

THE BLACK PANTHER

25
cents

Black Community News Service

VOL. III NO. 5

SUNDAY MAY 25, 1969

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126



WHY HUEY

"When there is a why, you learn to live with the how"... Huey P. Newton, May, 1969.

Huey Newton sits in his jail cell, a man denied human companionship, a lover of books without books, a writer forbidden pen or paper. Why?

Gerald Roberts, white cop killer of 19-year-old Alvert Linthorne, is free. Michael O'Brian-vicious white racist cop, murderer is free. Why is Huey Newton - Black, young, student, revolutionary - denied bail, having been convicted of a charge for which bail is almost always given while appeal is pending? Why is Huey denied this most elementary right? Why is he kept behind bars under the most stringent restrictions? Why Huey?

From the time Huey was arrested - over 18 months ago - he has been kept separated from the people. What is so dangerous about this young Black man that the white power structure feels it necessary to isolate him from the world - to keep him locked in his cell 20 hours a day with only his thoughts to accompany his complete loneliness? Why indeed! The answer is painfully, tragically simple: it is because this sadistic enemy well recognizes the danger - to itself - of Huey's compelling influence over others. It recognizes what unhappily is not yet a conscious realization for the majority of people: Huey knows what is necessary to exterminate forever the oppressive racism running rampant in this country. But the danger he poses is greater. Huey not only expounds theoretically what must be done; he is able to bring that message to the people. His love for people is so strong that it is impossible not to feel it when in his presence. Therefore his presence must be obliterated and his messages hidden from the people or smothered in lies to obscure their true meaning. He is denied bail; he is isolated; he is restricted to his cell: limitations that would break the mind of a weaker man.

There is no doubt that they are trying to "break" Huey - reminiscent of "slave breaking" in the anti-bellum south. They failed in their attempts to kill his body, so they have zeroed in on his mind, his spirit. They have succeeded with so many others. Why not Huey?

Scant minutes following the sentencing (2 - 15 years. Why not a definite number? Because Judge Friedman knew it was a frame-up and he reasoned that the hope that Huey would be free in 2 years would ease the pain of the Black community) - Huey was smuggled into a car and whisked away to California Meer's Colony at Los Padres, a "model prison for 'model' prisoners; model puppets too old, too beaten, too scared, too sick to protest - anything. Here the world would be safe from Huey Newton; here there would be no one to whom he could talk, no one with whom to argue, no one to organize. And Huey knew. Months before, he had said, "They'll send me to Los Padres - that's as far away as they can get me".

And at Los Padres, Huey told them, "I'm not a slave. I will work for no less than the national minimum wage!" Shocked, the authorities threw him into solitary confinement. Each day they assigned him to work - in the kitchen - and each day, he refused. It was too obvious, even to these lackeys of racist hatred that this man was not awed by his jailers; he was not cowed by their puppet authority nor impressed with the laws made by his enemies for their own protection.

Today, Huey is back in his cell - all day every day. He is permitted nothing to relieve prison stagnation - no books, no radio earphones; only 3 small sheets of writing paper each week. But this is hardly enough to satisfy his 20th century American legislators. Once a day his room is searched to assure, perhaps, that no ghost (Marx? Malcolm? Che?) has succeeded in spritzing prohibitively dangerous articles (books, cigarettes? toothpaste?) through the

thick walls of the jail. And as a further precaution against such a woeful event, Huey is stripped naked before he is allowed to see visitors, each of whom, in his turn, must empty all pockets before entering the sacred cubicle. Not so much as a pencil - that well known subversive element - must enter that room.

Allowed 45 minutes daily exercise, Huey tries to thoroughly exhaust himself in the hope that he will attain some measure of sleep when he returns to his cell.

It is a cruel joke, this term, "rehabilitation center". We know that prisons do not rehabilitate. They destroy. And those minds they cannot shatter, they often physically murder. What will be Huey's fate?

How can Huey remain the free being he is today despite all the horror that is 18 months in the white man's prison? How can he remain sane after having been singled out for their over-kill methods?

It is a horribly true fact that Huey Newton is a captive of the State of California, confined for his political beliefs and his determination to put them into practice.

But Huey Newton is the embodiment of freedom, the personification of that beautiful truth, "Freedom is the understanding of necessity". It is freedom that has enabled him to withstand the agony of isolation, the intense pain to which his mind and body have been subjected. He is free because he knows he is right and that ultimately his cause - freedom for all people - will be a reality. He is free because he understands the possibility of his not being here to enjoy that reality and he accepts that possibility. He is free because he knows that his quest for the liberation of all oppressed people is recognized by his enemy; by its need to isolate him from the people. And he accepts his enemy's intelligence - and his resultant imprisonment - as proof of the power of his truth.

But Huey is in danger. He is undoubtedly one of - if not the most hated enemy of the imperialist power structure. They could easily stage a "riot" and have him killed. Huey MUST be freed! We must support the lawyers in their legal attempts for parole and habeas corpus writs, in their uphill battle against the judiciary arm of the abortive system of justice in this country. (Witness the tragedy-comedy performed in the Federal

courtroom of Judge Zirpoli on May 1, when the Prosecution appeared to show cause why Huey Newton should not be given bail. Defense Attorney Fay Stender was crystal clear in the factual evidence she produced for the 3 criteria necessary for bail. Yes, it had been proven often that "the petitioner will appear". He had never failed to do so. Is Huey a menace to the community? Huey and the Black Panther Party are well known in the Black community for keeping things cool during periods of emotional stress - for protecting the community and never inciting or encouraging violence. The third criteria is to prove the seriousness of the reasons used to deny bail. Judge based his decision on the above myth that Huey was a menace. However, the Defense demands a constitutional right to bail pending a decision on this by the Appellate Court. Mrs. Stender proved beyond any doubt what had been horribly obvious to those in Judge Friedman's courtroom: he is an overt racist with a hatred for Huey and the defense witnesses he didn't attempt to veil. All of this had no effect on Zirpoli's decision: NO BAIL!)

We must assure the lawyers' financial ability to carry through their fight until it is won. Please be generous. Remember Huey is sitting in his cell alone - so that one day we all will be free. Send contributions to Huey Newton Defense Fund, Box 318, Berkeley, Calif. 94701.



ERICKA HUGGINS - WIFE OF THE LATE JOHN JEROME HUGGINS

HUEY P. NEWTON POLITICAL PRISONER

Before I start talking about Huey P. Newton, let's clarify a few things: Black people have been the victims of brutality, murder, rapes and oppression. Out of this oppression a certain man was created, a man that knew what the oppressed of the world are up against. This man, this brother, that I am talking about is the "hottest motherfucker that ever stepped foot inside history, Huey P. Newton".

Since Huey had armed himself to the gill with a definite goal, to the gill with a definite goal, a definite philosophy, a definite direction, he posed a threat to the racist dynamic that is functioning in America. Never before had the oppressor viewed a man who had the audacity, the gall to say "the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology". Never before had anyone manifested the backbone to tell the pigs, "withdraw your oppressive forces from the black community cease your wanton murder, bru-

ality and torture of blacks, or face the wrath of the armed people". And he meant this. And the pigs in the white house, and the pigs in the pentagon knew he meant this. And they were scared stiff. Huey's powerful impact on the youth of America, his thoughts and goals made the pigs of America join in together in a harmonious OINK. We must rid ourselves of this nigger. And this is precisely what the pigs of America started to do, they tried to rid themselves of Huey. But the people said, "No, we love that beautiful man, we do love his presence in our community we demand that he be set free". So the slimy, m-----f-----g pigs of America brought Huey to trial to see if he could be allowed bail, a recap of the same damn s---t that wouldn't even happen in one of those bulls---, hollywood western movies. Yes, even Jesse James would have had a better trial with a jury of Bankers.

