

HUEY! / LISTEN, WHITEY!

SIDE 1

HUEY!  
Black Panther Platform with Seale, Cleaver, Rap Brown  
From the soundtrack of HUEY!, produced by  
American Documentary Films.

SIDE 2

LISTEN, WHITEY!  
Black Communities' Reaction to the assassination of  
Dr. Martin Luther King  
From the soundtrack of LISTEN, WHITEY!,  
distributed by American Documentary Films.

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BLACK PANTHER PLATFORM  
WITH  
SEALE, CLEAVER, RAP BROWN  
Library of Congress Catalogue Card No. 70-75-2892

# LISTEN, WHITEY!

BLACK COMMUNITIES  
REACTION TO THE  
ASSASSINATION OF  
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
Library of Congress Catalogue Card No. 73-75-2893

Cover photo by Gerhard E. Gscheidle

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FOLKWAYS FT 5402

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## FOREWORD

The Black Panthers first swaggered onto America's stage-center in May, 1967, when 20 of their armed members invaded the California State Legislature to protest passage of a gun control bill. Since that time, the Black Panther Party has been assaulted by court indictments, police bullets and harassments taking a thousand forms. Their two founders, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, have both been jailed and face further court action. And their most widely-known leader, Eldridge Cleaver, has been forced into self-exile in Algeria.

The limping Black Panther Party has been split into two factions and it's once-extensive influence in the black community has been somewhat weakened. In the signifying ghetto-tongue, the Panthers, during their heyday, told the police, the mayors and the city judges that they were going "to get guns and be men." In a 10-point program, the party called for self-determination for the black community; full employment for black people, decent housing; an end to police brutality in the black community; education, land bread, clothing justice and peace.

These were hardly alien concepts, but the Panthers assumed from the very beginning that they could not be attained in this country for black people without the dint of machine guns and cannons. And the Panthers adopted "people power" in the place of "black power". They pictured all economically-disadvantaged residents of the Republic, including the police and prison guards, as victims of capitalism and its managers.

The police answered the Panthers' challenge with the ultimate weapons of their arsenal -- bloody pre-dawn raids on party headquarters, the wholesale tapping of telephones, battalions of infiltrators and informers, severe offenses against

civil liberties. And thus the police with their campaign of extirpation converted crusaders into martyrs.

Blacks, especially the young, have studied the oppression of the Panthers and have formulated organizational concepts that would avoid the mistakes of such a group that would conduct its 'revolution' in broad daylight and on television and radio. The Panthers expressed the rage, the quick and deadly hatred that every black man, woman and child feels toward the system which has gone to great lengths to dehumanize them. And in the suffering of the Panthers, blacks see the cost that they would have to pay for changing that system.

The Panthers have provided, for many black youngsters, a vicarious feeling of power. And for others in the black community, and the prisons, a direct guide for action: the police and prison guards have been accepted as "pigs" and enemies and have been increasingly attacked and shot at. Dr. Alvin Poussaint, a psychiatrist at the Harvard Medical School, says that the Panthers' main contribution has been the bolstering of the personalities of many black young people. There is general agreement among theorists of personality that blacks' feeling of powerlessness have been a barrier to achievement.

The Panther influence is yet strong among black inmates in the prisons of the Republic. Huey P. Newton was one of the first persons the inmates asked to see when they seized cell block D of Attica Prison. There is, however, increasing evidence that the Panther Party will evolve into a less violent-prone organization, and that its policy of police confrontation and guns for self-defense will be assumed by other yet-to-be organized groups.

Les Payne



Side One - HUEY!

SPEAKER: We're here right now to show standing support for our leader and Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, who is on the 10th floor of this building right here. Being prosecuted for allegedly shooting a police officer. We're going to be here and stay here until Huey P. Newton is set free. If he is not set free the sky is the limit!

