get yourself armed. That's the only thing that'll keep that man off your back, and look, it's the difference between having control - black control and having black politician. We

look at Edward Brooks, Edward Brooks is white as Johnson:
He's the white nigger. He's called an executive (phonetic).

All he wants to do is run down there and do what they
tell him to do. That ain't no black man, brother. That
ain't no black man sitting in the Senate and he's listening on
those hearings which are nothing but out-black rallies.
That's all that hearing is, conducted by criminals and the
testimony to the ignorance of America, there's that same old
Eastland, who's father...(inaudible)...black people.

The same old Eastland who, himself, participated in
all kind of violence against black people. The same old
Eastland who got a plantation where people slave to death every
year. The same guy sits in judgment over black people across
the country and you let him do it. You tell me America is our
country. America is sick, brother. Anytime they can pass a
law that say that can't burn a flag and still can't pass a
law to keep people from burning other people, something got
to be wrong. Anytime these people can't pass an anti-rat bill,
you don't need no anti-rat bill. These are the people that
killed the buffalo off. What's an anti-rat bill for. The same

people that exterminated the buffalo and the Indian. We don't need an anti-rat bill. They could've been serious (phonetic) about black people and you ain't ready to move against that system that oppresses you. You got to be ready to move against that system, brother, and the only way that you can do it is to be armed. The only reason that the United States does not go against China is, that is because China got that bomb and she got all them people. You hear (phonetic) them tell you that that's a cool (phonetic) bomb. What in the hell is a cool bomb (phonetic). It kills don't it? Does it take two to kill or do the job with one and black people run around here talking about...(inaudible)...because she's got a cool bomb. You better look at China, brother, you better look at 'em and America is so racist (phonetic) that any country with color is my enemy. She drops the atomic bomb in Japan and Nazi Germany because the Japanese people were yellow. Check yo' history books. That's the only reason she dropped the bomb on Hiroshima because those were yellow people over there and we got people running round here talking about...(inaudible)... of

this country. You see, I'm willing to believe that it's the black man's impregnable will to be freed. They make you fight for this country and I know that it shall be his will to make him fight this country. Black people are going to fight America until she let's you be free. No such thing as fighting for equality anymore, because I don't see the white people equal us no way...(cheers).

We fightin' for freedom, not equality and opportunity. We fighting for freedom. Once you get freedom, you got equal opportunity and you got whatever equal opportunity you want. That's what you got and you got to control freedom, is used for control of your community. It gives you the control of your mind and therefore, it gives you control of your destiny. Black folks has never controlled their lives in America. Thurgood Marshall is probably the most powerful...black man in America. If he caught in a rebellion, they would whip his hands and throat like Stokeley. Because America is racist. There is no such thing as a black middle class. White people hate everything black whether it's got money or not. Don't be running here talking about I got in the money. It's

gone save me. Don't be talking about green power, it don't mean nothing. The man's got the power to change the color of that money. You can have a pocket full of green money and they'll begin using red money tomorrow. What you gone do with your green power. That's what the man is moving. That's what he's doing on the world scene. Everybody here knows that gold is supposed to be one of the most valuable minerals there is and it's used as a currency. That's the resource. America's gold resource has dwindled to thirteen (phonetic) point four million dollars. Almost equal to that of Turkey (phonetic). You know what he's talking about doing? He's gone change it from gold to platinum 'cause we got more platinum than the other countries. That's the same thing if you got a football and your playing with some of your friends and they beat you playing football, you say, gone sell your football and say, let's go play basketball, 'cause you figure you might be better than him at it. That's the same thing, America's doing all across the board, brother. Everytime people start catching up, they change the rules and the reason she can change the rules is because she's got the power the same power that black people

don't have. That's what we talking about. Now, you can go home and sleep easy if you want to, but tomorrow, you're still gonna be the same thing. Johnson's gonna be in the white house and a ten year old kid in Newark is gonna' be dead. Malcolm X is gonna' be dead and Huntley-Brinkley gonna come on TV and tell you everything is alright...everyday. That's what happens every day, brother. Black people, you're gonna have to begin to think for yourself. You can't believe what you read in the papers because the papers are one of the greatest enemies of black people. Look what happens after every rebellion, the news media never calls for the righting of wrongs of black people. They never call for an answering of the grievances. What they call for? They call for Carmichael's head. They call for my head. They call for a joint meeting of whoever was there. I pity (phonetic) Willie Mays because they didn't call for his head. That's how vicious these people are. They control absolutely...(inaudible)...and black people are playing the game with them, with your lives, brother. It's your lives that's at stake. So as I said before, brother, it's your decision.

Now you, it's up to you. I can't make you do anything and you should know that because you're mature, grown people, but if these conditions 'round here don't change, in other words, if Jacksonville don't come round, you know what should be done to Jacksonville. You know what should be done...(cheers)... No, brothers, you built it up so therefore, you built up, you got penny and you know what a penny buy these days...(crowd laughing, yells "matches") and because you built it up, that gives you a right. Your people built it up, you know what to do with it. The streets are yours brother. Take up whenever you are ready...P-O-W-E-R, black power, brother...END."

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Keith Kauffman, Director of Public Safety, Camden, New Jersey, advised on September 1, 1967, that the following is a transcript of the speech by Brown on the evening of August 30, 1967 at Convention Hall, Camden, New Jersey:

"All right, brothers. Okay. Okay. Okay, can I have your attention. Okay, okay, brothers. You can't hear, brothers? Okay. Will everybody who can get a seat take a seat. Okay. Can I have your attention. Okay. Let's understand one thing, brothers you see you got to understand this white man and how he works and the whole thing is a weired type of animal, he comes to a black power meeting, he knows he's unwanted but he comes anyway, just to prove to you that he controls you niggers, that's the only reason he comes in here. Now, understand that white man, everyone around here, you know what he's here for, he's here because he's the man here but he's going to report to the man, you can not run around here thinking they got good white folks, the only good white man is John Brown and he's dead. There's no such thing, there's no such thing as justice for black people in America, justice is a joke, it stinks from hypocracy. Lyndon Johnson is Hitler's illegitimate child and J. Edgar Hoover is his half sister. Don't you forget it. America is committing genecide against black people.

"Now in case you don't know what genocide is, you know what happened during World War II to the Jews, the Germans killed 6 million of them in concentration camps. America has built 13 concentration camps across the country and it ain't for the Indians because the Indians is on reservations and me and Carmichael, we can't fill no 13 camps. Look next to you, you'll see who's gonna be there with us. Understand that. America is committing genocide against black people, they're trying to kill off a black race. It's no accident, it's no accident that 30 per cent of the casualties in Viet Nam is black, it's no accident that 22 per cent of that force is black, that's genocide and we go for it because we's chumps. Understand. The Courts, the Courts in America are practicing genocide, it's no accident that Mohammed Ali got a maximum sentence, maximum fine, that's genocide. Any time they put \$25,000 on bail on myself for carrying a gun, they got to understand what that means. Lyndon Johnson wouldn't pay \$25,000 for Lady Bird, so why I got to pay \$25,000? That's they way, that's the way of taking black people off the streets, that's the way of taking you off the street each year in Alabama over 500 kids die for lack of proper food and nourishment in a country that sends people to the moon, that's genocide. When they talk about a birth control program to black people, they're taling about genocide because they talk about stopping your race, from growing and you all fall for it, chump. That's genocide. America has those concentration camps wating all across the country any time the Attorney General comes out and tells you within 20 years that there'll be 5, 10, 15 or 20, the work for the population will be only 20% of that population because the automation and then you look and you see they handing you those jobs, you understand that black people have outlived their usefulness in America. You understand that. We are a surplus. Do you know what America does with surplus food, she dumps it in the ocean, she got a surplus of niggers and you chumps running out here fighting for it. Understand this, they accuse me and Carmichael of teaching hate. Now, hate is a feeling, you can not teach a feeling, all I can do is say what's true or fale and you can acclamate if you choose to. But look at what the Germans did, what the Jews do everytime the Jews talk about what the Germans did, they say that's history, when we talk about that red neck honkey has done to us and what he's doing to us every day they say that's hate. You're chumps. And you go for it every time, you go for it. Now, understand

black folks have to begin to talk about controlling their communities but first of all we learned one chief thing from New Jersey, you see 1967 will be remembered for Detroit, they don't call it Detroit no more they call it "destroy it", and it will be remembered for New Jersey; you see, but look at this the most successful rebellion that was held in America up to this time was in Plainfield, New Jersey. Plainfield, New Jersey. There was one casualty a white honkey red neck cop. One casualty. Now, understand, you got to understand America's mentality when it comes to white people and cops. You know America don't want you touching a white cop but still in all the brothers, they went in and no black man was killed in Plainfield. Why? I'll tell you the brothers had 46 automatic weapons that all of them that shot 9,000 times and shoot brick for a half hour and that's what these brothers, that's what they had.

"So, understand, that says to me that you have to be able to defend your community before you can control it. The only way you can defend your community is to get some guns. Understand this, now, I'm gonna show you the extent, this is the extent that Plainfield was controlled by black people. Now, understand that the Mayor and the Governor, they sent the National Guard to Plainfield but they refused to go into Plainfield because they said the niggers got guns over there, we can't go down there but look what happened, so they told the brothers, they said 'okay, we gonna sign an armistice, they say you let us come in there and look for the guns, the brothers say groovey because that's here. The man went the National Guards in, he couldn't find no guns so he start destroying private property, the brothers sent the word out to dig down one more dig we gonna shoot your leg off the brothers still got their guns in Plainfield, they still got their guns. America doesn't love black people but she must learn to respect black people, you see you got to respect me whether you love me or not, now Plainfield showed me that she respects you if you're armed. America does not love China but she refuses to move against China because China got a bomb and China got all those people. You see if you look at what's around you, if you listen to you, your music will tell you what's going on, Risa says all you need is respect but she also says you can't get no respect unless you take care of TCB, take care of business. You got to

take care of business to talk about respect. So understand this, freedom can not be given to you, freedom is not a welfare commodity, you can't go down there and that man stick a badge on you and tell you you're free, man you were born free, you got to exercise your right to be free. Look at what happened with the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights movement was never controlled by black people, it was never controlled by that at first, it was a brain trust, money, in other words by the Jews that controlled it. Now Chairman Mao says that the leadership, that leadership should never be relinquished, it should always remain in the hands of the dispossessed. That was the mistake we made we tried to share but leadership with white people. Now, understand after white folks gave up the lead, Kennedy took over and he controlled the movement and at one time John F. Kennedy could send a letter across America to all the black people saying report to concentration camps and you would have been there on time, that's how he controlled you. That's how he controlled you. That's just how he controlled you. Next thing lynch them Johnson took over and to prove he controlled the Bill of Rights movement, he called a conference at the White House and all our handkerchief colored brothers slid right down there to participate in that conference and they he made a speech saying we shall overcome. Wait till I get me a bomb and then he's gonna have to overcome. The Bill of Rights movement prepared black people mentally for genocide, it told you to be non-violent in the face of violence. America doesn't know anything else but violence. You can't turn your TV set on 5 minutes without seeing somebody getting shot to death or karated to death, that's violence. That's violence. You see violence is a value in America, it's a value to be violent; the man who is most respected is the man who can shoot straightest and ride the hardest, they tell you every day on TV and you chumps don't listen to it, you chumps don't listen to it. Violence is necessary, we black people have been oppressed for 400 years and white folks won't let them go, you gotta a start thinking about some way you can break away from it, can't be talking about running from violence because violence is not brought into the black community by black people, we have never been nonviolent, as a matter of fact we're violent toward each other, Saturday and Friday night proved that point. It proves the point you got to stop being violent toward each other and let non-violence in your community; be non-violent at home. You

got to understand, see you 'can't even control your meetings, the camramen were supposed to leave, tape recorders, were supposed to go, The camramen over there, okay understand this, now, understand this, understand news media, WPP, the white power press, the white people's power and the white people's paper are one of the black peoples greatest enemies, you see black folks got more confidence in Huntley-Brinley than Catholics got in the Pope, anything they say you chumps fall for.