So it's quite evident that pigs knew Huey was opposed to all the

BS that was going on, opposed to the way that big headed pentagon pigs were treating the people. So they sentenced them to serve every minute of his 15 years.

My reactions to this unfair failing of Huey, to this taking away of the balls of the Black community, is the same as any Panther and any black person - FUCK IT!!! I'm not taking it laying down. I feel that if they fuck with Huey they fuck with every member of the Panther Party. "Where there is struggle there's sacrifice", but the only thing that must be sacrificed is the neck of the pig for his racist, capitalistic struggle against the people. Before ending, I would like for every Panther and every oppressed person to consider something: IT'S ONLY A CASE OF MIND OVER MATTER; IF YOU DON'T MIND THE PIGS DON'T MATTER.

LONG LIVE OUR MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Panthers Seeking To Initiate "Breakfast For School Children"



BREAKFAST
Sponsored by
Black Panther Party
New Haven Chapter

The movie, "Off The Pigs", was shown and the "Eulogy of A Black Man" by Father Earl A. Neil, "Black Mother" by Bunchy Carter and "Affidavit of Eldridge Cleaver" were read. Also read was "Executive Mandate". The audience also heard a rundown of "Breakfast For Children". Actors from the Children's School performed "Black Capitalism". The Panthers also gave a breakdown of some contradictions between the "enemy and ourselves". A sales table included papers, posters and literature.

FREE HUEY

On Thursday, May 1, the New Haven branch of the Black Panther Party will hold a "Free Huey" P. Newton demonstration on the federal court steps at Elm and Church Streets at 10 a.m. This demonstration will be part of a nationwide "Free Huey" movement, which will in turn dramatize not only the unjust imprisonment of Huey, but of all black and oppressed peoples.

Mrs. Ericka Huggins, political education instructor of the New Haven branch, and Warren Kimbro, the New Haven Party's spokesman, stated that this is just one aspect of the unjust Capitalistic system which preys upon the labor of the poor in this country.

Kimbro further drew a parallel between Moses, and his fight against the unjust deeds of the Pharaohs of Biblical times, and the Black Panther Party's fight to enlighten the poor in this country.

The New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party is launching a "Breakfast for Children" program for children from elementary to junior high school levels.

We are now in the process of locating churches that we can work out of and that are in a centralized area, contacting stores, supermarkets, wholesale food companies, break and milk companies for their support in helping us without our program.

We are also calling upon people who can donate some time in the morning for the help in preparing the food.

We feel that these young children going to school each morning on empty stomachs cannot function mentally or physically without a nutritious breakfast.

We are deeply concerned with the problems of the younger people and we have arrived at the "Breakfast for School Children" as being just part of the solution.

We intend to continue our program throughout the remainder of the school year and with the people's support, we hope to succeed!

Memorial Service

The New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party sponsored a memorial to Bobby Hurton, John Huggins (of New Haven) and Bunchy Carter on Sunday, April 20. They were killed recently in California. The program included an introduction to the party, a history, brief histories of the lives of the honored.



PHOTO BY LINK

ERICKA'S POEM

This is the dawning of the age of aquarius
the rise of the Black man
the liberation of the black woman
the year of the PANTHER
This is the beginning of the end of the beginning
of Revolutionary struggle

This is the new world
the world of guns and political direction
and shouts of no more MURDER put an end
to the terror

this dying has been done
for all of us — no crucifixion, no martyrdom
There is true understanding — no ignorance
but revolutionary arrogance

we will dare to struggle and dare to win
this head, this heart, this hand, this body
will clean itself of

this filth these morals, these ethics
This spirit will strike out against
Racism, Capitalism, Imperialism, oppression
and brutality

Huey is free — he realizes — WE are jailed
this woman will fight to the end for Malcolm,
for Bobby, for Eldridge, for Huey, for Jon, for
Bunchy

for Mai and for the anonymous
black man, black woman, black child
I am anonymous so I must FIGHT

This is the dawning of the age of
REV-O-LU-TION! GUNS! BLOODSHED?

BLOODSHED — No, this is the dawning of the
age of JUST war against unjust degradation,
humiliation, starvation, castration,
unsurpation, abasement torture

If blood be shed for the future of our people,
LET IT BE DONE Coldblooded — this is
cold-blooded COLD BLOODED

Black man, can you hear me?
We are being murdered S.O.S.S.O.S.

Black woman, your unborn baby is dying
LISTEN — somebody

I am screaming
I can hear my mind scream

H * E * L * P

there is no other hope
there is no other generation
there are no more ways of looking at this
problem

We must change this dawning of the age of
permanent darkness

(dark except for the bark of riot 20 shotguns)
In the hands of Nixon's gestapo

Forget the pleasure you once had, it
Remains that we suffer
Even when we do not know it
Even when we smile

Hell awaits us, we will die
Unless we fight to the
End using political direction and
Your strength

— Ericka Huggins

THE ROOTS OF THE PARTY

The Black Panther Party is for the people, by the people and of the people. This is the crucial difference between our Party and many other black organizations. Our 10-point Platform and Program answers the basic needs and desires of black people, the same desires that we had in 1619 when we were brought here as slaves, the desires we had when Nat Turner led his famous revolt in 1831, the wants we had in 1865 when we were declared "Free", the needs we had in 1918 when we came home from France after "fighting to make the world safe for Democracy" only to find the same oppressive conditions that we left. We were cheated after fighting another white man's war in 1941, and the problems were the same: white racism, imperialism, capitalism and colonialism.

Throughout our history black men with guts and nerve have stood up to challenge this system with bullets and pamphlets: Men like David Walker who wrote an appeal to the slaves to organize and overthrow their masters by any means necessary, was murdered because his ideas were "dangerous". Henry Garnet who taught that submission to slavery was wrong and that black people should forget those who cautioned them about force and who said that the lord would provide, Garnet said that God helps those who help themselves. All the way down through our history men like Garnet have been ignored, Robert F. Williams, an N.A.A.C.P. organizer in Monroe, North Carolina picked up the gun in 1957 to protect blacks against the racist violence of the KKK, for this he was forced into exile, just like Khrushchev.

Huey P. Newton was jailed because the power structure saw that he was building an organization of poor blacks with guns who were determined to get what was theirs by any means necessary. Our Party looked at history and decided that the old ways weren't good enough; that we could no longer afford to be nonviolent while the pig was killing us daily, that we could no longer allow white liberals to speak for black people because they didn't know our problems; that black people must organize themselves, support themselves and defend themselves, like Malcolm X said: "There can be no black-white unity until there is black unity."

Huey saw that black people didn't have freedom, jobs, decent housing, fair trials, food, or a good education. So he decided to do something about it. He and Bobby Seale went to over a thousand homes in West Oakland to ask black people what they wanted. No one had ever before asked the poor blacks what they wanted. Before, they were either ignored or thrown crumbs to keep them quiet. If they got to "uppity" they were jailed, run off or killed. Our program and our members come from the people. Black people can no longer afford to live under these same oppressive conditions, and to let our leaders be silenced or killed. We must free Huey. We must let the pigs know we mean business that we can be even more cold-blooded than him.

Other black organizations preach integration, capitalism and support of this decadent American society.

They seem to forget that integration as it is popularly conceived means going to a white school, white neighborhood, church, etc.