ANOTHER SPEAKER: On April 6th members of the Black Panther Party was ambushed by the pigs. And when little Bobby was killed he came out the house with his arms up. The pigs told him to run to the car and they shot him down. Little Bobby was only one example. He represents all other Black men and women who have been murdered and killed throughout history for the last 400 yrs. and when Black people were first brought over here. Little Bobby was the first member of the Black Panther Party. He was dedicated, young and only 17. He was discipline, he knew what he was fighting for and his principles and the things he fought for maybe other Black men didn't realize what was going on and people still don't realize what little Bobby died for. He died for Black people, he died for the revolution, so other Black people and people of the third world can gain their freedom-- freedom which has been denied say for the last 400 yrs. when they said that we were free after the Civil War.

SPEAKER: The Oakland police department is a group of murderers and hard-nose racists and they're dead on wiping out the leadership of the Panthers-- not only the leadership of the Panthers, but of anyone who is set in a political way against the status-quo. One of the chief goals of the Black Panther Party is to drive this foreign truth out so that we will have the right to determine our on destiny. And as far as the police are concerned, we know that before you have any freedom first, you must have security. This is one of the reasons that the Vietnamese people haven't petitioned the American government to give them civil rights or human rights or to modify the establishment or the institution in Vietnam because they realize they must handle first things first. First that they must drive the oppressor out and then they can institute institutions that will be for the benefit of the people there.

We are here to give praise to a man who symbolizes much of what's been happening over the past seven or eight years. And the mere fact that he is in prison today signifies that the Black Liberation struggle rose to a new tide of resistance in 1967. The fact that Brother Carmichael has consented to come and make his first appearance after being held in the revolutionary capitol, the fact that Brother Rap Brown has been under preventive house arrest on the island of Manhattan and he himself is out here tonight to celebrate the birthday of Huey P. Newton. Lets give to the Chairman of the Black Panther Party brother Seale, Minister of Information and all these brothers that you see around here who have picked up the gun and said to the piggish cops in Oakland, "No more of our community."

SEALE: Let us say we want the world to know that the field niggers have gotten their thing together-- got it together and we gonna keep it together! Today is Brother Huey's birthday. Yesterday we went to see Brother Huey and he told us to tell you that this is the happiest birthday he's ever had. Now those of you who have been going down to the court room, I'm sure that you've gained a great deal of respect for the Attorney Charles R. Garry who is dealing with this. He is here tonight, he'll say a few words to you.

ATTORNEY GARRY: Huey P. Newton stood before the court on tuesday

morning and in tone, "I'M NOT GUILTY," and that's going to be the verdict of the jury if we get an impartial jury.

SEALE: Huey's mother is here, Mrs. Newton. This is the Black mother. But you have to understand she has give us a great warrior, a leader of his people. She wants to say a few words to you.

MRS. NEWTON: I've been shedding tears ever since this incident. Tonight it was a mixed emotion-- sorrow and joy. I told my friends tonight if it was just in my power I could go one by one and hug and kiss all of you and thank you for appearing tonight on my baby's birthday. Thank you.

SEALE: We want to announce that we are going to run brother Huey P. Newton for congress in the 7th Progressional District as the leader for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. We're going to run him as a write-in candidate in the name of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and in this way we can let the world know we're behind Huey and have respect also all the way down the line. Now the democratic party did not come forward to offer any support or aid for Huey P. Newton. The republican party didn't mumble they grumbled, they don't dig this! But there is a Peace and Freedom party in this area and they have given us authentic help.

I'm gonna bring you on now a member of the Peace and Freedom party, who has worked diligently on behalf of Brother Huey. I give you Bob Avakian.

BOB AVAKIAN : I wanna say that I wouldn't be on this stage, and we wouldn't have been in the opening induction center if it weren't for the courageous people, the masses of people and the leaders who led and participated in the Black Liberation struggle all these years, because they're the ones that taught us, they're the ones that forced us to face what the reality of America and this system was all about. And in this sense we say that not only are Black people a vanguard, but they're an inspiration. We don't expect them to liberate us; we have to do that for ourselves. But they have inspired us to begin that struggle to end this imperialist, racist colonial system once and for all.