"Now, understand what they do to you, they make black people an enemy of black people, the only reason that Malcolm X could be killed and the black community did not revolt was that black people feared Malcolm X because they read newspapers, in other words, Malcolm was an enemy of black people. The only reason that Mohammed Ali could be given the maximum sentence and the maximum fine and the black community did not rebel was because Mohammed Ali was an enemy of black people, the only reason that Adam Clayton Powell could be lynched in Washington, D.C. and black people did not rebel was because the news media had made Adam Clayton Powell an enemy of black folks and there was more black folks scared of him than white folks, they're enemies.

"Understand that anything that you do not control is used as a weapon against you. Public education as it exists today is a weapon against black people. It teaches, it teaches white nationalism and you teach your children white nationalism every day they go to the extent of telling you, they tell you who your patriots are, what holidays you should celebrate, they tell you to celebrate Columbus Day, Columbus was the dumbest man in the 14th century, he was trying to,— Columbus was trying to find India, you ever looked at where Inida is on the map? And he discovered America, how can you discover a country full of people? That says to me that civilization, our culture does not begin until the white people say it begins. The Indians was here, the Indians was here. Now, look, look at the white nationalism that's taught. You tell your children that they should believe in Santa Claus. Now, Santa Claus is one of the biggest enemies of the black community, you ain't seen too many black Santa Clauses, Now, understand the bad thing about Santa Claus is not only that he's big, fat, and pink, but he slides down a black chimney and comes out white. Yes, and you chumps tell your children you work

all year long for December 25th and then you give the credit to some honkey, man you're a chump, you're a chump. Because the first thing that happens if you have to start fighting white folks, your kids gonna tell you don't shoot white folks because you might hit Santa Claus. They don't only stop at that. They don't only stop there. They make you hate yourself. They make you hate yourself. They told black people for hundreds of years it's okay, brother; it's just running one of the enemies out.

"So understand this, they make you hate yourself they have told black people for so long that anything all black is bad until black folks believe it. You got black folks who believe that black cows isn't gonna give good milk, black hens don't lay eggs; when you talk about devil's food cake it's black cake, angel food's white, funerals are black, weddings are white, brother, we ain't won nothing yet.

"Then you go to the Bible, you go to the church and these handkerchief head niggers ain't got sense enough to read the Bible. They told you in the Bible Jesus' hair was like lambs wool. Feel your hair, if you ain't got it slick, brother, feel your hair. The only biblical character that white America will own up to is Judas on the Last Supper they paint him black, in other words black has a definition, has 27 different definitions, all of them black and we chumps go for it. We go for it.

"Now, understand this, you have to get away from hating black, you know it takes a lot to love black in America but you have to be proud of being black, this is what Malcolm talked about, this is what black conscience is, this is when you talk about raising the level of black conscience, that's what that means, you got to get away from white nationalism, it's all around you, the political structure is a white nationalist structure, folks talk about democrats and republicans, there's no difference between the democratic party and the republican party, you voted for Lyndon Johnson and Johnson got out there and out goes Goldwater, understand that the Democrats tell you they can't do nothing for you because they go the dixiecrats in the democratic party, there's no difference between a democrat and a dixiecrat, the only difference between President Johnson and George Wallace is that one of them's white and got cancer. They got white racists, Johnson is a two gun

outlaw from cracker he's a two gun cracker, understand that he's an outlaw from Texas and black folks run around here supporting him, his mama probably was a cattle rustler and you chumps run around here talking about our President. You ain't got no President, but the important thing that black people must address themselves to now is the rebellion, understand that these are not riots, these are rebellions. Now, a riot is when one honkey kid, some konkey kids go down to Fort Lauderdale, Florida and get drunk off beer and soda bottles and start throwing bottles at the policemen. That's a riot. That's a riot. Now, rebellions are created because of conditions, black people are rebelling because of conditions, one day a man goes home and he gets tired of living with this rat who ain't paying no rent because he rebels because of that he has a political motive, behind his rebellion. Understand, don't let the newspapers and the press tell you that black folks are rioting like James Delf said last night, the question was raised why are black people rioting, why do black people riot, the only reason they riot is that they didn't study military science, that's why they riot, if they knew how to fight they'd fight.

"Understand what happened in Detroit, you see it has often been said that politics is war without bloodshed and that war is politics with bloodshed. Detroit took up politics to the street, Newark took up politics to the street. That was war, America declared war on the black people when she brought him here and we just getting around to accepting that war. Believe it.

"Langston Hughes, a great black poet who died recently, he wrote a poem in which he raised a question, a question that was unanswered, the name of the poem was 'What Happens to a Dream Deferred'. It says, 'What happens to a dream deferred, does it dry up like a raisin in the sun or does it fester like a sore and then run, or does it sag like a heavy load or does it explode.'

"America's sores are exploding all over the country, black people are rebelling because of the conditions that their fathers and their mothers have lived in and that they are living in now. That's what the rebellion's all about.

"In other words, we put America on notice, we built the country up, we'll burn it down.

"Now, for all you religious people who can't believe, who don't understand the fires if you read your Bible, it says that Noah, that God gave Noah the rainbow sign, it said no more water but find next time fire, but you be looking for the spooks to come down from up there to burn it down, brother, it's burning it down from the ground up, understand? Understand?"

"Now, the significant things about that rebellion in Detroit and Newark was the thing of the snipers, that's the first time that black people have gotten out and fought back. Now, understand this, the significant thing about sniping was that no snipers was turned in. Understand it. No black sniper. That says to me that black people have accepted that as a tactic as non-violence was once a tactic. Sniping is now a tactic. You see there is no such thing as a black middle class. America does not kill a black person because he got a Cadillac or a Ford, he kills you because you's black, understand that."

"Now, black folks have been running around taling about a black middle class. I'm gonna show you what that means. Thurgood Marshall is a good example of a black middle class but look what happened to Thurgood Marshall when he went before the bench, when G. Ethan, one of the biggest criminals in America which owns a plantation which black people live as slaves on, the plantation subjected Thurgood Marshall to a type of question unheard of before. In other words, he was saying that Thurgood Marshall you the top nigger in the country; but you still a nigger to me."

"Now, understand that. Black folks, black folks for years have been equating progress with concessions, the man gave us Thurgood Marshall and he gave us an astronaut. I believe they getting ready to loose that nigger in space, that's the only reason they gave him that astronaut. Look what happened to the last space project, it blew up. So what they do? They run out there and get him, they slide him in one of them things and they looses him. They looses him. You got to understand that America does not play favoritism because you got money folks run around her taling about if we get green power our problems will be solved. That's ridiculous. Do you know America got the power to change the color of money? Okay. Okay. Say America tells all

the black people across the country to bring a rock and for each rock she's gonna give you a million dollars and she waits until she accumulates all the rocks and you got all the green power in the pocket and then she tells you, well, dig, we're using rocks now. What you gonna do? Chump. What you gonna do, chump? She did it to white people, she know, you know she'll do it to black people. Look at the confederacy, they'd had confederate money, they honkeys told him your money ain't no good no more, chump. What he did, he had to go out and work for some of that green money, with Washington's picture on it, with Lincoln's picture on it. Brother, green power don't mean nothing to you if you ain't got power to control it, you better start talking about being able to control, that's the word, control. Black folks are now standing on the eve of a black revolution. People across the world are raising up against America, you seen America has been blackmailing people all across the world with the threat of war, so the sensible thing to do is to accept that war and fight this honkey. Fight him. Viet Nam is no different from Detroit. The real chumps from the black community are now in Viet Nam. Understand this, a black brother was killed over there fighting for Lyndon Johnson and could not be buried in a graveyard in Alabama.

"So, I say, I say to 'lynch them' Johnson and to Minnesota Back Humphrey too, that if Lyndon Johnson could stay over here and keep the Viet Cong over there liberated I can stay here and keep the honkeys off my women. It's no different what happened in Detroit, than what's happening in Viet Nam, in Rhodesia. Do you understand what's going on in Rhodesia? Rockefeller who owns Chase Manhattan Bank exploits black brothers in Rhodesia and there are over 4 million black brothers being oppressed by over 250,000 honkeys in Rhodesia. Africa is not backward, Africa is like black folks over here, they're oppressed. America is the greatest oppressor that the world knows.

"Understand this. We are not in Viet Nam to stop communist aggression, that's a lot of junk. We're over there, Eisenhower, who history will only remember because of his ignorance, made a mistake once and told the true reason that we were in Viet Nam, he says it's because of the natural resources such as tungston, and it's because of the strategic position that Viet Nam is in in regards to China. In regards to China. In

other words, we want to surround China so we need Viet Nam.

"Now, understand anything ain't going good in Viet Nam for the black and white troops who are over there fighting the Viet Cong, they had a race riot in Viet Nam last year, the race riot between the black soldiers and white soldiers, a honkey threw a grenade in black barracks, you didn't even know they were living in different barracks. A honkey threw a grenade in there, the brothers went out there and wasted 150 honkeys and they listed them missing in action to keep you chumps from knowing. To keep you from knowing. They did that to keep you from knowing, everything in Viet Nam A-okay between black and white troops, look what they did, they went to Viet Nam, the black soldiers were not being killed by the Viet Cong they were being captured and released. The honkeys say what was going on and the honkeys said look here, we can't have none of this so what he told, he told a bunch of renegade white face, red neck honkeys to put black paint on the face and go in the village and kill up some villagers and they did; if you don't believe me every time you look at Time Magazine, what's the honkey got, he got mud on his face and the Viet Cong thinks he's fighting black people. Now, that's intentional, that intentional, he is using you. He uses you. The Viet Cong refused to kill black soldiers, they told him, they said your war is in the U.S. no over here, what you doing here, say your mama is being killed in Selma, what you doing here and they turn them loose.