This assumes that the only way black people can become equal is to be white. It automatically assumes black inferiority and white superiority. They forget that capitalism brought us here as slaves kept us down economically and used racism as a means to profit off the sweat of black people. We never did get our 40 acres and 2 mules, that we were promised after slavery. Standard Oil did. They forget that we have always had "black capitalism": bars, groceries, funeral homes, insurance companies, etc. What has it done for the masses of people? Nothing. We still don't have the basic necessities of life. Right now, cap-

italism is going strong. Why don't they tell the people that capitalism can never employ all the people and give them the basic necessities of life, because to guarantee full employment means greatly reduced profits and Rockefeller, Ford, Kennedy and Gatson (a black capitalist) don't want to hear that. Why don't they tell the people that America's high standard of living is possible because America can buy its raw materials cheaply abroad in the third world because these countries are unable to bargain with financial giants, that America sells the finished goods back to them at high prices, keeping these countries bankrupt and when they rebel and demand self-determination, the USA will send in 500,000 soldiers, sounds like Vietnam doesn't it, to kill them. Why support a government that will kill its own citizens when these citizens simply demand their human rights

and an end to murder of black people. Why support a government that will spend millions for "riot-

control" weapons, that are actually used for genocide, and will not appropriate one cent for hungry people, sick people etc. Why support a government that spends billions to get to a barren rock in space and will not take the time and effort to listen to pleas for justice. One must conclude that the civil-rights organizations are either fools or traitors in either case they must be dealt with. They didn't answer the needs of the people so Huey and Bobby formed the Black Panther Party composed of black people who were the real people in America. They weren't middle class toms but "black niggers" who were fed up with America and were ready for action. Black and other oppressed peoples here and abroad are now getting action and more is still to come before we are through. Besides them there are fools running around who declare that they are "just trying to be black" by wearing dashikis and bubas and who tell black people that they should relate to African customs and African heritage that we left 300 years ago, that this will make them free, that reading black history will make them better. Meanwhile these cultural nationalists will help them to economic and social freedom by selling them dashikis at \$40 a throw and also help them by setting up more black organizations that will bleed them just like the white man's.

They don't deal with the reality of the pig in the streets or the real causes of why black people are poor and oppressed. They are pimping off the legitimate cries of a people for self-identification for their own profit. Have you ever seen a poor cultural nationalist? Ron Karenga isn't poor and neither

is Elijah Muhammed. Wake up Black people! There is only room at the top for so many and they are all chosen already. The masses of the people still have nothing. You may work all of your life and die broke.

Organize now around the 10-point Platform and Program implementing these 10 points will get what we have been demanding for over 300 years. We will get our freedom by any means necessary. It will mean hard work, jail and death. But what do we have now except hard work, jail and death. Isn't it better to fight and die for a just cause instead of continuing to live in this racist Babylon? We will triumph if we pull together, learn from history what to avoid and how to unite with real allies to fight real enemies. This is an international struggle of poor against rich, the oppressed against the oppressor. We must have international allies in order to succeed.

There must be a revolution in the white mother country, led by white radicals and poor whites, and national liberation in the black and third world colony here in America. We can't triumph in the colony alone because that is just like cutting one finger off a hand. It still functions, you dig it. No, when we deal with this monster we must deal with it totally. Only then can we and other people in the world, who are also fighting and dying against this same international pig, have true freedom and the power to determine the destiny of our own lives, people and communities. Once we put an end to capitalism, racism and imperialism; since they are all tied together; we can live in freedom dignity and justice for all. Not until then. FREE HUEY!

MIDDLE OF THE ROAD PIG

Recently, in the San Francisco Chronicle, there appeared a letter to the Editor written by one James E. Vann. This fool states that "when the police perform an outstanding job, the effort should be acknowledged and the police be given due recognition". He further states, "One such worthy occasion was the 'Free Huey P. Newton rally'.... Though speaker after speaker sprinkled his remarks with uncommon words and bitter condemnations of the system, the uniformed police, though visible, maintained a reasonable distance and confined their peace-keeping functions to directing traffic away from the peaceful rally -- a truly legitimate and useful function of the police in serving the people."

How this insane fool can even have the audacity to use the phrase "serving the people" to end his absurd letter is beyond "the people's" understanding. What this crack-pot is saying in reality is-- the police were "outstanding" because they didn't kill anyone or fire mace, or tear gas into the crowd (as they were obviously expected to do so by Mr. Vann as the speakers were criticizing them and the system.) By not firing on the crowd in the face of such terrible wrongdoings such as the rally was engaged in, the police were "outstanding"!

Does this idiot really believe the pigs weren't foaming at the mouth for any excuse to fire on our beautiful speakers, children and people at the rally, and that they really deserve credit for so admirably restraining themselves. If anyone kept any blood from being shed, it was the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party

knew that the pigs were dying to get their pigs feet on the crowd's necks and prevented them from being able to have the slightest excuse to do so. It was only through the Black Panther Party and the will of the people following the Black Panther Party that kept these pigs from firing on us.

The "uniformed pigs were there yea-and on and in the state pig buildings all around us were pigs in "plainclothes" observing the people; on the streets in cars and on foot were the pigs observing the people--looking for anyway, hoping for a chance to kill or imprison people. James E. Vann, you are a pig and a fool, and what the f---k were you doing at the rally; you brainwashed, blind excuse for a "person"; with your eyes in your pocket and your nose to the ground? With your funky, liberal self, you want to commend the pigs; are looking for a way to "be fair" to the pigs. They're not all bad.

You shouldn't have been at the rally, Mister. You should have taken your half a-- butt back to your liberal home in Richmond, as you stood there on May Day and observed the people and the pigs. The people were there to free Huey. You weren't. So f--- you James E. Vann and all half-baked smelly pigs like you. There ain't no middle of the road--- either you are a pig or not a pig, and there are no "good" and "bad" pigs. Just the latter. OFF THE PIG!

FREE HUEY
POWER TO THE PANTHER VANGUARD
POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Carol

REACTIONARY PAPER TIGER

The racist pig has become reactionary against the people and the Black Panther Party. The pigs shoot mace in your face and kill you to make the people react so our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton can't get out of jail. Pigs blew the school because the people and the Party did not react to the reactionary. The people and the people alone did not react to the pigs. So the pigs f-----d up, because it is understood that the pig power structure is nothing but paper tigers. They have always been. This is not the first time they were, when they killed 'LIP Bobby Hutton on April 6. They were paper tigers when they killed the 3 brothers in L.A., they were paper tigers when they got the pork-chop cultural nationalists in L.A. to kill brothers Bunchy and John.

These pigs will kill you, rape you, bribe you, stomp you, and f---k you, these pigs will be dealt with. As our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton says, "By any means necessary". You must understand that he will not react on the pigs terms. We will continue to expose the pig power

structures; b-----s like Alfato. W-----s like Ronald Reagan, and Lesbians like Nixon who have given the pigs courage enough to run amuck and kill and slaughter black people and all oppressed people.

You must understand as our Chairman, Bobby Seale says, "this is a class struggle". To all those lackeys, opportunists, rotten ferocious, diseased m-----f-----s, we will not stop until we have destroyed and committed destruction on Capitalism.

You must understand that the revolutionary struggle has yet to continue. So let there be bloodshed because these racist m-----

f-----s have to go. Check it out in Viet-Nam. Check out Nigeria and check out Hunter's Point when they killed Alvert Joe Linsthorne.