SEALE: On Feb. 20, next tuesday, at the Bergen City Council I will introduce the following 2-part resolution: As you know the city councilman is the lowest politician in the world but you can talk loud and that's what I'm gonna try to do.

Whereas Black people comprise a substantial segment of this community, and whereas the composition of our juries and specifically the grand jury, do not reflect the Black community and whereas this violates the Black man's right to be judged by his peers and whereas at the grand jury level Mr. Huey P. Newton, a Black man is the victim of a violation of the constitutional rights guaranteed him under the constitution of the U.S.; therefore be it resolved that this body go on record demanding that the case against Mr. Newton be judged unconstitutional and that he be freed immediately.

To explain to you who Huey P. Newton is in his soul, I ve got to explain to you also your soul, your needs, your political desires and needs because that is Huey's soul. When we first organized the Black Panther Party of Self-Defense, Huey said, "Bobby, we're gonna draw up a basic platform,



just basic that Black people can read." He said, "we don't wanna go really elaborate with all these essays and dissertations and all this stuff cause the brother gonna look at that and say man I ain't got time for that, I gotta go see what I can do for myself. He said, "just a basic platform that the mothers who struggled hard to raise us, the fathers who worked hard, the young brothers in school who come out of school semi-illiterate, Huey said, (1) We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black community. (2) Full employment for our people. (3) We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings. (4) We want all Black men to be exempt from military service. (5) We want decent education for Black people in our community that teaches us the true nature of this decadent racist society and to teach Black people and our young Black brothers and sisters their place in society, because if they don't know their place in society and in the world they can't relate to anything else. (6) Want an end to the robbery by the white racist businessman of Black people and Black people in their community. (7) We want an immediately end to police brutality and murder of Black people. (8) We want all Black men held in county, state, federal jails and prisons to be released because they have not had a fair trial, because they have been tried by all white juries and that's just like being tried in Germany being a Jew. (9) We want the trial to be tried by members of their peers, and a peer being one who comes from the same economic, social, religious, historical and racial background. If the U.S. government and the courts and the local courts did this they would have to choose Black people from the Black community to sit up on the jury. They would have to choose some of them mothers who been working twenty years in miss ann's kitchen scrubbing floors like my momma done done. They have to choose some of the hard working fathers, they have to choose some of them brothers who stand out on the block wondering where they gonna get a gig. They gonna have to choose these Black people. And (10) Huey said, "Let's just summarize it: we want housing, we want education, clothing, we want justice, and we want peace. This is a basic platform. In case you never knew it or nor of all the things you've heard in the press, of all the derogatory statements thats been made in the press about brother Huey P. Newton and I, —derogatory statements to guide you away from seeing this basic platform that Huey was talking about for his own people! We have to learn to look through the white press -- got to learn to see what's going on.

Now out of this platform Huey P. Newton realized that it was necessary for us to start working on these points. Remember #7, we want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people. This is very very important. And here, whether you know it or not is where you start dealing with the Black Revolution. When Huey says every Black man put a shot gun in your home and once we let the man know, say look, we're armed from block to block and we're gonna patrol you from our windows and we're not gonna have your brutalizing none of our people in the streets. Do you realize what kind of power Black people will have then? You began to neutralize that police force. Those cops gonna start riding shaky and scared. In fact we're in a position then to demand that they withdraw from our community, because they occupy community just like a foreign troop occupies territory. Its very important to understand, we hate cops beating Black people over their heads and murdering them, thats what we hate! If you got enough energy to sit down and hate a white person just because the color of his skin you're wasting a lot of energy. You better take that same energy and put it in some motion out there and start dealing with those oppressing conditions and you're gonna find just what you hate and what you're gonna stop. Black people, we are organizing to stop racism, you dig

it! When you stop racism, you stop brutality and the murder of Black people by the racist occupying army in our community thats what we gonna stop — what's being done to us. You dig it! Can you dig the white power structure and the racist police force and how they escalate the situation. Before Watts there was 1,003 cops and now there's 6,000 cops patrolling Black people. In Oakland they had 350 cops just 3½ yrs ago, now they got 1000 cops patrolling Black people. San Francisco is doubling its police force and every area of major metropolis where Black people live all across this country. They've doubled, tripled, and quadrupled their police force equipped with tanks all kinds, no we've got to stop it brother, let's get together and unify!!