"Understand America is so racist that's why she's dropping napalm. We never, the journals of history can never show where America has fought communist aggression in white communist countries. America dropped a bomb in Japan but not on Germany because they Japanese were yellow, that's why.

"And if you don't believe America can put black folks in the concentration camp, ask the Japanese what happened during World War II here in America.

"White America is not civilized. George Bernard Shaw, another white man, says of America, he says, 'America is the only country that I know of that came from barbarism to decadism without going through civilization.' They have never been

civilized. Never. If you don't believe, that they ain't civilized, why you think the honkey hippies is dropping out of society? He rejects this society, and here we running like the devil trying to get into it. Man, you better get hip, there ain't nothing here. That's why they drop out, because they know any society that can pass a law to keep people from burning a flag and can't pass a law to keep people from burning other people got to be a sick society.

"Folks are all along about the anit-riot bill, they couldn't even pass the anti-rat bill, see, but I don't even believe they need an anit-rat bill. Do you realize this man exterminated the buffalo and all of the Indians. If he was serious about getting rid of rats he could do it. He could do it if you told him that the rat had gold in his stomach, he'd eliminate all the rats for you, that's what he works off, that's what he works off.

"So America, you see, moves primarily for that money. America loves black people for the work they can do and the money you can bring them and that ends right there.

"You see, you have outlived you usefulness, that's why they can address themselves to concentration camps, that's why they can talk about moving black people in the concentration camps, we were brought here to do work, there is no more work, machines can do the work that we did before so now we're a surplus.

"Watch yourself, brother, you better get yourselves some guns. I don't care if it ain't hothing but a BB gun with poison BB's. You better have something. Understand. Look what the man is doing, you see it's no accident that they're taling about an anti-riot bill, and the pool bill, what they're doing is they're re-writing the Constitution to exclude black people, you wasn't but three-fifths in the other one. The anti-riot bill gives that man the power to tell you when to travel, how to travel, and if you can travel. In other words, there goes the right to travel.

"There's another bill that's coming up before the House, that's called the pool bill. That bill says that you can not dissent against the U.S. in time of conflict and in time when

they're not in conflict. There can only be certain types of defense, there goes freedom of speech.

"Now, look at the gun bill and look what they're doing to pass the gun bill, understand when ram was buck, that was the CIA acts that busted ram. CIA did it. So what happens, did they generate a type of pressure from the right wing that says yes, we need gun control because niggers is getting guns, but then they come back and they bust the minute men, the smallest branch of the minute men, that's to get the pressure from the left bank, yes, we need all the gun control because the minute men got guns and they if you don't know who killed Rockwell, it was the government who killed Lincoln Rockwell. Next is somebody from the left, I don't believe they can get me, I'm gonna tell them like it is but they looking for somebody from the left right now, they gonna get somebody from the left, and it's the government, don't you forget it, just like it was the government who killed Kennedy and you chumps believe it was Lee Harvey Oswald killed him, it was the government who did it. It was the government who killed Malcolm in case you don't know it.

"What they did was they got a bunch of handkerchief niggers with nothing on their head and nothing on their minds and they run him through Malcom and that was the government who did it. The government. This man'll stop at nothing. Oil is more important than blood to America. She has proven that over and over again. She has no regard for human life if it ain't white. She has no regard for black people's lives. They are re-writing the Constitution to exclude black people.

"Now, understand, they gonna keep a few black folks, they gonna keep all the entertainers, they gonna keep my man Edward Brooks because he ain't black no ways, Edward Brooks is the Ajax White Knight, he's stronger than dirt. He's stronger than dirt. They gonna keep athletes, they gonna keep entertainers, but what they gonna do, they gonna get rid of people like me and you, the majority of black people in other words. That's what they're all about, that's what the concentration camps are all about, but black people had better put America on notice that if she chooses to play Natzi's we ain't gonna choose to play Jews.

"It's gonna be just like Malcolm said, tit for tat, and eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life from now on. From now on.

"Black people talking about how many black people died in the rebellions, do you know more black people died during the civil rights movement than have died during all the rebellions and they died non-violently. They died non-violently, they died without fighting back. That's how they died.

"So understand a man is gonna kill you anyway, he's gonna kill you anyway; we don't choose to be violent, we are violent out of necessity. That's what we're violent out of.

"There's another reason about communism, you see a lot of black folks don't even know what communism is, they think it's people who don't go to church, they think you're a communist because you don't go to church. Now, the way America can move against SNICK and it's organizations like SNICK is to claim that they're communists, there's a law called the MacLaren Law that says if they suspect you of being communist they can move you off to the concentration camps, that's what they plan to do against all the organizations, the only people who will be able to save Carmichael when he comes back in the community, when he comes back in the country will be black people, black people.

"The only people that can save the rams 17 will be black people. You have a role to play, you have a role to play. You have to begin to exercise your rights to be free. You were born free. They can not give you your freedom, you can not sit back and wait for freedom because you were born free.

"But understand this, black folks, the man is moving at such apace that within the next three or four years he's gonna put a curfew on black people, in other words, you're gonna have to be off the street at 9:00. It's just like Rhodesia and South Africa, you better start reading, that's what you better start doing and leave Huntley-Brinkley alone.

"You see, Huntley and Brinkley, I'm gonna show you how much faith and confidence you can put in Huntley and Brinkley. Huntley and Brinkley tell you that we have killed every Viet Cong

over in Viet Nam and now we killing three, every week they say we kill a thousand and some adding will show they didn't have that many people in the country. They didn't have that many people in the country and we still over there, America is getting beat to death in Viet Nam. Getting beat to death to death. And that's a smaller country so understand that says that the majority does not always win. It's the organized minority. America has been telling black folks for hundreds of years you can't win because you ain't enough of you. Don't believe that junk, black folks work in the most strategic places in America, we work in the honkeys homes, he ain't got to leave home. He would like to make you believe that you can't win because you out-numbered. Do you realize that two-thirds of the world is black? He is the minority, he is in minority but he controls because he is organized. Black folks had better begin to organize everybody in their communities on every level they can. You got to begin to organize. Get them young kids out of boy scouts and start a black guard. Get the mothers on welfare and start a mothers' organization. That's important. You got to be organized. That's the only way that you can communicate, that's the only way you gonna know what's going on from one side of town to the other. I didn't even know they had black folks down here in Camden. You ain't rebelled, you ain't did nothing.

"You did nothing so that tells me one of two things, you either free or you scared. And if you scared, I fell you if you scared, then you gonna be the first one to get on the train and you gonna volunteer to go, you gonna volunteer to go to that concentration camp.

"Death is no stranger to black people, we been dying all along. We've always been dying since the first black man put foot on this country. They have been killing us off and we been dying non-violently, we've been dying loving the man to death. You better quit loving that man to death and shoot him to death. You go for anything he tells you. You better start addressing yourself to black nationalism, you better talk about black power because what you gonna do when you need black power? You scared of black power. You better address yourself to that because the war is really in America.

"Any time Lyndon Johnson defects paratroopers to Detroit and any time he sends tanks down the streets of Newark, you know you at war. You know you at war and you better begin to prepare yourself for that war because it hasn't reached its maturity yet. And it's gonna mature whether you're ready or not. It's gonna mature.

"One day, America, white America, is gonna see white folks getting their guns, another thing about the gun deal is that it does not address itself to disarming the white community, the gun clubs can keep their guns, the gun clubs are for the white communities. Minute men have arsenals, there are reports that the minute men got napalm bombs and atomic bombs. What we got? Nothing. Nothing. You better begin to get yourself some guns, Plainfield showed you what to do, because the man don't want to get killed, that's why he sends you to Viet Nam, he don't want to get shot at and the National Guard ain't nothing but weekend soldiers, old win-head, beer-head honkeys.

Do you know when the brother starts shooting over in Newark who was running and hiding, they didn't return fire for more than 20 minutes? The National Guard. They weekend soldiers, they don't know nothing about war. But you better begin to address yourselves to war. And you don't have to fight a conditional war, you don't have to be out there on the street fighting that man, you better start talking about guerrilla war. You better start talking about hitting them and running, you see if black folks was serious about waging war, all they'd have to do in their communities is take the street signs down and the honkeys would be lost. Take the numbers off the houses, he don't know where he is, that's a jungle.

"That's just like Viet Nam to him, he don't know what's in your community.

"There's a doctor, and to show you not only poor black people getting tired, it's the black people who once thought they had money, who once thought they were middle class, there's a doctor in California who said he works for the City. He says, I'm getting tired, he says, I'm getting fed up of seeing the way they doing to black people, he says, you know I work for the

water works, one day I'm gonna get mad and poison the whole reservoir. That's war.

"Detroit. In Detroit, the things that matter, that the National Guard guarded was the automobile industry. If you chumps would stop buying these new cars you won't have to worry about the war in Viet Nam. The man's economy is based on his automobile, don't buy no new car, walk if you have to, take that \$7,000 and keep it in your pocket and get you some guns, you better get it.

"We black people talk about they got guns and they got ammunition. You know what they talking about, that they got a 22 and a box of shells. When the honkeys talk about guns he's talking about 400 shot guns, 700 M-1's, he's talking about anti-tank guns, he's taling about Bazzookas, he's ready for war, he ain't got no reason to be fighting. Here we got a reason to be fighting and we ain't got nothing to fight with.

"The biggest fault about rebellion is that brothers who loot the wrong things, you don't need to loot no TV home and watch yourself, you better loot you a gun store so you can defend yourself.

"And America, America can't talk about looting no way. America looted us from Africa, she looted from the Indians, you can't steal from a thief. You can't steal from a thief.

"So black people, you better begin to address yourselves to life, to living. You see because ours might be, mine might be to do or die but for the little brothers who came after me, theirs should be to reason why. See, they don't have to go out there and fight, my old man toiled and I know it, my old lady worked so I wouldn't have to, why should I have to go back to a honkey. I ain't talking about equality no more, I don't feel that a honkey can be equal until he served 400 years under me.

"We talk about being free, we ain't talking about equal opportunity, we talking about freedom, that's what people across the world are talking about, being free, not being equal. You don't need to be equal to know white people, you're surpassing white folks.