So you see, people, as brother Mao Tse-tung puts it, "We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war. And in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." The immediate results of this destruction will be perpetual peace for all mankind.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
George Sams
Cleveland Brooks



RACIST CRAZY CONSPIRACY

On Monday, May 12, 1969, at 2:35 pm, the 2 law and order Bobbies Twins (License Plate JVV-197), vamped on Bro. Ralph (Buddha) Cobb of the Jersey City Black Panther Party Chapter on the corner of Arlington Ave. & Union Streets. They were joined by 2 more pig detectives and pigs in a squad car, where they conducted an illegal search of both the car and Bro. Buddha. He was then taken to the 4th precinct.

About 3:00 pm, Brother David Williams, Sister Clara Vincent and Brenda Jeter arrived at the 4th precinct and inquired as to why Brother Buddha was being held. The pig at the desk stated he was being held on the charge of kidnapping a custodian out of a Jewish Synagogue in Newark, N.J., on Saturday, May 10, 1969. We say pig b---s---t. The pig was asked to show a warrant for his arrest, which he said they didn't have to show us, only the prisoner, which up to this time Brother Buddha had not seen. While in the 4th pig pen one of the sick-racist mifng Bobbies Twins called Brother David Williams to the side and informed him that "they were going to break both his legs, for putting out a flyer referring to them as the "Bobbies Twins", well Right on...MF, your attempts to intimidate members of the Black Panther Party have failed.

Upon leaving the pig pen, the Party members were met by some people from the community who then went up to Councilman uncle tom Martin's office. We were informed by the Negro councilman, that he wasn't a policeman and that we had called him a uncle tom and were not coming to him for help, and that we should remember "If you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours." He went on to say he had gave Joseph Cypress \$50 toward helping Deberry. He was told that we didn't come to him for him to help us, but the incident had taken place in his Ward and that renegade Jo-Jo Cypress is not a member of the Black Panther Party,

so he had just got hustled. He then called the 4th pig pen and after apologizing for calling and making it clear that he didn't know why we had come to him, he told "Cap" (Captain Blazack) that we would be back around to see him, that he was all tied-up working on the election and didn't have time.

We went back to the 4th and spoke to Capt. Blazack, who said that they had received a teletype from the Newark pigs to arrest Bro. Buddha. Brother David Williams informed him of the threat made by the Bobbies Twins pigs and further he was accepting the pig at his word and would be prepared to defend himself against any attack made upon him. During this time the 2 racist Bobbies Twins were strutting around like the buffoons they are, wearing "FREE THE 3" buttons, since even they realize that Deberry, Count and Victor should be free. Following this we went to the 7th (head pig pen) where Buddha was being transferred. At the 7th we didn't find out any more than we had at the 4th, they just retold the alicie in wonderland story of Brother Buddha kidnapping this custodian from a Newark Synagogue.

We must realize that this is another attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party, to keep it from educating and organizing the masses of the people. Whelan has said that the Black Panther Party is a threat, we say YES, we are a threat to the pigs of the power structure and will remain a threat as long as the pigs keep on oppressing, exploiting and brutalizing the people, whether they be BLACK, BROWN, YELLOW OR WHITE.

What happened to Buddha and others can be directly attributed to the Kenny-Whelan gangster machine. Tom Whelan is a sick racist pig who would Bar-De-Que his own mamma for a larger pig pen. He is an enemy to black people in particular and the rest of humanity in general. It is a crime that such a lunatic is in a position to wield

so much pain on people, but "THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE IS STRONGER THAN THE PIG'S TECHNOLOGY. Fight on. As this is being printed we are doing our best to have Buddha free because 1) The pigs are liars and set this whole incident up, we were informed the kidnapping took place Saturday, May 10, 1969, at the time of the arrest now its Friday May 9, 1969. 2) The warrant was not issued until Monday, May 12, 1969, sometime during that period and as of 4:30 pm. Buddha had not seen this warrant. Even our Attorney was given no information other than what was known previously, and 3) the narcotic charge didn't materialize until late in the evening and everyone who is presently a member of the Black Panther Party knows that it is against the rules of the Party to have narcotics on your possession while doing Party work, plus the pigs are fully capable of planting evidence which is nothing new in Jersey City.

We are calling upon the people to remember point 7 of the Black Panther Party's 10-point Platform and Program: WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The second amendment of the constitution of the United States gives us a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
AND LONG LIVE THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE
Jersey City, New Jersey Chapter
Black Panther Party

THE OPPRESSOR'S BUREAUCRACY

newsletter

Dear Reader:

This case is a classic, it brings into sharp focus the restraint black america is expected to demonstrate when confronted with the "failure strategy" that is built into the economic system of this country, beginning at the top. It will show the understandable lack of trust that the Black Revolutionary has toward white america, and the black bourgeoisie when they bear the never ending expression "the only means is through legal channels", "wait", "you're moving too fast", "education is the answer", etc., etc., etc. The following will show some of the inevitable pressures, degradation, humiliation, harassment, stress and strain one black person had to endure for almost 6 years exercising the "so-called" right way of doing things.

Mrs. Helen Bowers, a Black colonial subject of the United States Head of Household, Mother of 4, and a permanent civil service employee, has filed suit against administrative officers and employees of federal government at the Naval Air Station, Alameda, California. It is the first suit of its kind. This is a suit to obtain back pay lost as direct result of unlawful demotion and racial discriminatory denial of promotion. The suit seeks judicial review of said proceedings and findings, and seeks to have them set aside, as well as redressed. Certain incidents in a continual course of racially discriminatory conduct have been the subject of complaints.

Mrs. Bowers views facts as follows: Administrative officers and employees of the federal government at the Naval Air Station Alameda, California, unlawfully demoted her from a trainee position to which she was well qualified and assigned, (which led directly to a GS-4 position) in the late fall of 1963, without giving Mrs. Bowers notice of the demotion either at the time of or until the said demotion had been secretly accomplished in the files of this government agency. Mrs. Bowers then filed a formal complaint of racial discrimination and proceeded to seek administrative

hearings. There has been continuous refusal by this agency to promote Mrs. Bowers from a GS-3 position to any higher position even though the administration of this agency readily admits she is highly qualified and has timely applied for many promotions, and in fact is currently performing at a higher rate than a GS-3. This agency has continuously practiced racial discrimination against Mrs. Bowers, which includes harassment, unjustified and unlawful reprimands, and unlawful and unfair hearings on appeals from said harassment and reprimands. This agency admits that in January of 1967, they refused and denied Mrs. Bowers a promotion to the same trainee position which is in question. The agency also admitted Mrs. Bowers was eligible and qualified for the said position since October of 1963. However the vacancy was filled in 1967 by a caucasian employee, who had been in Mrs. Bowers' section at the station approximately six months.

The case contains several mixed questions of law and fact; whether the plaintiff - Mrs. Bowers was unlawfully demoted from trainee position by virtue of the defendants' failure to follow the adverse - action procedure required by law, and whether said demotion was a part of a racially discriminatory course of conduct.

The black man's only avenue to due process of law is to take his case to the people. It is imperative you use whatever resources or talents that is available to you, to bring this case to the attention of the people by whatever means necessary. The legal argument for setting trial will be May 21, 1969, at 11:00 O'clock in the United States District Court, San Francisco, California. CAN WE DEFEND ON YOUR SUPPORT when the trial begins?

Portia Ridgeway
Please mail contributions to:
Legal Fund For Helen Bowers
Federal Employees for Equal Opportunity
c/o Mrs. Ethel Molo
536 - 57th Street
Oakland, Calif. 94609

POOR BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE'S

REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE

JULY 18, 19, 20, AN & 21st.
OAKLAND, CALIF CALIF

PIG HARASSMENT

report from Baltimore

Two young brothers, Frank Smith 12, and Norman Henderson 11, were selling Panther papers and passing out the leaflets for the upcoming rally. The young brothers ventured downtown to Howard St. and to the rear of the Greyhound Bus Station. They were then apprehended by some white man who told them to come into their office, and pushed them up against the wall and searched them. He then called in the pigs, (2) they got only one pig's number - 1432 and the number of the car - 9455.