SPEAKER: Then they also carry the shot gun. All cars have those now, do they?

POLICE: Yes they do, all cars have a right.

SPEAKER: Do all cars carry the helmet, do they?

POLICE: Yes they do.

SPEAKER: For what purpose do you use that for?

POLICE: In case we get into an area where there'll be flying debris or four our own protection.

SPEAKER: In other words in case you're where there is violence or anything, sometime you have to save your head.

POLICE: Yes. We hope we never use any of this equipment; but we do prepare.

SEALE: Ladies and gentlemen I submit to you, so far we who have planned for this meeting tonight are concerned that the key is spelled out in 4 letters: the initial of each word. F A F O = Fafo. (F) standing for FIGHT. We will be more than happy to keep in contact with those of you who are interested and to keep the information coming in to you. A for ARM (we hear shots in the background) I think the people should be prepared, I think every person today under our constitution has the right to bear arms for his own protection and each person should have a gun. He should know how to be able to shoot straight and shoot to kill if necessary.

There were Jews who were in top of the government, Jews who were rich, and Jews who were living good; but Hitler said, "when I start putting people in the gas chambers, I'm gonna put all Jews in, and I'm not concerned about any body but Jews. So it didn't matter whether you had money or whether you were poor. They put everything that was Jewish in. And I think you gotta recognize that this is a racist society, its racist to the core. And white people oppress Black people. They oppress all Black people. The white man is willing to take us all before he recognizes us as being human. We are just as intelligent as he is, just as capable as he is of doing anything, he just won't accept this. I think that the man is willing to take us all and go all out and get this thing on and over with before he recognizes us as being of the human race. The suburban areas of all the major cities of america are well armed against Black people, I mean they aren't playing! The John Birch Society has admitted that they go out on rifle ranges every weekend, they practice shooting. They practice shooting Black people. And when they come into a community they aren't gonna ask you are you militant, are you nice, have you been good? They gonna say are you Black, they gonna see that you're Black and they gonna shoot you. I mean its just that simple!

Black brothers and sisters we gonna have some unity here. We gonna have some unity behind brother Huey P. Newton because Huey was trying to unify us to solve all of our problems. Huey was for us. The man has gotten Huey chained up, watch where I point my finger. Did you see the building over there - right in back he's chained up in jail, right across the street.



When we announce Huey's court date of appearances, you be there for an hour and half and show a standing support that we should have Huey P. Newton set free. Be there brothers and sisters and tell your friends and explain to Black people what Huey P. Newton was doing with the Black Panther Party of Self-Defense, what kind of organization it was. Let people know that it is necessary that we must unify on all levels and all the areas of oppression we must deal with them. And right here in the confines of racist america, racism must be stopped! You see Lyndon Johnson can always raise an argument about law and order because he never talks about justice. But Black people fall for that same argument and they go around talking about lawbreakers. We do not make the laws in this country. We're neither morally nor legally confined to those laws. Those laws that keep them up keep us down! You got to begin to understand that!

For 400 yrs he taught you white masterism, and you lapped it up, you taught it to your children, you had your children thinking that every thing Black was bad. Black cows don't give good milk, Black hens don't lay eggs. Black for funerals, white for weddings -- that's white nationalism! Santa Clause: a white honkey who slides down a black chimney and comes out white! We tend to equate progress with concessions. We can no longer make that mistake. You see when they gave us that nigger astronaut, you say we were making progress, but I told you that they were gonna lost him in space - he didn't get that far! You put Adam Clayton Powell in office and you couldn't keep him. What you think they gonna do with Thurgood Marshall when they get tired of him. They gave you Walter Washington of Washington, D.C., and you said we're making progress, that's not progress! You see there's no in between, you're either free or you're a slave. There's no such thing as second class citizen. That's like telling me you can be a little pregnant! The only politics in this country thats relevant to Black people today is the politics of revolution. The only thing that's gonna free Huey is gun-powder. Black powder! When Black people become serious about the revolution struggle that they're caught up in, whether they recognize it or not, when they begin to go down and knock off people who are oppressing them and being to render these people impotent, thats when the revolution struggle unfolds, not until! They tell you that your problem is unemployment, well I got a program that can employ any Black person in this country over night.