"For me to be equal to Lyndon Johnson, I'd have to start all over again and start off as a dog. You can't talk about being equal, you got to talk about being free. You see, because you're either free or you're a slave in America. I was apprehended under the fugitive law in Virginia. Under the fugitive slave law that was supposed to be taken off the books after the Civil war so they tell me, so that says one thing to me, there's no such thing as second class citizenship. You're either free or a slave, see, that's like telling me, to tell me you're a second class citizen is to tell me that you can be a little bit pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant, you either pregnant or you ain't pregnant. You either free or you're not, you're either lying or you're telling the truth. It's absolutism. Freedom is an absolutism. You can't be partially free. You have to begin to develop a political ideology, to go along with the rebellion, black folks have to understand where they're moving to.

"Are you willing to take over the country to become like Lyndon Johnson or not? I'm not. I'm not. You see I don't think it's any accident that every country that becomes free and Africa now a days talks about U-Shamol, which is a type of socialism, he's not talking about exploiting other people, he's not talking about killing people to make money, that's what America is all about, you see America has to wage war to make money, she has to kill people, that's what they talk about when you hear people talking about the military industrial complex, in other words, we have to have an army, we have to wage war so Ford can make new stuff for us and that's how we make money.

"America is so trecherous, until if you look at what she's doing now with gold, it'll show you, give you an idea what this man is, America has the window to 13.4 billion dollars, you know that the most valuable metal in the world is the gold, there's the thing called the monetary gold reserve, in other words, we running behind, we ain't got as much gold as we used to, that's why DeGualle is raising all that hell, he got almost as much gold as us.

"So what America has moved to do is to change the value from gold to something else, that she got a lot of, she can do that because she got the power to do it. You can't run from

power. Mao Se Tung says power comes from the barrel of a gun so you got black power, you got to begin to use that black power, see, you can't talk about moving against America in her democratic or republican party because she made that for you, that's the trap. Black folks have been trying that for years. You better start talking about defending your community, brother. So, there's one thing I want to end with and that's about it's a fable that's often told about a young boy, and his father.

"You see, this young boy asked his father, he said you told me that the lion was the king of the jungle. He said you told me he's the most fierce beast in the world, but every time I read a book, he says, I see where the man kills the lion. He says, well, what's wrong? So his father looked at him and says, until the lion learns how to write, the story will always end the same.

"Until you learn how to control what's yours, you will always be losing, brother. Black power."

"Since the above is a transcript of BROWN's speech, it has been reproduced in this report as it appears in the original transcript, with no corrections in spelling, punctuation or sentence structure."

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AT 100-7098

On September 1, 1967, AT T-16 advised that "Radio Rebelde", Havana, Cuba, broadcast the following interview on August 31, 1967:

PRAGUE, MONTEVIDEO, STOCKHOLM, MEXICO, TANZANIA, ALGERIA....

RAP BROWN, American Negro leader of the Student Committee for Non-Violent Action, granted an exclusive telephone interview to the Cuban Radio Institute. BROWN, speaking in New York, said that the battle of the American Negro will never diminish, but it may intensify. However, let us listen to the voice of RAP BROWN from the exclusive interview taped from the long distance phone call between Havana and New York, while he talked to the newsmen from ICR (Instituto Cubano de Radiodifusion - Cuban Radio Institute):

Voice - Hello

Other Voice - Hello

Voice - Mr. Rap Brown

Other Voice (voices heard speaking English)

Voice - Mr. Brown, we are speaking for Cuban National Radio. We would like to tape a short interview with you in order to acquaint our listeners with your views. Are you willing to answer our questions?

Brown - A voice is heard, speaking English, which must be the voice of Brown, answering.

Voice - Yes, sir.

Brown - (Voice again heard, speaking English)

Voice - Mr. Brown. Does the fight for Black Power have as its only purpose to put an end to segregation, or do you also contemplate a program of new social structures in the U.S.?

Brown - (A voice, speaking in English) (Another voice is heard translating). That is right. When we speak of Black Power, we mean being able to control the destiny of the Negro population, which today is a total disaster. America as it exists is.....can not call itself a country in which Negroes also exist. Therefore, when we talk about changing society, the structure of society, and I believe it is not by chance that each nation gaining its independence today adopts a Socialist form of government. I believe that when the Negroes talk about a system, it must be a Socialist system (The voice continues in English)

Voice - Here is the second question. Recently, certain sectors in the U.S. have been insisting that violence is self-destructive for the Negroes in the U.S. What do you think of this, Mr. Brown?

Brown - (Voice speaking English) (Voice translating). That is not true. The Negroes are the dispossessed. We have no property here. We are the property of America, we are a colony within America. And the rebellion has been against the power structure, against White America, never against Negroes. You must understand that the deaths which occur are the fortunes of war, because we are at war. We can not predict casualties, but look at it this way. The Negroes died when they were not violent, all the time; Negroes have been dying all the time in America, and now they are beginning to collect on their deaths. In other words, they are paying back for their dead. This is the path to revolution. Our rebellion will develop here in America.....(voice goes on speaking English)

Voice - Some newspapers, especially in the U.S., insist that the present battle of the Negroes in America is due to..... natural violence in summer. Mr. Brown, how would you describe the battle of the American Negroes in the next few months?

Brown - (voice heard speaking English) (Another voice translating) Our battle has not lessened, as I understand it. Our people are fighting because of conditions. The people are fighting to be freed, the people are fighting for their freedom; therefore, the battle will never diminish here; however, it might intensify. The people have taken rebellion as a tactic, they are using it as a tactic. As you know, from the development of the war in Viet Nam, the people have adopted this development as a tactic in America. Every city in America, which has a large Negro population, can count on having rebellion, because the Negroes are going to be free through whatever means necessary. And we feel that our freedom here is linked to freedom throughout the world, because America is the principal oppressor; America and her imperialist governors threaten the whole world with the blackmail of war, they threaten to declare war on the whole world. We will not accept any war here, just as Cuba will not accept any war, just as the people of Viet Nam have not accepted the war, as the people of Guatemala have not accepted any war. (The voice continues speaking English).

Voice - Do you feel, Mr. Brown, that the revolts this summer will bring the American Negroes any gains, and if so, do you think it will be enough to end the present movement?

Brown - (heard speaking English) (A voice translating) The fighting did not begin this summer, it has always been a fight. It was consolidated this summer....The Negro population have been disillusioned in America for so long, until they were convinced that it was useless to sit and wait for America to change because America has no intention of changing. Our battle today is a new battle, you know, it has been consolidated, and it is a more advanced type of fighting now. (The voice continues in English).

Voice - Mr. Brown, can you give us any new information or ratification of discrimination in the Pentagon, by sending Negro soldiers rather than whites to certain battle fronts in Viet Nam?

Brown - (Heard speaking in English) (Another voice translating) Right. It is deliberate, an active type of genocide. The genocide they have been committing in

America against the Negro population. It is not just chance that 30% of the casualties in Viet Nam are Negroes, and that 22% of the troops there are Negro. In other words, they look on the Negro population as a problem, and they are handling this problem through genocide. Not only are they killing us in Viet Nam, but they are also trying to kill us in the streets of..... (voice continues in English.)

Voice - Mr. Brown, what do you think will be the attitude of the American Negro soldiers sent to Viet Nam when they return to the U.S.?

Brown - (voice heard speaking English) (Voice translates) These will be the most effective fighters against the gorillas (sic) because they have had practice..... the practice America gave them so they could learn, and when they return to America, this practice will be used to liberate the Negro people. The same, implacable will to freedom which has always made the Negro man fight for his country, this same will will make him fight against this country when he returns with his extra learning. (Voice continues in English).

Voice - How have American Negroes received recent statements made in Havana by STOKELY CARMICHAEL?

Brown - (Voice heard speaking English) (Voice translates) The Negro people who really understood and those who really got the message were delighted to know that Negroes throughout the world have united to fight against the imperialist American government. (Voice continues in English).

Voice - Mr. Brown, can you give us the immediate and future objectives of the American Negroes in this fight?

Brown - (Voice heard in English) (Another voice translates) Right. The objective is freedom. We are speaking of being free, of ending oppression by America of people all over the world. We are in a strategic position because we live in America. The liberation of oppressed people throughout the world depends on the liberation of the Negroes here in America. In other words: we live inside the monster, and we can destroy it from within. (Voice continues speaking English).

Voice - And now, one last question. Do you believe, Mr. Brown, that the Afro-Americans realize their important role

in supporting oppressed nations by their battle against the oppressors.....?

Brown - (English heard) (Voice heard translating) That's right. I believe that the Negroes, the Afro-Americans have begun to understand that it is important that all oppressed people, throughout the world, join together to overthrow the western imperialist government, the Yankee government of America. The Negroes support what is being done in Cuba, and you know they support the activities of CARMICHAEL in Cuba. (Voice continues speaking in English).

Voice - Mr. Brown, do you wish to add anything?

Brown - (Heard speaking in English) (Voice heard translating) I only want to add that, as you know, America has unleashed a war against the Negroes here; they have built concentration camps and they have plans to use those camps in the near future. They are planning to put the Negroes in these concentration camps, but we warn America that if she tries to play the role of the Nazis, we are not planning to play the role of the Jews. (Voice continues in English)

Voice - And now, Mr. Brown, before ending this conversation, for which we are most grateful, have you any special message for the people of Cuba?

Brown - (Heard speaking in English) (Voice translates) Yes, I want the Cuban people to know that they must continue their fight for liberation from Yankee imperialism, and they should understand that their Afro-American neighbors who live in America are with the Cubans and support and aid the Cuban revolution and the people of Cuba. And I would also like to add that we consider Mr. Castro as one of the few patriots and revolutionaries existing in the world at this time. (Voice continues in English).

Voice - Mr. Brown, to end this interview, we want to thank you again in the name of the Cuban Radio Institute.

AT 100-7098

The newspaper "The New York Times", Late City Edition, dated September 1, 1967, carried a notice that at 7:45 to 8:45 P.M., September 1, 1967, Station WBAI would carry addresses by H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC, and by a recent visitor to North Viet Nam.