The pig grabbed the young brother with the newspapers and asked him, where did you get that shit, and put him in the car, first he gave 5 of his papers to nearby bookies, and said now those black mfs are calling us pigs.

He asked the other young brother his name, the young brother

laughed at the pig and refused to tell him anything. The pig put him in the car and directed his questions to Frank, who has a speech defect. The pig's questions were:

What is your name? Age? Where do you live? What is your father's name, where does your father work?

Then he said I should shoot you, put you in the back and let the dog eat you.

Get out of here and don't come back, the next time we will shoot you. The laughing unanswering brother told him he wouldn't do shit. That same day, Cpt. Hart contacted the pig department and demanded the money for the papers that the pigs stole.

Cpt. Hart, Baltimore, Md.
POWER TO THE PEOPLE
POWER TO THE VANGUARD



MINISTER OF DEFENSE

HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND

P. O. BOX 318
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

Name _____

address _____ city _____

I Pledge \$ _____

Enclosed You Will Find \$ _____

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 2524 WEST ST., OAKLAND

Money Enclosed is \$ _____
 Time
 Food or Utensils—State Kind and Quantity Below

If Business Include for your tax exemption _____

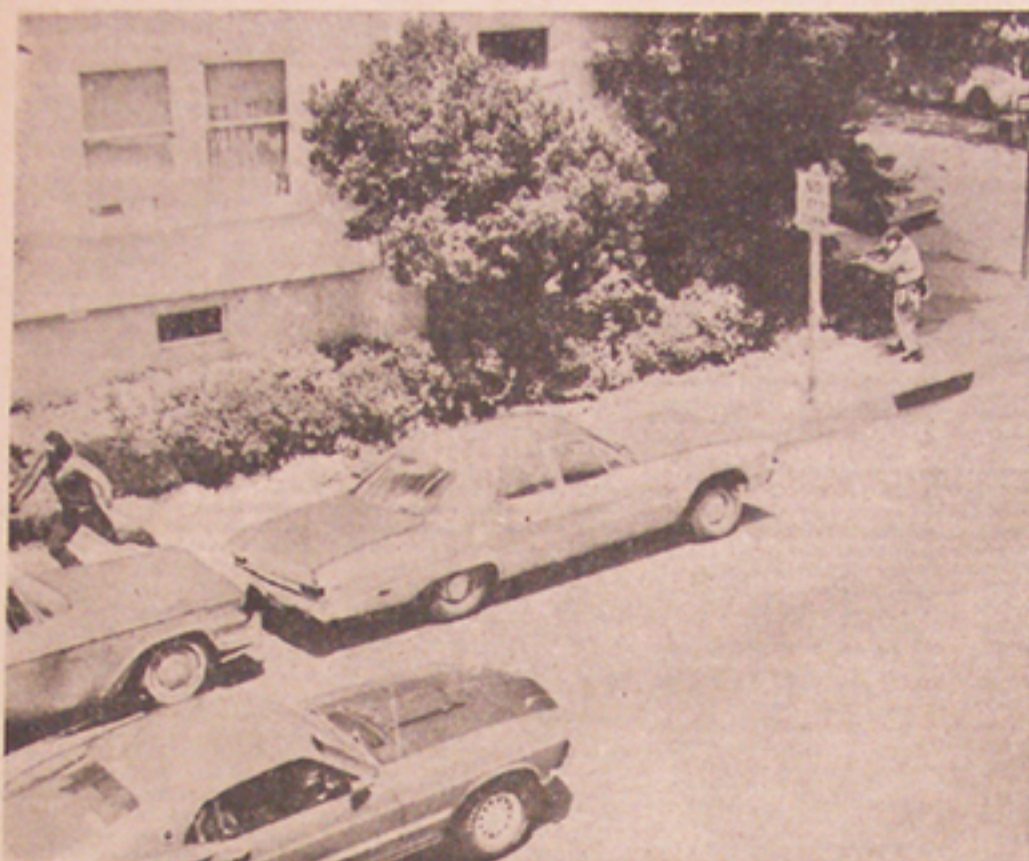
Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSC — ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH

BERKELEY PROTESTER MURDERED BY BERKELEY PIG



Fleeing demonstrator (left) was brought down by a shotgun blast in Berkeley Thursday

Shooting of Berkeley Protester

Photo Stirs New Furor

The furor over police use of shotguns during the Berkeley People's Park disruptions increased yesterday with the release of a photo shot the instant before a lawman shot a fleeing demonstrator last Thursday.

The remarkable picture was taken by Emmitt Wallace, a 26-year-old pre-law student who lives in a second-story Berkeley apartment at 2500 Dana street, on the corner of Dana and Dwight way.

"I was looking out the window Thursday afternoon and

I saw some 50 people standing on the corner," he told *The Chronicle*.

"Then they all started to run. The Pigs came around the corner and one stood there like he was going to shoot.

"I never dreamed he would, but I picked up my camera and shot."

The lawman — garbed in what appeared to be the battle dress of the Alameda County Sheriff's Department — sighted along the barrel of his riot gun and suddenly fired at the back of a fleeing man in a flowing beard, Wal-

lace said.

The "Pig" took his time aiming," and was only two car lengths from his victim when he fired, he added.

"The guy fell down in the street howling.

"The Pig took off, and someone dragged the guy into a house. His right buttock and hip were bloody from birdshot wounds."

Wallace said no one has yet been able to identify the victim of the incident.

But University of California students hope he will come forward after he sees his picture, Wallace said.

OPEN WARFARE IN BERKELEY

It's a hard question. Mickey Mouse Ronald Reagan and his running dogs have declared war on the hippies, yuppies and white mother country radicals. The City of Berkeley is under martial law. Pigs by the thousands patrol the community. National Guardsmen come to town by the truck loads. The C.H.P. were patrolling the skies in their helicopters. All of the

activity was supposedly brought about because of a small plot of land that was of no use to anyone until a group of young progressive people started to plant flowers, and put weeds on it.

As a result people have been shot, maced, gassed, beaten and arrested. People live in the surrounding community have been shot down from their rooftops for just observing the actions of the pigs. One elderly man has been permanently blinded by these trigger happy, war hungry pigs. Early Sunday morning four car loads of Berkeley pigs came down in front of Panther National Headquarters to announce that under martial law no public address systems are allowed. The Black Panther Party was blowing Malcolm over the sound system. Up the street a long fire truck stood by to block off the streets.

No one should be so naive as to think that all of this repression was brought about because of someone trespassing on a piece of land. As this article was being written news came in that one of the persons shot by the pigs died of shot gun wounds. The pig power structure of California are trying to set examples for the pigs of the nation and make examples out of the people who want the peoples pork.

The oppressed people of the world are waiting for revolution to occur within the mother country. The Black Panther Party is making the revolution. The red guard is trying to follow the correct example, and the brown community is moving. We see that the white mother country radical is willing to lay down a life. We ask, is he willing to pick up the gun?

It is well known that one doesn't fight fire with fire, however, wars are won with guns among other things. Power never takes a back step to anything but power. There are more people than there are pigs, and all power belongs to the people. Period!

Dynamite



MERRIT COLLEGE STUDENTS FAIL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

The students of Merritt College are either lazy or blind to the needs of their people. In either case the vast majority of students on campus are doing little to further the revolution. The breakfast program for school children has been going on now for four months and the participation by students at Merritt, or Laney and Cal, too for that matter, has been almost nil.