We're here to celebrate brother Huey P. Newton's birthday. We're not here to celebrate it as Huey Newton the individual, but as Huey Newton part and parcel of Black people wherever we are on the world today. And so in talking about brother Huey Newton tonight; we have to talk about the struggle of Black people not only in the U.S. but in the world today and how he becomes part and parcel of that struggle, how we move on so that our people will survive america. Now why is it necessary for us to talk about survival of our people? Many of us feel, many of our generation feel that they're getting ready to commit genocide against us. Now many people say that that's a horrible thing to say about anybody, but if its a horrible thing to say, then we should do as brother Malcom say, we should examine history. The birth of this nation was conceived in the genocide of the Red man. Genocide of the Red man! In order for this country to come about a honky had to completely exterminate the Red man and he did it - and he did it! And he did it where he does not even feel sorry. He romanticizes it by putting it on TV with cowboy and Indians. If you do not think he's capable of committing genocide against us - check out what he's doing to our brothers in Vietnam! Check out what he's doing in Vietnam! We must develop an undying love as its personified in brother Huey P. Newton. If we do not do that we will be wiped out! Our slogan will become, first our people and then, only then me and you as individuals. Our people first! The concept of the Black man is one who recognizes his cultural, his historical and the roots

of his great ancestors who were the greatest warriors on the face of this earth! AFRICANS!!

Many of our peoples minds have been white-washed. If a Negro comes up to you and you turn your back on him, he's got to run the the honky. We gonna take time and patience with our people because they're ours, they're ours! All of the uncle toms, we're gonna sit them down and we're gonna talk, and when they slap, we're gonna bow, and when they slap, we're gonna bow, and we're gonna try to bring them home, and if they don't come home we're gonna off them that's all! We have to recognize who our major enemy is. The major enemy is not your brother, flesh of your flesh and blood of your blood, the major enemy is the honky and his institutions of racism. That is the major enemy! A lot of people in the bourgeoisie told me they don't like Rap Brown when he says I'm gonna burn the country down, but every time Rap Brown says I'm gonna burn the country down they get a proverty program. A lot of people say to me we don't like the Black Panther for Self-Defense, walking around with guns, I tell you now if those honkies in San Francisco take off the fighters who represents the Black Panther for Self-Defense ain't nobody in this community prepared to fight right now. Everybody gets offed!

That's what we have to understand today, so that everything goes out the window, we talk about survival, that's all. Cut all that junk about proverty programs, education, housing, welfare; we're talking about survival and brothers and sisters we gone survive america!! We have to have each other for our survival, we have to have each other! From the revolutionary to the conservative, a Black United Front is what we're about!

I want to read a statement from brother Huey P. Newton, wrote yesterday while I saw him in jail. He says, "as the racist police escalate the war in our communities against Black people, we reserve the right to self-defense and maximum retaliation. Understand this concept: when they offed brother Malcom, we did nothing, if they off brother Huey, we've got to retaliate! We must retaliate, we must fight for our humanity. It is our humanity that is at stake. All we say, brother Huey will be set free or else!!!



RADIO ANNOUNCER: This is WWRL 1600 on the dial in New York. Hello, yes you're on air. What do you think is the best way we can immortalize King?

AUDIENCE: By doing exactly what he was trying to accomplish - I do not mean violence.

ANNOUNCER: In other words, you're saying that what we should do is to work to carry out his teachings or his preachings.