On September 1, 1967, Special Employee LAWRENCE CRONIN of the New York Office of the FBI made a recording of BROWN's address, which is set forth as follows:

- The following remarks were made by
H. RAP BROWN at an anti-war rally at the Village Theatre, NYC
on 8/29/67, and a tape of these remarks broadcast on WBAI
from 7:45-8:45 pm, 9/1/67:

H. RAP BROWN: I saw a sticker once which said, "I wonder what happened to LEE HARVEY OSWALD now that we need him." That was probably written by ROCKEFELLER because he is the enemy also. You people have been chumps. You have been looking at LYNDON JOHNSON when you ought to be looking all around you because you have to do a thorough house cleaning before you can end the war in Vietnam. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW once said something about America. He said that America is the only country he knows that came from barbarism to decadence without going through civilization. So to all of the white activists who feel that they have been victimized by the black movement, you better began to civilize yourselves, or else it is going to be our job to civilize white folks when we get through taking care of business. Exploited people, dispossessed people all across the world should began to ask themselves, "What is our role?" Vietnam is significant to black people because that is a war of genocide. It is a war of genocide against the Vietnamese people and a war of genocide against black people. It is no accident that 30% of the casualties in Vietnam is black. It is no accident that 22% of that force in Vietnam is black. It is genocide, and we have been chumps. We have been going for it. It has been the black man's implacable will to be free that has made him fight for the country. It will be that same will that would make him fight this country. His will to be free. We are not talking about being equal. We are not talking about civil rights. We are talking about freedom. Vietnam is a sounding board for all the countries across the world. Because now if you check what is going on in Rhodesia. That is supplied and supplemented by ROCKEFELLER and Chase Manhattan Bank. That is America's field. Check Latin America, the Dominican Republic and their revolutionary movement. That is also being perpetrated by the United States. Check Asia and the only reason that America is in Vietnam. EISENHOWER, whom history will only remember because of his ignorance, made a mistake once and gave the true reason why we are in Vietnam. He said that it is because of the tungsten and because of the strategic position geographically with regard to China. That is why we are in Vietnam. We are not interested in stopping Communist aggression because if we were interested in stopping Communist aggression, why don't we go to white Communist countries and stop Communist aggression in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia. America is experimenting on how to commit genocide against 2/3 of the world's population. She wants to control them. Now understand this. We put America on notice that if she chooses to play Nazis, black folks aint going to play Jews. LYNDON JOHNSON is the biggest outlaw that the world has ever produced. His mamma probably was a cattle rustler. America's justice is a joke in respect that it is hypocrisy. LYNDON JOHNSON is an outlaw. He is Hitler's illegitimate child as far as I am concerned and J. EDGAR HOOVER is his half-sister.

America has conducted genocide on about four different levels against black people in America. She is doing it through her courts. It is no accident that Muhammad Ali got the maximum sentence and the maximum fine. It is no accident that they put a 25 thousand dollar bond on me for a simple charge. Hell, LYNDON JOHNSON wouldn't pay 25 thousand dollars for Ladybird. That is genocide. They are taking people off the streets. It is no accident that over 500 kids die each year in Alabama for lack of proper food and nourishment. It is genocide. Then they turn around--and black folks are such chumps,--and they tell them that we got a birth control program for you and we buy it. Do you realize that birth control to the black community is a way of ending that race. When the man tells you to use birth control, he is telling you that he doesn't want your race to grow, and you chumps fall for it. So understand that Vietnam means more than just ending that war because you are against wars. To black people it means ending a type of genocide and bringing the troops home where the real war is. The war is here in America. America has begun to escalate the war against black people. She has declared war over 400 years ago. We are just moving to a point where we accept that war. When the Attorney General can come before Americans and say, "In 20 years--and it could be 5, 10, or 15 years--the entire work force of the population will be 20% of that population." Then he talks about cybernation and automation, and look to see who they are training to run the cybernated and automated jobs. That tells me that black people now pose a problem. We have outlived our usefulness for America. We were brought here as slaves to do work. That is the logic behind concentration camps, and if you don't leave America, we'll put you in concentration camps. Ask the Japanese from World War II. Black folks must begin to understand that there is no such thing as a black middle class as far as white America is concerned. That is a luxury that we can't afford. She does not move against black people because they have a Cadillac or a Ford or because they are a teacher. She kills you because you are black. We cannot afford the luxury of individualistic ideas. We cannot say that we are individuals because CARMICHAEL or myself cannot fill up 13 or 29 concentration camps. They got to be getting ready to get somebody else. It is important that black people address themselves to arming themselves to defend their community. I learned one thing from Plainfield, New Jersey, which I contend was the most successful rebellion of them all. There was one casualty--a white cop--and you know how fussy America is about her cops, but there was not retaliation in terms of violence. They refused to go into that black community and wander, and shoot up black people, for one reason. Black people had weapons. They had stolen 46 automatic weapons, and the man pointed out every day in his papers--He said, Them Niggers are armed and we can't go down there and mess with them. And they were armed. You have to be able to defend your community before you can control your community. Each brother who had one of those 46 weapons--By the way those weapons would shoot 9000 times (indistinct) for a half hour. These are the kind of weapons they had down there. The policemen said, No, we won't go in there so we'll sign an armistice. So they said, Let us come in there and search. The brother said, (Indistinct). The man went in there and he couldn't find anything, and in his frustration he began to destroy the property. The word went out immediately, You kick down one of those buildings, we going to shoot your leg off. The man left the community. America respects only one thing-- a counter force.

She does not love China but she refuses to move against China because China has the bomb. When people began to talk about violence counter-revolutionary violence must be met with revolutionary violence. We do not bring the violence to the black community. It is brought down there to us. When they say that I preach hate and CARMICHAEL preach hate, hate is a feeling. You can only talk about things that are true or not true. People might react to their truisms with hate. I don't preach hate. When the Jews talk about what the Germans did to them, they set up a switch key. When we talk about what the Honky does to us and what the U.S. does to us (drown out by applause.) America can get away with it because she controls. She has the power to legitimize her actions. She may even deceive black people into thinking that they can buy their way out of her grip--that they can buy freedom. That's what the thing of green power is all about. That is ridiculous. Do you realize that America has the power to change the color of money. She will give you all the green money and tell you tomorrow we use red currency, Baby, what you going to do? You've got to have power, Man. MAO says that power comes from the barrel of the gun. America also proves that power comes from the barrel of a gun. America is the most counter revolutionary country going. She is against the people of the world not only here. We are caught in a unique position. We are a colony within America's confines. The liberation of black people in America holds the liberation of black people across the world and oppressed people across the world. The only reason that GOLDWATER lost the election was that he was honest. JOHNSON jumped up there and out-GOLDWATERED GOLDWATER. Then you look down at the Democratic Party itself, and they tell you they got Dixiecrats. There is no such animal as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between LYNDON JOHNSON and GEORGE WALLACE is that one of their wives got cancer. How can WALLACE give (indistinct) for my freedom. He is liberal (?) about my freedom. Hell, I'm fanatic about my freedom. I don't want him to be liberal about my freedom. If liberalism does no good then black people across the country would die each year. I understand that black folks have been in the dilemma of equating progress with concessions. America gave us THURGOOD MARSHALL and she gave us a black astronaut. I believe they getting ready to lose their niggers in space. The Nazi, JAMES J. EASTLAND, who is a criminal, a redneck cracker from Mississippi who owns a plantation, and his daddy was a lynchman, sits before THURGOOD MARSHALL and subjects him to questioning unheard of before for a man who is going before the bench. But he can do it because what he was telling THURGOOD is that, THURGOOD, you is the top Nigger in the country but you still a Nigger to me. So what happens is that we have to extend our politics--It has often been said that politics is war without bloodshed and that war is politics with bloodshed. Detroit extended its politics to the streets. That was a political move on the part of Detroit. They were not concerned with the 68 elections. But understand one thing about the black movement. It is a peoples' movement. There is no leader across America who can assume the responsibility for rebellion. Those rebellions are created because of those conditions. Understand the logic behind the Newark black power conference which was prior to in Detroit and post Newark. That was an attempt to take the so-called leaders and vault them back into a leadership position of that movement because Newark had run off and left what they were talking about. They were talking about politics in a democratic way. Newark showed them politics in the streets. Detroit showed them politics in the streets. Black people are not concerned about the 68 election. They are concerned about being free by any means necessary. That's revolution.

We are rebelling now. We are in a state of rebellion now but we stand on the eve of a black revolution. Brothers, you better get your guns. I want to address myself to the peace movement and their role, because when it comes to black people, you supposedly political people become A-political. You want us to believe that you are against all wars. That's hypocritical nonsense, because when they (indistinct) in the Middle East, you dug in your pockets and supported it. So don't tell me, Man, that you are against war. You are against some wars. So I'm in the same position. I'm against some wars. I'm not against all wars because I think that violence is a value in America. Violence is necessary as far as black people are concerned because we were taught to be violent by America. She teaches the brothers who go to Vietnam to be violent, and when they come home she tells them to be non-violent (indistinct). So we say one thing about violence in America. Violence will be employed when violence is brought into that black community. We are now talking about defending our community. We are not talking about aggressive war. We are not talking about the guerrilla war that is being waged in Vietnam but if things don't improve, you think this was a long hot summer. The whole year is going to be long and hot next year. White people ask what they can do. You can do one of two things for the black movement at this point. You can die from burns, or you can do like John Brown did. You can pick up a gun and go out and shoot our enemy because you know who he is. One of the greatest contributors to the death of the civil rights movement was its attitude toward non-violence. In other words that is the definition for genocide also. Understand that the civil rights movement was never concerned about black people. MALCOLM X also says something about that. He says that leadership should never be relinquished. It should always remain in the hands of the dispossessed. The movement was first controlled by money.--the civil rights movement--Then it was taken over by JOHN F. KENNEDY and then LYNDON JOHNSON rode in on his horse, and to prove that he controlled, he called a civil rights conference at the White House and all of the good brothers and the so-called leaders showed up for that conference. That says LYNDON JOHNSON controlled the civil rights movement. Understand that civil rights legislation was never passed for black people. It was always passed for white people. It says for white people that they are human. I don't need a bill to tell you that I am human. Understand that freedom is not a welfare commodity. It cannot be given. It must be seized. Understand that black people were born free. They must but learn to exercise their rights to be free, and one of their rights is defending their mothers because if you can die defending your motherland, you can die defending your mothers. Don't ever forget that Brothers. Black people will have to understand about America and white nationalism. Everything in the black community that you don't use is used as a weapon against you. Your black athletes which are not controlled by us are used as weapons against us. The rock and roll singers are weapons against black people. Public education as it exists today is a weapon against black people. White news media, radio, T.V., newspapers. These are the greatest enemies of black people. Understand what happens with the WPP--the White Power Press, The White Peoples Paper. They make black people an enemy of black people. The only reason that MALCOLM X could be killed and the black people not revolt across the country is that MALCOLM X was an enemy of black people.