Students who have the nerve to call Merritt, Huey P. Newton college are five fools. They had dedicated their life to the people and the students at Merritt won't get off their butts long enough to come down to the various programs in Oakland to serve the people, our future warriors. Students seem content to give lip-service to the revolution and don't like the daily grind of putting programs together and making them work. However, if someone makes a mistake they will be the first to sit back and criticize.

What's wrong with you so-called brothers and sisters? Can't you see beyond your own individualistic desires to sleep a few more hours in the morning instead of coming down to the church and feeding hungry children? Would you rather party all weekend or cruise in your cars to secure donations for the breakfast? How many of you are church-goers? Why don't you take up a collection one Sunday for your little brothers and sisters? Why don't you set up a program at one of your churches? Start making those five preachers in East and West Oakland earn their keep. If you want some advice on how to set up a program, come by the various Panther offices in the Bay Area. You know where they are and what you have to do, so do it!

The Party is here to serve the people in meeting their basic desires and needs. It's a people's party, use it and join it to further the revolution. If you really want revolution and not just pimping in order to get a name and a fat job somewhere meanwhile making some petty reforms, like the poverty program.

Last week over 4,000 leaflets were passed out at Merritt, put on bulletin boards and walls, you couldn't have missed them, the leaflets advertised a meeting for the purpose of getting volunteers for the breakfast, hardly anybody showed up and of those who did, not one has hit a lick of work so far. This is just laziness, nothing else. You better get on the stick because when the people move you will be in the way and be run over. It's time for you to organize your communities around solid programs like the Breakfast, community control of police, free health clinics, and liberation schools. You see the decay of our housing, help your brothers and sisters do something about putting pressure on landlords instead of playing cards in the cafeteria all day. Damn it you got the knowledge now use it. I don't care how many books you read by Fanon, Che, Debray, Malcolm, Nkrumah and essays from Huey. If all you're going to do is sit around and discuss them you're living. Put theory into practice. Revolutions are hard work, sweat, defeats, and victories, leading to the final people's victory. This isn't done by staying on campuses and having talk sessions. It's done by getting out among the people and organizing them to destroy this system by any means necessary.

All of you quote Malcolm X.

Malcolm X also said: "check out history". If you do this you will see that imperialism is shifting to it's final stages of neo-colonialism and will be making desperate attempts to retain its final remnants of power. Our people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are doing their part. Let's do ours. This is no time to be worried about missing a few classes, that won't do you any good if you don't control them and you use your knowledge to aide the people.

Point 5 of the 10-point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party states - "We want education for our people that reveals the true nature of this decadent American Society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society".

You can reveal the true nature of this decadent American society by destroying it, that in case you don't know it, is our role in the present day society. Chairman Bobby says, "If you got enough energy to sit down and hate a white person for the color of his skin you're wasting your time, get out and deal with the problem and you'll find out just what you're up against." Turn your hate into energy and we can end this society and build a better one.

Work on the programs that are already in action and start others all over the country and one day Merritt will be Huey P. Newton's College.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

Paul Fleming



RADICAL TEACHER SEVERELY BEATEN

Dick Flacks, an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, and founding member of SDS, was severely beaten over the head, causing multiple skull fractures, and his right hand was almost cut off in an attempt to leave him to bleed to death. Flacks has sufficiently recovered to recall that his assailant gained entry to his office by posing as a newspaper reporter seeking an interview. Flacks' wife Mikey has blamed the attack on an individual psychotic who was egged on by the public statements of President Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell calling for a crack-down on campus militants.

Flacks attended the Port Huron Convention of SDS and the following year drafted the SDS following statement called "America and the New Era," which contained SDS's

first analysis of corporate liberalism, and surveyed the prospects for a politics based on "local insurgency". He also headed SDS's Peace Research and Education Project. In recent months he has devoted most of his efforts to the New University Conference. At the time of the violent attack upon himself, he had just completed consultant work for the Presidential Commission to Study the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

While not taking a leading part, Flacks was one of the few faculty supporters of the recent student occupation of the University of Chicago administration building. The Chicago Tribune frequently cited him as an example of the radical professor behind student disorders.

Mickey Flacks has asked friends to respond to this political attack by sending contributions to the NUC (5810 So. Woodlawn, Chicago, Ill. 60637) in Dick's name.

Flacks will probably be hospitalized for another two weeks and will not recover the full use of his right hand. The University has offered a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the assailant.

UNITY VS RACISM

The purpose of this report is to describe the latest events of the Black Panther Caucus in Fremont, UAW Local 1364. On April 22, our Local held a membership meeting to elect an Election Committee. The function of this Committee is to count the votes for all Local elections during the next 2 years. So it is a very important Committee in that it makes sure that the rank and file gets a fair and just count on their ballots, that there is no stuffing of the ballot boxes or destroying of votes.

The Central Committee of our Caucus had a meeting and moved to mobilize the Caucus members to inform other union members of the importance of this meeting; to impress upon them the necessity of their being at the meeting to assure fair ballot counts in the future. The meeting was scheduled to be held on Sunday, April 27, the day the clocks were moved up an hour. As a result of the time change, a lot of the brothers and sisters including Caucus members were late arriving at the meeting. It was quite obvious that when I arrived with 3 other Caucus members the union leaders appeared to be nervous and jumpy. We noticed that there were many brothers and sisters there and knew we could do our thing. So we got together and nominated the brothers and sisters we wanted to serve on this Committee. Then we all voted in a block making it very obvious to the general membership that we were unified in knowing just who we wanted to serve. This show of unity made the present administration of the union, the Blue Slate, very nervous. After the counting of the ballots, it was discovered that out of 15 seats on the Committee, Black workers occupied 11; out of 5 seats of alternates to the Committee, Black workers occupied 3. Immediately, the administration started recruiting their friends to challenge the election because they said it wasn't "fair". It wasn't "fair" to them because Black people con-

trolled the Election Committee. The Black workers had gotten together and proved how strong their unit could be.

A week after the election, the Blue Slate began its challenge. One of their lackeys was an uncle nigger. They wrote a letter for him, gave it to him and he took it to the Executive Board meeting and told them he was challenging the election because "It was rigged". What the stupid nigger didn't even know was that we had supported him for the Election Committee and that he was ON the damn committee. He was too stupid to realize that he was chosen by the administration so that Black people would fight Black people because they didn't want to do it their damn selves. So at the Executive Board meeting, this brother was challenged to explain why he was challenging the Election Committee when he was on the Committee himself. He didn't know why! He was also challenged on other things; the wording of the letter he had presented - which he didn't understand; the parliamentary procedure he was asking for - which he didn't understand - and he couldn't answer any of it. When he was faced with all these facts, he was forced to back off.

A week later, another challenge was presented. This time it was a white racist who didn't know what was going on, and what's more, didn't give a damn. He only knew he was combatting Black people, something he'd been doing all his life. So we asked him a direct question regarding his challenge: would he still be challenging the election if he had won a seat on the Committee? He had no answer for that! Actually, this guy had been on the last Election Committee which was white racist controlled so that was O.K. with him. Well, as far as we're concerned the only thing wrong with the present Election Committee is that Black people don't occupy ALL the seats thereby guaranteeing that all elections would be just and fair to all the

workers.

And in all, there were 3 challenges to the Election Committee and we were able to beat off all of them.