AUDIENCE: Right, thats exactly what I mean, and thats the only way we can accomplish anything in the world anyway. Like when he was living, I didn't feel that violence was the way for us to accomplish anything in this world.

ANNOUNCER: Thank you very much for your call.

AUDIENCE: Thank you.

ANNOUNCER: Bye-bye.

ANNOUNCER: Hello, yes you're on the air.

AUDIENCE: For every champion of Black justice has in some way or another been struck down, as with the case with Lincoln and Kennedy and now Dr. King. So I think we should take good stock of our selves and begin to fight our own battle. To stand up as men! To face force with force if necessary.

ANNOUNCER: Friday April 5, New York City. Just 24 hrs. after the assassination of Martin Luther King.

The Black radio stations stops its commercials and preempts its program in the memorial. So that by the night it recalls the reactions of the Black community in New York. Tongiht we hear no white men, just the soft voices of the Black people of America.

AUDIENCE: How you gonna treat me if you can't treat me right man. Everything you find you can't do it because one thing Black people have to learn we got one power, and ain't got nothing else. That's the power to destroy, and that's the power to make you uncomfortable. You can't go to sleep in your suburbs, if I can't go to sleep in Harlem.

RADIO ANNOUNCER: 10 minutes before 4 P.M., on WPGC the curfew for the district of columbia goes in effect in 10 minutes at 4 P.M. (radio commercial for ultra bright toothpaste.)

This late development: Large fires now reported at the corner of 7th and L streets. And in N.W. tear gas has been used to disperse a crowd of people near the fire scene. We again urge you to stay in your homes, do not become a party to the violence.

SPEAKER: Washington, saturday afternoon 4:15. The curfew clamps down 15 minutes ago. Between distress calls the commercials rave on. There are more troops here than there was in Khe-san. Basically what's happening now, is that there is a beginning of a war between blacks and whites. Its been a cold war, even though we call it a long hot summer. The assassination of a man who's entire life has been a commitment to non-violence. He had his adherence among many Black people in the United States. The assassination of such aman by traditional white american means, means that the circle had been drawn around many Black people who were formerly committed to non-violence who felt that there was some sort of hope. My assessment from talking with many of these people who formerly adhered to King's views has been that there's a disillusionment, that there's a re-questioning of their own motives and goals and a feeling that something different must be done. They're more leanable to the kind of direction which we have been projecting for a long time.

Which is that Black people in their communities first of all and even before any talk of changing America as a whole have to organize themselves in such a way that they control their destinies as close as possible. It means basically Black people constitute a nation within a nation. And at that point we can talk about relationships between white and Black on bases of And at that time we can talk about alliances with many white people who are in fact are good white people.

SPEAKER: You see I didn't bring up the question of alliances in the sense, I mentioned that there were white people who for themselves exonerate themselves and maybe justifiable from being the perpetrators of violence. But the thing I was emphasizing is the fact that basically white america has never come to grips with the fact that whether they are the individual perpetrators of violence or not, that the total white society is the responsible factor for the continuance of violence. I talked with a group up in Westchester last night and among the kinds of questions that I ask, you get all these things about, am I to blame? First the individual is not the blame as such. Only in proportion as he vision himself with business as usual and politics as usual, and does not feel the necessity of a personal commitment to doing something. Now what do I mean by business as usual and politics as usual? A great deal of what is being done right now in commemoration of Dr. King is serving 2 purposes (1) a sort of emotional purification for the guilt feelings for the total society and the great danger is that it just will be carried out in what I called an emotional venge.

SPEAKER: Any other reactions was the political reactions of the authorities, which is now an attempt to use King's death to protect its system. The same people who dishonored him, and who involved in calling him Martin Luther Coon. Johnson for example, who has not seen King for two years now upon his death have embraced him an attempt to use the things which he stood for and which they never subscribed to in order to confuse Blacks! And to tell them to be cool so that on all sides you hear whites discussing , don't be bitter, let us come together as brothers and sisters and they say everything about redemption and non-violence, and they say nothing about justice. They say nothing about changing the socieity which is responsible.