The only reason that ADAM CLAYTON POWELL could be lynched up on the Hill and black people did not rebel was because ADAM had been made an enemy of black people. The only reason that MUHAMMAD ALI could be given a maximum sentence and fined and the people did not rebel is because MUHAMMAD ALI had been made an enemy of black people. In other words white nationalism in America tells you who your patriots are. They tell you that GEORGE WASHINGTON should be a black hero. That is a lot of garbage. George Washington had 13 children, none of them by Martha. They tell you that you should celebrate Columbus' discovery of America. First of all how could he discover a country full of people. Columbus was obviously the 14th century Eisenhower. He was looking for Indians. Did you ever notice where India is on the map, and we are supposed to celebrate his birthday. Abraham Lincoln. The only reason Abraham Lincoln passed his little cool aid civil rights bill was to save this nation. Don't you forget it. Understand, they send their white nationalism into your house every night through their T.V. trick. Black folks got more confidence in Huntley and Brinkley than Catholics got in the Pope. Anything they say goes. According to Huntley and Brinkley we have killed every enemy soldier in Vietnam and now we can peas. Check it out, and we believe it because we chumps. White nationalism runs rampant and we scared to talk about black nationalism. We scared to talk about black power. Santa Claus is an example of white nationalism. It aint bad enough that he is geared in red and white but he slides down a black chimney and comes out white. We chumps work all year long to make money so we can buy toys and tell our kids that Santa Claus brought it. So when something like Detroit breaks out your son runs up and tells you don't shoot white folks in Detroit. You might hit Santa Claus. Man, these plastic strips is another example of black power. A brother bought a Band Aid and put it on his hand and he looked at it and thought that something was wrong with his skin. They don't make black Band Aids. America has black people hating themselves. She tells you that everything black is bad. Black cows don't give good milk. Black hens don't lay eggs. Devil food cake is black. Angel food cake is white. You wear black to funerals. You wear white to weddings. In religion they tell you that Jesus was white. The bible tells you that his hair was like lambs wool. Here's hair, brother, you can't get it slick (?) (indistinct). According to most of the churches that we go to today, there wasn't but one Biblical character who was black. Guess who he was. He was written in the last supper. He was Judas. We aint won nothing yet. Judas was black. We let them tell it. The word black has about 27 connotations and definitions. All of them are derogatory and bad. They talk about black mail. That's bad. That's white nationalism that installs that into black folks minds. We tell our children, that's right. So we perpetuate that system. In other words we are defeating ourselves. We run around here and (indistinct) black power. What you going to do when you need black power? It's coming. What you going to do then? You better start talking about getting the brothers home. All you who are running around here saying that you can't fight. You can start by stop buying cars. If everybody was to stop buying cars in 68, America's economy is based upon the automobile. You'll end the war. Don't pay your income tax. You'll end the war. If you'll understand that our war doesn't end in bringing troops home. Our war only begins there. There was a brother who was killed in Vietnam who received a Medal of Honor who could not be dead in a grave yard in Alabama. Fighting for LYNDON JOHNSON. Hell, I say that if LYNDON JOHNSON can stay over here and keep the Viet Cong off of LADY BIRD, I can stay here and keep the Honkies off of my women.

America has never been non-violent toward black people. They never will be non-violent toward black people. I don't need America to love me. She going to respect me though. Black people miss the message. The message is around you every day. Respect is the thing but to get respect you got to take care of business. You don't even listen to your own music, Chump. That is the downfall of black people. We have refused to look at things around. We associate with everything white. They have told us that is good. The valuabest thing in America is not people. It is white people, and we say, Yeah Man. Look at the political structure.. They tell you that you got a black Senator but where is he? EDWARD BROOKS is the White Knight. He is stronger than dirt. Anytime a man has to publish a article saying, I am a soul brother, that tells me he is trying to sell hisself to black people. If he is a brother, he may have the colors confuse. So understand that we are caught in the dilemma of being black in a white country. A white-owned country. It's not a white country because the Indians are here too. Then we got the Japanese and the Chinese, and if you really began to take census of that black American, you will find that we are more than 20 million people. That is a trick. What really happens is that the census taker is scared to go into the black community. So he goes to the white boss and says, How many niggers you got living over there? And the Honky says, a thousand or two, and he writes it down like that and we come out 20 million, and you tell us we got the highest birth rate. Something is wrong. Black people, you better get your minds together. That is a psychological trick. They always want you to believe that you are in the minority but realize this: It is always an organized minority that wins never a majority. Understand that white folks are a minority in the world but they control the world. When the brother comes home, when he brings his skills home, an America aint found out yet, she is about to be burnt down. She is about to be burnt down. So white folks who want to know what they can do, you better start talking about a radical political reform. You better start lowering the age of the President because you got more youth in the country than anything else. I can't see why you can't have a young President now, young Senators. That's radical political reform, but you see, black folks can't afford to address themselves to this now because we are at war. Understand, we are not turning our backs on that war. Like I said, black people have began to give, and counter-revolutionary violence will be met with revolutionary violence whatever you say about violence because you taught us to be violent. You don't scare me by saying that I'm violent. Yes, I'm violent, and if you scared of my gun, you wait until I get me a bomb. So understand, you can't turn your back on violence because you can't live in America if you black and be non-violent. They proved that test. So they look at the rebellion and say that nobody is being hurt but black people. That's a lie. They say that all of your people are being killed. We were killed before. More people were killed in the civil rights movement than in all the rebellions, and they died non-violently. So then it becomes a question of a matter that MALCOLM raised. If you going to go, make it even Steven. That's what you have to do. That is what black people are talking about now. You do not predict a long hot summer for it to happen because rebellions have been legitimatized in the black community, as non-violence was once a tactic, rebellion and sniping are now a tactic. America has forced upon black people the type of (indistinct) that has eluded black people for years. Black people understood in Detroit that they couldn't be worried about no class and say, here is a middle class or lower class black person.

They knew the Man was moving to get them. He created a "peoplehood" down there, and black people responded to that. So understand, we don't have to worry about organizing. You going to organize it for us. You going to force us to fight back. You going to force us to do it collectively, and black people have legitimized sniping, and that is very important. That is the most revolutionary thing that came out of the black community. Understand that when black people begin to snipe, the significant thing about the sniping as far as I am concerned, is not that there were snipers, but that no snipers were turned in. That says to me that black people have began to realize the value of violence because violence is a part of America's culture. Understand that the violence that is being used in Vietnam is no accident. The brothers who leave here not knowing how to be violent. But black folks have been violent toward each other. We have to stop being violent toward each other. Non-violence should be a tactic in the black community and it should end there. When somebody else comes down to take something from your community, if he touches one of us, he should touch all of us. One other thing about that peace movement. Down there in Washington, D.C. on October 21, if you look at what happened in Los Angeles a few weeks ago, the black folks have been saying that the policemen were brutal all the time but you didn't mean it. You ask the people in Los Angeles. If you go down there with the idea that the police in Washington, D.C. are not going to come down on you like the Gestapo police in Germany, you are mistaken. You are deluding and disillusioning yourself. They are going to make sacrifices of a lot of people who go there. So understand that you are going to have to be willing to fight back, and you aint going to be able to do it successfully with flowers. I know the value of the Hippies, but the Hippy is A-political as far as I am concerned. He is one of the most A-political people in America. I understand your message when you say that you, like we, reject America because we reject America too, but for different reasons. You understand the Sonny and Cher bit. These were people who were o.k. until they were in a position to exploit (?). But look at them now. You people can always escape back into American society, You can blend, and we can't. So if you want to unite with the black revolution, if you talk about coalescing with the black revolution, it has to be on a political basis. You going to have to understand our political philosophy which is black nationalism. You can't come down here and tell black people that you have to love that man to death when he is shooting us to death. So understand that I agree that coalitions will be necessary at some point but believe me, when it comes to black power and flower power, I'm going to take black power and gun powder. So I want to end up by saying the black people across America who are my age and older, I was...to do or die, but the kids who come after us, their's should be to reason why.. Black Power.

AT 100-7098

On October 3, 1966, AT T-17 advised the Truth Coffee Shop, 2289 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, allegedly owned by one TEDDY BUTLER JONES, is a point of congregation for many dissident Negroes, whom this source described as "fleas," - an insignificant and unimportant group who are disgruntled and ineffective. He claimed that they talk many philosophies including "Red Chinese politics". He stated that MARY KOCHIYAMA, a Japanese female, frequents the Truth Coffee Shop, and that she is the only Japanese he has ever seen there. He added that rumor among habitués of the coffee shop has it that MARY KOCHIYAMA is a Red Chinese Agent, but that there are others who feel she is not.

This source further related that new groups form daily at the coffee shop, which subsequently weld into other groups or generally disappear. No information is known of funds being supplied to any of these groups, particularly from any foreign power.

On August 31, 1967, JOSEPH M. ARGRETT, 845 West End Avenue, New York, New York, who is employed as an Inspector, Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), Washington, D. C., advised that on August 9, 1967, information was received by his agency that H. RAP BROWN, Chairman, SNCC, a militant Negro organization, had been observed in New York City the previous evening, in a motor vehicle on rental contract to Haryou Aot, which ARGRETT described as a poverty agency in New York, receiving Federal funds.

According to ARGRETT, it was determined that the automobile in question was a 1967 Rambler station wagon, bearing 1967 New York license 3Z 1662, which was leased from Kinney Rental Car Agency, on May 23, 1967, for a six month period. This vehicle was assigned to Haryou's Employment Center, New York, New York, and the responsibility of ALLEN WENDELL BAILEY, who was hired on April 1, 1966, and currently resides at 2144 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

He went on to relate, BAILEY was interviewed concerning the presence of BROWN in this vehicle, and during

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the course of this interview, he, ARGRETT, advised he observed an envelope in BAILEY's attache case which was addressed to Mr. RAPP BROWN, in care of Mr. ALLEN BAILEY, Haryou Act Employment Office, 180 West 135th Street, New York City. Observed in the left hand corner was the underlined notation: "PLEASE HAND DELIVER", and carried the return address: MARY KOCHIYAMA, 545 West 126th Street, New York City.

ARGRETT related, BAILEY displayed this envelope to him when he, BAILEY, observed him looking at it. At the time it was presented to him he observed it to be thick, as if containing several pieces of heavy folded paper, in an air mail registered envelope. He advised the envelope was immediately returned to BAILEY, and no explanation of either its purpose or content was solicited or offered.

AT T-18 advised on September 1, 1967, that ALLEN WENDELL BAILEY was an associate of both H. RAP BROWN and one DONALD WASHINGTON, all of whom are close friends to MARY KOCHIYAMA. This source further related that WASHINGTON has been observed with large quantities of money, the origin of which is unknown.

On February 1, 1966, AT T-34 advised that DONALD WASHINGTON is a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement.

A characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

On September 8, 1967, AT T-21 made available a tape recording of the speech of H. RAP BROWN which he had made on the evening of September 3, 1967, to a black caucus group of the National Conference for New Politics, which was held at the Palmer House Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

(The following is a transcript of remarks made by H. Rap Brown, on September 3, 1967, at Chicago.)