We have a union meeting coming up at which time we will accept nominations for members of the political office in the union. Also at this meeting, we are going to the rank and file to see if they want to approve the report of the Election Committee. If they do, the Election Committee will stand as it is and we know this will be the case and we will be successful. That is if members of the Central Committee of the Caucus will be able to survive the brutal and humiliating attacks against it - both by white workers and black workers who are being used as tools by the racist Blue Slate Caucus of the Administration.

Because of these instructions to provoke incidents, there have been repeated attacks against our members. We've investigated and can find no other reason why all this is being put down except the above mentioned attempt to separate us from the rest of the workers; the rest of the workers. There have been attacks not only in the Fremont plant, but also in the Parts Plant in Oakland against our members. We have reports from brother Tom Parkeson, that the foremen in the Oakland Parts Plant are carrying guns and knives and blackjacks in their pockets supposedly to defend themselves against some invisible enemy. This has been reported to the local administration who said they would investigate it, but to this day, they haven't moved on it. A number of workers in that plant have seen this and verified the report. We see this as General Motors perpetrating violence. We don't want violence. We want only to exercise our rights as workers in that plant, to exercise our union rights, and we're telling all members in our Caucus to be cool because we will win in the June elections without a doubt.

I would like to try to answer the question that has been put to me a number of times as to whether we believe in the concept of an independent Black workers union. The way I see it is not setting up unions independent of the rest of the workers. As a matter of fact, I see that as being a reality right now because Black people are an independent workers' union. But we do not get the same respect when we address grievances to the Grievance Committee. It is not looked upon in the same light as the white workers. That in itself is a very clear observation that we're already in a separate union. But we want to go beyond that. We want to solve the problems of all the workers. Through organization with the proper political education, I believe we can bring the workers to the point where we can deliver one massive, destructive blow to the system. This is the position of the Caucus. This is the position of the Black Panther Party and I would like to relate that the Caucus supports the statements of the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale. This is a statement that Bobby uses often because it is a very true correct position. He says "We do not fight racism with racism; we fight racism with solidarity". Based upon this, the Black Panther Caucus will go forward to bring all the workers together to see what each one of us has that we can utilize. We want to bring together the National Maritime Union, we want to bring the Steel Workers, we want to bring the S.F. Muni Bus Drivers and the Western Electrical Workers, and the UAW Ford workers in Milpitas; we want to bring the Warehousemen and the Machinists, the aircraft workers - all the workers together to unite in one solid union which is going to be the rule of the proletariat.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
POWER TO THE VANGUARD
WORKERS' CONTROL, WORKERS
OF THE WORLD UNITE!

TO GET PAID BACK

The Protestant Church establishment--which includes some of the greatest concentrated wealth in America--has been asked to fork over \$500 million in "reparations" to the country's Black people.

James Forman, representing the National Black Economic Development Conference (a Church-sponsored group) interrupted Sunday services on May 4 to make the request before parishioners at the Rockefeller built Riverside church. Forman is also a long-time leader of SNCC

Specifically, the demands were:

1. Sixty percent of the yearly income from all of the church security and real estate investments to be given to the NBEDC on January 3 of each year.

2. A list of all church assets. The proportion of these funds to be donated to the Negro group to be negotiated.

3. Rent-free office space for the group, with unrestricted right to use the telephone for local and long distance calls.

4. Classrooms for the use of Harlem residents.

5. Unrestricted use of the church's FM radio station, WRVR, 12 hours a day and weekends. The director of programming and staff to be selected by the Negro group.

Forman said that the church must pay extra reparations to black people "for the money of John D. Rockefeller is still exploiting people of color all around the world."

The church authorities are now considering the proposal.



TOAST, EGGS and carton of grade A milk might not seem like much to the well-off, but they mean a lot to a child who is used to going to school with nothing but hunger in her stom-

ach. The Black Panthers, recognizing this, have initiated — and are looking for support for — a breakfast for school children program which is nationwide.

BREAKFAST PROGRAMS BEING INITIATED

On May 26, 1969, the Detroit, Michigan, Chapter of the Black Panther Party will begin their free Breakfast for School Children Program. The program will begin at 7:00 a.m. at the Community Cathedral at 150 Belmont Street, Detroit.

On May 27, 1969, the Detroit Chapter will begin Economic Development classes. The things being taught in these classes include, Defense against slumlords, how to get legal aid, etc. The classes will be held at 847 12th Street, from 6:00 to 10:00pm. For further information call 516-897, 3610, Detroit, Michigan.

On June 2, the Detroit Chapter will begin the Free Breakfast Program at a second location in the city. The second location is at St. Joseph Church, Woodward and King Streets in Detroit.

TO THE PEOPLE

The Seattle Branch of the Black Panther Party would like to work with the residents of the black community to further institute the Breakfast program for our children that began April 15, 1969, at the Madrona Presbyterian Church located on the corner of 32nd and Marion. Branches of the Black Panther Party from Seattle to New York are inaugurating this breakfast program. It is operating successfully inside the walls of black colonies in several areas already.

It is the formulated opinion of the membership of the Black Panther Party that this program is necessary for these reasons.

1. Many of our children go to school with empty stomachs. This is not the fault of the parents, on the whole it is the fault of the established system. Welfare public assistance is so trivial and menial that it cannot possibly supply the nutrients of many black ghetto dwellers who are blessed with many beautiful black children. The school board and the jive rinky dink farmers on the city council and the board of education WON'T feed our children. WE WILL!

2. Our children cannot even begin to acquire the rudiments of an education on an empty stomach. (Not to mention the hog slop of

an inadequate lunch at a most highly ridiculous price!) Combine these two, an empty stomach and inadequate lunch, the sum is less than nothing and that's more than black people are supposed to get.

The Black Panther Party firmly believes the free breakfast for children program serves the interest of the masses of black oppressed, tyrannized poor people instead of a few. This should be emphasized because of the latest attempts by the pig power structure to implement black capitalism, (black fronts and co-operatives) which is only a means of disgusting racism, black exploitation and a further division of black people.

The program will serve as an example to the community something that was needed long ago. Children have been coming to the breakfast one hour and one half hour early in order to cop a righteous breakfast since April 15. This breakfast will last EVERY DAY, 8:00 in the morning to 8:45, until school is out. Without the support of the people of the black community we can do nothing. Without the people there will be no success. With the people we can do anything, everything, anytime, anywhere.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE!!!

BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Brothers:
For approximately 8 months, I've debated with both friends and foe alike concerning the worth of the Black Panther Party. When the Breakfast for School children began in Oakland, I began to use this as a perfect example of the way in which the Party was going forth to meet the needs of the people. Many simply countered my argument by saying that this was simply a plan and had not really been implemented yet. Truly, their argument was that the Panthers talked but did not act.

In four short months, I've seen

the Breakfast Program begin as the Party asked for contributions to St. Augustine's Episcopal Church and progress all the way to a national implementation of the campaign. The Panthers don't only talk, they ACT! Right on, brothers!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
WHITE POWER TO WHITE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD
Gunn, Chairman of WAR
(White Americans for Revolution)

BALTIMORE FREE HUEY RALLY

Baltimore free Huey rally

On the first of May the Black Panther Party of Baltimore, Md. held a rally in downtown racist Maryland to FREE HUEY. The speakers were Capt. Warren Hart, Lt. Zeke Boud and Ricky Manor. The three Panthers blasted the racist m-----s for stealing the Breakfast Program idea from the Panthers. However, the pigs want to tax the people for the program.

The people were informed that the school children could be fed without taxation, the people were told how the Panthers are successful in other states with this Breakfast Program.