SPEAKER: And you know everybody will sort of bathe and soothe his conscience as a result of having had all the declarations, a day of mourning, lowering of the flags and speaking over every radio program and so forth and so on.

SPEAKER: Remember when President Kennedy asked when will our country learn that to live by the sword is to perish by the sword. Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael said that the death of Martin Luther King killed all reasonable hope, I see no one replacing Dr. King. That's why all America lost! AFCLIO president George Meany called it an american tragedy. Longshoremen on all atlantic, gulf and great lakes ports closed down the docks in a one day tribute to King. Former Vice-President Nixon called for a new dedication to the ideas of non-violence. Robert Kennedy said, we must fulfill the dreams of Dr. King. Eugene McCarthy added, america has lost a man of peace.

The Executive Director of the National Urban League, Whitney Young said we fear for our country. Governor Rockefeller was asked if he plan to attend Dr. King's funeral. He replied I certainly would like to.



Rockefeller was also asked if Dr. King's assassination would have any effect on his political plans, to this the governor simply said no. The governor also called not only for an end to violence, but to bigotry, oppression and indifference. Rockefeller said that its not enough for us to lower our flags, he said we must raise our purposes, our spirits and our commitments. Governor said the true memorial to Martin Luther King must be made not of stone but of action!

It a very fact that tributes are bein paid to him in every corner of the world tonight, Its an indication that it was a success. Unfortunately, he didn't live to see the full fruits of his efforts and maybe his children's children won't see it. But the foundation has been laid, there's something now to be built on.

SPEAKER: Anybody who is a leader, and anybody who speaks out has to feel that it is aways possible to be assassinated. I've accepted and most of us have accepted the fact that we could be assassinated. What we're talking about is that there must be instant retribution. We not only want the kind of retribution against tenement housing but we expect and I expect if I am assassinated there will be power plants blown up, police stations blown up, white racist piggish cops killed and so forth.

SPEAKER: There's only one question in the country and that question is whether there will be a transfer of power. That's the only question. The other question related to that is whether that transfer of power will be violent or non-violent. But every other question is a false question. If there is not a transfer of power from the white community to the black community then there will be a polarization that will begin which may or may not be successful.

Its clear for Black people that we have only two choices, we can either submit to oppression or we can unite against it. If we united against it, we may win and we may not win. If we submit ourselves to it we will surely and certainly not win at all. One thing that the white society has not tolerated, is not gonna tolerate from Black people is aggression. The slightest signs of aggression leads to massive types of retaliation by the white society. So that King almost adapted his techniques to fit into this, any other type of techniques if it was more aggressive, or even advocated self-defense, white americans would have repudiated, had nothing to do with it. But this was a way of winning over, appealing to the white americans. King was losing a lot of support among people in the Black community. He still had a great deal of it. Many of the militants in particular were turning away from King's approach, they even believed it was suicidal. You were exposing yourself to the man who wanted to alienate you. And you were marching children and young people to racist mobs, throwing bricks, and bottles and busting the heads open and so on. without being able to point to anything that you had achieved. For every major demonstration that King had that won something, say like the Selmars, march on washington — there were thousands of small demonstrations all around the south where people were heard and little kids heads were bloody and nothing happened! The goals were not achieved, schools did not become integrated, they didn't get into the lunch room, for it took many many demonstrations before it happened. There was a big price you had to pay for those small achievements and victories.

SPEAKER: Has in some sense the liberal wings of Black movement died with King?

AUDIENCE: Well I don't think so, because the vast majority at least according to the polls, close to 80-85 percent up to 90 percent of the Black population in the United States is pretty moderate. The militants

are a very very small minority, but growing in strength, they're much stronger now than they were five years ago.

SPEAKER: Are they a lot stronger than they were two days ago?