In 1964 the first real manifestation of black power since Reconstruction (illegible) Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party went to Atlantic City to challenge the Democratic Party. The people from Mississippi are honkies who have been representing black people for years. Now the Democratic Party told the MFDP that we don't need you. Now what you see here and what's significant about what you done done now is that you illustrated the use of black power. In other words you told this convention we've got to all come around or we gonna close you down. The most significant thing about power is that it comes from the word that means power. The black people have always had power but they refused to be powerful with their power. Now this is an illustration of this power, if you put it to use here. What we're working on is to broaden our political scope because this meeting here is behind Detroit. We're not even speaking as to where Detroit is at this moment. (illegible) because it has often been said that politics is war without bloodshed. Detroit is sending her politics to the streets. They were not speaking of the '68 election in terms of legality. They didn't even concern themselves with that. In other words, Detroit went to war and they put their politics where their mouth was. Now what

we are doing is that we are talking about politics in a legal sense. I don't know how well that's going to work because you see the Democratic Party is the Republican Party vice versa. Now you're going to talk about how black people can afford....talk about radical, political, reform in the (illegible) American Society as it's (illegible). That's the white folks job. We have to begin to talk about revolution. I just want to see (illegible) the Democratic Party who say they have Dixiecrats and that's a lie. There is no such thing as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between Lyndon Johnson and George Wallace is that one of their wives got cancer. There is no difference whatsoever. Only reason Goldwater got defeated was because he was honest. He told people what he was going to do. Johnson got in there and told Goldwater, Goldwater, if you start something (illegible) Now when you start talking about revolution, then you can begin to identify with the struggles abroad. So easy to not operate in a vacuum. It's not isolated from the black people here. The fighting over in Puerto Rico, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, is not isolated from the fighting over here. The fighting has been (illegible) is not isolated from the fighting that goes on here because the liberation of black folks in America depends upon the liberation for the other worlds bearing upon

the liberation of black people across the world. In other words we here feel that a monster (illegible) can't be destroyed from here, we have to destroy it. We got to keep everybody's freedom in other words. To shed some light upon the word coalition. If you look at what happened to (illegible) move toward Watson. They were (illegible) power, so what we want to talk about and what you told the honkies was that we'll talk alliance with you, but we ain't gonna talk no coalition. We ain't gonna (illegible) no coalition. In other words, you have to come down to the position way we (illegible) fits our needs. On those grounds, we can have an alliance. But to talk about coalition is to say that we have common power and my problem ain't common with nobody that calls themselves a hero upon my freedom. 'Cause I'm fanatic about it. In terms of leadership of the movement, they say also that leadership should never be shared, it should always remain in the hands of the dispossessed. That was the mistake we made in the civil rights movement. We won't make that mistake no more. We gonna have to broaden our concept because there are other dispossessed people in America besides blacks who (illegible), we need as allies, the Indian, the Mexican American, ..we have to be political in

every sense. You cannot move to alienate these people because when we taking care of business with the honkies, that we ain't do it right. We are not doing it for all dispossessed people - there are other dispossessed people who are going to get together and take care of business themselves (illegible) we through.

One thing about freedom. It will make you fight any enemy. If you are not free, you will fight any enemy. That has been one of the black man's make-up. That's the difference in the black man's impeccable will to be free that has made him fight for this country. It will be that same will that will make him fight this country. So what we got to do if we are to be political, is that we have to develop an ideology to go along with the rebellion because they are way out front of our political know-how and our political knowledge. You're going to have to start talking about black nationalism whether you like it or not. 'Cause if you expound anything else in America, it is not black nationalism, it is white nationalism. So if I have the choice of teaching black nationalism and white nationalism, you know the one I'm going to take. Because look at what happened. Now anything your community chest don't control is a weapon against you. It is used as a weapon against you. You don't control the politics in your community and that's a weapon against you. They can keep you in slum houses because you

don't control it. If you don't control public education, that's a weapon against you because what started this movement is white nationalism. You must control black (illegible) and black entertainers in your community or they can be used as weapons against you. So what you got to do is get yourselves in control but in a country like America, that's one thing that machines control. Being able to control your community that's being able to defend your community. If you can't defend it, you can't control it. In Plainfield, New Jersey, one of the most successful rebellions held in the country, along with the Mexican rebellion(illegible). The land organizations that held the honkies out of the hills over freedom (illegible). Now Plainfield (illegible) don't love the black people in Plainfield any more than they love black people in Detroit. But they refused to go to Plainfield because the brothers there kept (illegible) because they had weapons. They told me that each one of those guns can shoot 200 times at (illegible) for a half hour. They refused to go in there because (illegible) they say that we can't go in there because the niggers got guns. So I say I don't care if they only control this (illegible) but two days that was controlled. The result of being able to defend (illegible) to show that they (illegible) to that control.

The white man gang on the brothers and say, okay, we're going to start an alliance, and say, let me come in and look for guns (illegible) because they're here. (Illegible), the National Guard, and in their frustration because they didn't find guns, they began to destroy private property. The word went out immediately you kick down one more door, and we're going to shoot your leg off. They left the community.

Plainfield's still got their guns. They still got their guns. You have to recognize that America is at war with black people any time they put tanks in Detroit (illegible). You can't be nothing else but at war. America is very seriously contemplating, not only contemplating, but she's putting into effect the genocide of black people. But you have to discuss their political being. The white folks can't understand if you're being exterminated - tough! Because it is no accident that 30% of the casualties in Viet Nam is blacks. It is no accident that 22% of their fighting force in Viet Nam is black. (illegible) different reasons. Ours (illegible) fight the honkies. Look at what happens in Alabama every year. In America, the country that can send millions of dollars to Viet Nam to insure freedom. The country that can shoot people to the moon. Over 500 kids died each year for lack of proper

food and nourishment in Alabama alone. Alabama is (illegible). They instituted a program called the stamp program, which replaced the old (illegible) thing they had down there. They gave horse meat to eat, and they gave them a stamp program and told them for \$10 you can get \$40 worth of food, but they didn't say where to get the \$10. The party's behind that program. What the courts of America doesn't (illegible). This is still America, the land of the free. People who fought World War II to make democracy safe for the world - makes this world safe for democracy. These people who go before justice under our juries, you can expect the maximum fine and the maximum sentence if you're black. Justice is a joke in America. It stinks with its own hypocrisy. Lyndon Johnson is Hitler's illegitimate child, and J. Edgar Hoover is an ass.

Every time we play their games, be it politics, be it law, we fall into their trap because we gave them a license to kill us. The cops got license to kill niggers, and we jump, we go for it. They tell you about a birth control program that its most biggest effect is on the black community. (illegible). What they are doing is that they are putting an end to your race. They telling you that they don't want you to reproduce your seed. In other words, they say we ain't got

but 29 concentration camps and if you all keep reproducing at the rate you're going, they will then have to build some new ones. But those concentration camps are real. They got 13 of them that are already in operation right now. Right now. I hate to repeat it, I know you don't believe what black folks say, but that's what we call concentration camps in the United States built by horkies for niggers. But understand this, a lot of folks say that this don't apply to me. Me and Carmichael can't fill all 13 concentration camps. (Illegible) If you don't believe this, look beside you, you might be in it.

The man is moving to exterminate black people because he posed a problem. He had a surplus of niggers on his hand. (Illegible) you know what he does with surplus food - he dumps it in the ocean. In other words, we were brought here to do work—we have outlived our usefulness. We are not to join the leisure class that Attorney General Ramsey Clark talks about when he says within 20 years, but that can be five, ten, or 15 years, the entire population will lead a leisure nature, and only 20% of that population will man the work force, because of cybernation and automation, and then you look to see who has training for the cybernation part of the jobs. It's white boys. That's who. White boys are going to push the button to run the machines of (illegible). It appears to me we have outlived

our usefulness. We were brought here as slaves to work - there is no more work. We are a problem to America. That's what the concentration camps are about. If you don't think those concentration camps exist, if you're going to take the honkies word, you ride around on one of these Army bases that they been closing down. (Illegible) you heard them talk about closing Army bases, and see what they did to it. Right here. I think black folks had better put America on notice. Detroit put her on notice. She said that if you choose to play Nazis, we ain't gonna play too. So we must begin to address ourselves for a new type of politics. A politics that is relevant to the Indian, to the Mexican, to the Latin American who jumped over here. You can't talk politics that's relevant to Bobby Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy is one of them chief exploiters. I can hardly say (illegible) I saw smoke (illegible). I wonder what happened to Lee Harvey Oswald now that we need him. You always (illegible) go for the results. It ain't only Johnson, it's Rockefeller, it's Kennedy, it's all them honkies who sitting up there holding their anti-black rallies in Congress.

In 1964, at Atlantic City, it was Minnesota backs Humphrey. (Illegible-applause) Minnesota to go packing to go home. They say they'll let one or two of you in but black

folks can't govern themselves - you ain't ready - that's the same old line. And you went for it chumps. You still talk about voting in the '68 elections. Don't talk about voting next year. That ain't politics (illegible) and I guarantee you next year there will be a national curfew on niggers. Probably ten o'clock every night. All that they will let you stay out too. See that anti-riot bill tells you where to travel, how to travel and if you can travel. It wasn't only for myself and Carmichael. There's a new bill that's called the food bill that's coming up. That bill says that in time of conflict, you can't defect against the United States and its policy and in time when she does not engage in conflict, there can only be certain types of dissent. There goes free speech. Now remember this and keep this in mind. You are only three-fifths in the constitution here. In other words, they write you out. That gun bill. If the gun bill was a legitimate working bill, it would talk about taking the gun from the gestapo honkie cops. Because technologically, they don't need guns to apprehend the criminals. They have all types of ways. See what they're rewriting is they are writing it so that they are deliberately writing you out of it. (Illegible). So you better start

saying like Johnson says in Viet Nam. Johnson says if Viet Nam don't come around, we gonna burn Viet Nam down. And I tell you if the United States don't come around, the black folks should have burned it down, but (illegible). Votes hold no relevancy. If you can't vote though, you choose. Comrade Mao says what better way to enslave a man than to give him the vote and call him free. We get a (illegible) once that says what would it prove a man who ever had to vote and not be able to vote for a candidate of his choosing. How can you choose between Lyndon Johnson and Goldwater. There is no lesser of evil there. Evil is evil. That's why they have to do this. It is just like freedom. You can't be almost free. You can't be a part free, and you can't be a second class citizen. You're either free or you're not. That's like folks tell me they can be a little bit pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're lying and not telling the truth. So you can't be a little bit of America. You can't be a little bit a citizen. You're saved man. They apprehended me under the fugitive slave law in Virginia in 1967. So that says to me Abraham Lincoln wasn't hitting on too much when he signed the civil rights bill. Black folks are still slaves in America. We got to get away from talking about being misled