AUDIENCE: I don't know, that would be hard to evaluate. There's more over anger and rage in Black people and much more of a willingness say to want to strike back and become militant. You wanted to know who we would turn to now. I think and I've always felt that with all our great men there is always a mistake for a whole race of people to pin their hopes on any one man. I believe that we ought to have many many leaders in many many areas. I believe that all shades of opinion, and all shades of thought ought to certainly work as they see it, towards a solution to these problems. But in the same breath let me say that I think we need to have unity, and I think that we need to have dignity as you have very well pointed out. But I don't believe that the white people in this country are going to give us what we think that we need and of course what we should have. And that is a question of equality. Now its been all these years and we certainly haven't gotten it up to this point. And I don't believe that we're gonna get our freedom, until we win it. Now I don't believe we gonna get it by rioting.

Look man, we at war with the United States, don't let anybody fool you!

WASHINGTON 5 PM Saturday. One of the fires that kept the capitol under smoke, is left in the Black district in the ghetto fringe. A block of four shops blazes.

There's all sorts of peace and , some of us want five states, some of us want an end to the capitalistic system in the United States. And its not gonna be a war man, this is a protracted warfare. This may go on for the next hundred years, but it will go on that's a fact.

He doesn't see all that went in the past, and he is to wait, like I was to wait. And there's every reason in the world for it, of course you run into people who say why didn't your generation do something? You must remember that for generations, we were way cross the hills, on the other side of town, down across the river. We didn't bother anybody, we worked, we cleaned the house, we took care of the babies, we scrubbed the floors, we dug the coal, we made the railroad lines, we did all the dirty work. When it came down to pay day on saturday, we got a half pound of bacon left over in the icebox. Half pound of butter, we got the old clothes that children had worn out, they paid us  $\frac{1}{4}$  of what they should have paid us. So we went back to the ghettos saturday night, disfranchised, disillusioned, disardent and discouraged. So, we did one of two things. We either brought some whiskey and got drunk, and we fought and shot and cut up one another in the ghetto. Or else we shined our one pair of shoes and pressed our clothes and we went to church on sunday morning. We sand and prayed all day long, so the white people over the way on the other side of town heard us singing and praying and they said, those niggers are happy don't bother them.

(Singing of We Shall Overcome)

We're walking because we believe that the death of Martin Luther King is an assualt against Black people and we're here to demonstrate our protest, and our solidarity as Black people.

I'm marching for my color.

I'm marching for Martin L. King.



He achieved unity of people as evidence by this march and certainly as a patron of the non-violence movement. I think he achieved that for our country, and I'm sure that his work will continue through the Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

I'm marching because I feel sorry for the death of Dr. King. I believed that he wanted everyone to be free. He wanted everyone to be the same and like each other.

#### YESTERDAY, A MARCH FROM HARLEM TO CENTRAL PARK

An orderly rally of both Blacks and whites, paying their respect to the Rev. Martin Luther King. In their midst is Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay of New York.

If such legislation which is presently pending were pass, if all proposed legislation were pass, that this would be irrelevant, its such a pittance.

A Black community has only one hope — keep pounding away hoping to to that along with that pounding that they can draw in some liberal forces who may join them, having seen the equities which exist.

King can only be killed because of all the thousands of Blacks who have been killed already throughout the history of this country. The famous three boys who were killed in 1964 in Miss. the country made some small noise about it only because two of the boys were white. Since that time there has been 46 blacks killed in Miss., of which the country gave less than a damn! The country is only concerned when it's embarrassed, in terms of its madison ave. image. It's not concerned about as I said before justice. It is only concerned about the preservation of its system.

You see the problem can be solved, I believe. The real question is, does the U.S. have the capacity to change. Its a series of changes the the white man must go through to solve the problems. And the white man has not been able to recognize that he is engaged in an revolutuon. He will have to make certain changes and he will have to make them dictated by the Black communities in this society, not by his logical time escape he has systematically set up, or IBM or computer system. Its not gonna be the answer, the answer is gonna be decided by the Black people. The economic factor is here, to make the necessary changes, the political factors are not here because there is a need for political factors to change.

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