in his own game with his money too. Green power. There ain't no such thing as green power as long as that honky has got the power to change the color of money. (Illegible-applause) you gonna do...what you gonna do, if tomorrcw we're gonna use red dirt. You gonna go out and work to try to make a million dollars. That's what you're going to do. (Illegible) understand this. The confederates, they all white brothers, they is cousins. They came up to the Negroes with money after the war, and what did we tell them. We use this stuff with Washington's picture on it. Yeah, that stuff. You know what they're doing with confederate money these days, they tack it on the walls. They use it for wallpaper down there. The man's got the power to determine the color of his money. He'll give you all the money in the world. I'll give you an example. The man can tell you, he tell all niggers to bring me some rocks and for every rock I'll give you a million dollars. And all the niggers in the world would have a million dollars in gray rocks until this man would have all the rocks in the world. And then he'd look at you and say well, tomorrow we'll start using rocks for money. So you have to use their power. Power is the word. 'Mao says power comes from the barrel of a gun. In Russia's revolution, guns

are not relevant. See, black people do not create situations of violence. Violence is brought into the black community by honkies. Folks accuse me of violence but it never talked about Lyndon Johnson who bombs villages with napalm bombs, bombs hospitals. You see, black folks don't know how to be violent. We should take a lesson in violence from the honkies. Lee Harvey Oswald is white. This honky who killed the eight nurses is white. The honkies down in the bowery who set these bums on fire is white. The honkies who flew the plane over Hiroshima and dropped the atomic bomb is white. We don't know nothing about bombs. But we heard it. (Illegible-applause) 'cause you'd act to where you don't want to hate nobody, even though you love everybody, and go to heaven. (Illegible). As you see (illegible) to the extent (illegible). If you can forget what happened to the Jews and talk about what the Germans did to them you can tell their histories. But instead of the black brothers talking about what the honkies did to him and what the honky does to him every day, no that's hate - (illegible) my foot. Junk! Junk! He was admiring you all's terms. He's gonna tell me you got power. You control. You don't even control your own lives. It's the man's choosing to

to put tanks into your community and what can you do about it. Absolutely nothing. Then you get mad at your brothers who have Molotov and are trying to take care of the tanks. (Applause) You see this tells you one thing about the poor. You don't think he knows where battle is, he knows where the war is already. Another thing that Mao says about war. He says the poor cannot be trusted. They lie too close to the ground. How about that. The people are scared of black power. What they going to do when it's time to use black power. (Applause). The man's not playing a game. It's not a game. When he pulls in paratroopers and sends them to Detroit and tells you that that's another Viet Nam. See, we are a colony inside America. Black people constitute a colony. An internal colony. Believe me, brother, after we have been digested, you know what happens to food after it's been digested. (Illegible - applause) We are waste material. If you know what happens then - you know what you call it. (Applause). That's what the man is all about. He's out to take (pause) out of you. 'Cause you ain't nothing but a problem to him. You dig it so much until you teach your children to dig it. You teach them to love it. Now one of the greatest problems is I want to show you to be careful of white nationalism.

Santa Claus is an example of white nationalism. What's so repulsive and what's so criminal about Santa Claus is not only (illegible) Yankee-looking (illegible) and white. When he flies down the black chimney and comes out white again. (Illegible-applause) chumps save your money^l to buy kids gifts and tell them Santa Claus brought the gifts. So what happens in the kid's minds when mother starts to yell when trouble starts in Detroit. He runs and tells the old man we ought to be cool, we might have to kill Santa Claus. Do not be deceived. A brother went out thinking he could buy just another bandaid, put it on his arm, and noticed a little (illegible) something was wrong with his skin. He doesn't know they didn't make black bandaids. In other words, black skin ain't mush. They got black people hating themselves. They keep themselves down. Because what they got to thinking about anything all black is bad. Black power is only a good joke and (illegible) black hens don't lay eggs. When you talk about devils whose faces are black faces, you talk about angels (illegible). When you talk about funerals you talk about dressing in black. When he talk about weddings you talk about white. The Biblical character that characterizes

blackness is Judas. In other words, Judas was black. That's evil. The word black has about 16 different definitions. All of them bad. Because the man behind has the power to devise and legitimize with their power. Those terms that we're using in other words, we are instilling white nationalism into the minds of ourselves and the minds of our children, since birth. When we're first born. So what we have to get is to develop a political ideology that goes along with their movement. An ideology, brother, that does not separate us from other oppressed groups across the world. We must know what's going on in Rhodesia today. We've got to understand what happens in Rhodesia. Black people are fighting to get the same thing that we fighting over here. Only they are a majority. They are being oppressed by a few. That speaks to me about why the black people over here are not in control. They are never a majority at hand. It's always an organized minority. You don't need a majority. Quit using that as an excuse - we can't do nothing because we ain't together. Pretty soon we gonna be together in concentration camps or somewhere (Applause). If we don't believe Detroit ain't together, then go through there. That's no (illegible) Carmichael as middle class any more. There is no such a thing in a black middle class as far as America is

concerned. They don't kill you 'cause you got money or 'cause you don't have money. They kill you 'cause you're black, son. Lemuel Penn was a colonel in the United States Army who got shot in the head, just like Medgar Evers who was supposed to be a black middle class in Mississippi. Just like Ben Brown who was a worker for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Just like the poor young girls who were killed in Alabama. They were black. We have one thing in common - they were black. The man kills you and he moves against you because you're black. Understand one other thing. Then I'll quit (illegible) they talk about they are going to move the National Guard. They are going to put more black people in the National Guard. That's a lot of jive man. They just got an order from Washington, D. C. that says all large metropolitan cities with an integrated police force, the white policemen should be notified that in times of rebellions they should try to disarm black police. If you all don't believe this check with the FBI, or with somebody you know who works with the FBI. That's because they understand things are going to be worse and that black people are only going to take so much and then his mama's coming. (Applause). Things are gonna get worse before they get better. Don't run about talking about how many houses

are burned and casualties. All wars have had casualties. We were being killed non-violently before we started to rebel. More people have died in the civil rights movement non-violently than had died in all the rebellions. Death is no stranger in the black community. We live through death every day. Kind of job you perform is hatredness nine times out of ten." And then they don't teach you but so many jobs. That's also significant to note that in terms of ratio, there are more handicapped people hired than black folk. You see it's better to be born handicapped in America than to be born black. That's what America thinks about you. I says the white folks when they have rebelled against (illegible) civilized and long before we have to come over and civilize them. (Applause). George Bernard Shaw, another white man, says of America, he says this is the only country that he knows that came from barbarism to decadence without going through civilization. (Applause). It's not our job to civilize honkies. The white folks, the activists who considers themselves activists, who run around saying we want to do so much who want to be missionaries for the black folks - go home suckers. Let them go civilize the Kennedys. Civilize George Wallace. Civilize Lyndon

Lightning Bird Johnson (Applause). Now understand that we at this point are only beginning to address ourselves to politics. Every move America makes is a political move. Understand when the Rams 17 got busted, that was a political move. That was a conspiracy on the part of the CIA. Just like the Statue of Liberty case where people were taking pictures (illegible): In other words, they had a gun bill in force and they needed a (illegible). They busted the Rams 17 therefore crushing in from the right wing and joined the Birchers and said we're going to give you a gun bill. When they did, they came back and they busted the smallest branch of the Minutemen that they could find. They did a whole lot of substituting. Yeah, but I tell Kennedy (illegible-applause). They came back and they busted the Minutemen and they generated pressure from the left. Then the people on the left began to take (illegible) at the whole problem. That wasn't good enough. They killed Rockwell. They also killed Rockwell, yeah, all over this place. (Illegible-applause). President Johnson, he knows who killed Rockwell, and then their next move is to the left. In other words, with some poetic justice that he that lives by the sword, shall die by the sword. What they began to do is they going to hold myself and Carmichael as hostages for violence. Same thing as (illegible-applause). They believe anything Huntley and Brinkley says. (Applause). Black folks got more confidence

in Huntley and Brinkley than Catholics got in the Pope.
(Applause-laughter). We believe that we can control Viet
Nam and according to Huntley and Brinkley, we've killed
every enemy soldier in Viet Nam's streets. (Illegible-applause).
There ain't that many people in the country. You take how
many people we've killed. (Illegible) but understand one
thing why America is over there (illegible). It's not the
proper thing but it's just as plain, Eisenhower and his
people won't remember because of their ignorance. He
exposed (illegible).

AT 100-7098

AT T-19 advised on September 6, 1967, that during the period August 31, 1967 to September 4, 1967, BROWN was observed at the Palmer House and/or in attendance at the Conference for New Politics, which was held in Chicago.

On September 4, 1967, AT T-25 advised that BROWN advised that he would only speak to Negroes at the aforementioned conference and not to white people. The source said that during BROWN's speech, BROWN stated the incidents in Newark, New Jersey proved that the Negroes could only handle themselves if they were properly armed.

AT T-26 advised on October 5, 1967, that during the National Conference for New Politics, BROWN had spoken on September 3, and had called for the Negro politicians to take over in the United States and stated that if this were not possible, the Negro should physically destroy the communities in which they lived.

AT T-27 advised that BROWN made a speech to approximately 1,000 persons at a rally at East St. Louis, Illinois, on September 10, 1967. The rally was sponsored by the Congress On Racial Equality (CORE), East St. Louis, Illinois, and was held at the Lincoln Senior High School on the city of East St. Louis. AT T-27 made available a tape recording of the speech made by BROWN, a transcript of which is as follows:

Okay brothers and sisters, tonight I want to start off by tellin' you about a town. They used to call it Mowtown (?) now it ain't no town; they used to call it Detroit, now they call it destroyed. Before they had the war I heard some brothers say that if Detroit don't come 'round, Detroit will be burnt down but now there ain't nothin' left standing in Detroit or Mowtown and if they don't come 'round brothers, they are going to burn them down. Black people have to understand there is a message behind every city that goes up in flames in America. We are at war. America has declared war on black people over 400 years ago. We are just getting around to a point where we are accepting that war. Understand, LEXTON (?) HUGHES, who was a great black poet, once wrote a poem where he raised a question never answered -- he said what happens to a dream deferred (??) Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun or does it festor like a sore and then run or does it sag like a heavy load or does it explode. You can answer that too. Detroit answered it. Newark answered it. For those of you who can't understand that language then read your Bible. You understand the Bible. Read the Bible and it will tell you. It said God gave Noah the rainbow sign. It says no more water but fire next time. You just got to understand what you read. You see the biggest problem that faces black people today is the Bible. America is committing genocide against black people. We don't need no missionaries. We don't need white-collared