The pigs contacted the headquarters two days prior to the rally asking how many Panthers would be at the rally. They were told only about 6, but when the pigs arrived, we had wall-to-wall Pan-

thers, you could have bought the racist dogs for nothing.

The racist reporters wanted to know if we had any additional comments to make. Capt. Hart told them hell yes, FREE HUEY.

The people of Maryland can relate to the Party because the Party relates to the needs of the people. We blew the pigs minds with Brother Eldridge's record, and the best field nigger in Washington, D.C. has ever seen, Ricky Minor completed the job with his bad speech.

We are holding a rally on the 14th of May at Morgan State College for Huey's Defense Fund, then on the 19th of May we will hold a rally in Druidhill Park for Malcolm X. Pictures are of the rally.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Captain Warren Hart

Remember Brother Malcolm



born May 19, 1925 - Assassinated Feb. 21, 1965



LETTER

letter
I am a black high school girl. I live in Des Moines, Iowa, a small dull city. I am a new reader of your newspaper. I'd like to tell you what is happening to the blacks here.

A few weeks ago, the Panthers held a rally at a park to discuss the breakfast program (there was quite a large turn-out.) During the rally, there were pigs at every corner, swinging their little clubs as if to say "Look at me, I'm big". Needless to say, people were really impressed. They were just waiting around for something (I don't know what) to happen. Well, as the meeting began to end and the people began leaving, the pigs panicked. Nothing had happened, they weren't needed. So they went in, swinging their clubs, using their famous line "Let's break it up". The pigs were showing the orderly groups of youth. The black youths rightly fought back. This caused the pigs to be able to say the blacks started trouble. Before the day was over, 15 people were arrested, car windows broken and a few people injured. For what reason? There was no reason! In this town, 5 black youths cannot be near each other downtown without being accused of "starting trouble".

But 50 white youth is fine. This is all over America. It has spread like cancer and if it is not cured, it will kill America.

Last week the Panther headquarters in Des Moines was demolished by a bomb. The police were there in 3 minutes, any connection? Even if there were it would be ignored by everyone.

That is why I say as many of today's blacks say, "POWER TO THE PEOPLE".
Thank you

WOMAN POWER

TO: The Black Panther Party
FROM: Woman Power
Enclosed is \$35.00 from our Woman Power Group.

Our Woman Power Group says we are one in solidarity in the struggle with the Panthers and oppressed people all over the world.

We support the Panther program bodily and monetarily.
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Coordinators: Marte Johnson
Barbara Leighly
Secretary: Hibba S. Cowan
Woman Power
530A 42nd Street
Oakland, California 94609

REBIRTH

The white man for 400 years has been seeking to destroy our Indian nations, to destroy our Indian people. For more than 5 centuries he has been trying to reach the point where his tourist guides can take visitors around to the places where Indian civilizations flourished and say "Indians used to live here, but, of course, the Indians are all gone now."

If the white man has his way, one day there will be no Iroquois, no Sioux, no Hoopa, no Paiute, no Hopi, but only white people who may have some bit of Indian blood but no Indian people to turn to for kinship and meaning. There will only be a vast sea of white people, some lighter and wealthier at the top, some poorer and darker at the bottom, but all will be white, and the Indian will be extinct! Will anyone mourn the final death of the Indian nations? Will one last Sioux cry at the grave of his people? Will one last Paiute cut off her hair in anguish when her people are gone?

And so many of our nations are very close to death!

What do we find when we look at the Indian peoples? First, some tribes are really gone and one only finds lost brown-skinned souls who wander about without a spiritual home, such as the Lumbees of North Carolina and the "Mission Indians" of the central coast of California. Second, other peoples are divided into little local communities, split apart from their brothers by white aggression, and unable to develop any kind of unity. In this way, many peoples such as the Delaware, Potawatomi, Mewuk, and Kookow are threatened with extinction. They are physically separated, and their children grow up ignorant of their nationality and of their nation's history.

Other peoples, such as the Sioux have several reservations and are divided, not by their own wishes, but by the manner in which the white man set up his concentration camps. Others, like the Neh-muh (Northern Paiute-Bannock) people, are divided not only by many reservations and distance but by being misled by the white man's names.

Still other nations, although perhaps located on a single reservation, are divided by the bickering, factionalism, selfishness, and self-hate created by the white man through the conquest and maintained by the white man through the colonial system.

Almost everywhere the Indian nations are divided, torn apart and sick, and in some places the sickness has about it the clear smell of death. In those places, the white Indian destroyers smack their lips, waiting for the Indian people to tear each other apart so that the white man can get the timber and the land. Yes, Indians in many places are killing their own nations, acting as servants for their white masters, really being white men at heart, having already had their Indianhood stolen.

We can all agree that it is a tragic thing when a people die, never to exist again, but sometimes one simply accepts it and says "It is for the best, after all." But is it for the best that our nations should die, should be torn apart, should become rotting corpses to be rifled by white archaeologists and gazed upon by the unseeing eyes of white tourists?

No, a thousand times no, is my answer! It might be different if we lived in a truly free and just society, in a color-blind society, in a society not built upon the wealth stolen from Indian people and not returned -- but we live in a society which is unequal, where the White Power rules, and where Indians as individuals are helpless.

What has happened to those who have lost their tribes and who have lost their heritage? They exist as brown outcasts, neither fish nor fowl, neither black nor white, neither Mexican nor Anglo, in South Carolina, in Delaware, in Alabama, in Louisiana, in California, in Virginia, in New York, in North Carolina, called fowl names by whites, segregated, discriminated against, and hated themselves. Or, as individuals, they live for a few years on nameless Skid Row, guzzling wine and creeping along a gutter's filthy path.

I believe that the salvation of Indian people largely depends upon the rebirth of the Indian nations and all that goes with it, especially the resurrection of the Indian soul. One can, of course, talk about the importance of strong, unified tribes for economic development, for political action, for carrying out educational programs, and so on, and all of these reasons are good ones. In a society dominated by large corporations and mammoth agencies, only a unified Indian people can hope to compete. It is not very smart to talk about small Indian-owned businesses when Litton Industries or General Motors moves in! This is the age of the giant corporation and big government bureaucracy and small, divided and isolated Indian communities probably cannot easily resist their power.

And survival is where it's at! Not only for the Indian to survive economically and politically, but to survive psychologically, spiritually! The very high suicide and alcoholism rates among Indians prove that the Indian individual cannot survive the death of his nation--because those that don't kill themselves will die the slow death of an outcast later on. And the many young alienated Indians who hate whites, hate themselves, hate Indians, they are the products of a dying torn-apart people. They are the end product of white genocide.

The Indian nations must be recreated, must be brought to full life again and at the same time the Indian people must be reborn to the old spirit of brotherhood and unity, to the old way of beauty and oneness with the universe.

I have had this dream for many years. Many times the vision of reborn Indian nations has come to me, and I believe that this vision can be realized. This dream is a joke to many whites, it is a joke to those Indian-hating Indians who have no faith in their own people. It is a joke to the brainwashed products of BIA schools and white colleges, but it is no joke! It is the dream of all mankind really, because only in small nations or communities of people who love each other and work together in brotherhood can there be any hope for the world.

If the Indian can survive and can be revitalized, then there is hope for all.

But how far we yet have to go! Most of our so-called tribes were created by whites, named by the whites, divided by the whites, and are now being split apart by the whites (and their misguided followers). How far we yet have to go!

And how pathetic and tragic is our present way of behaving towards each other. We fight each other for the little parcels of land left to us by our white robbers. We fight each other for the little bits of money given to us by white commissioners. We fight each other for the jobs and favors of the BIA and OEO. We fight each other over religion at the command of the different white churches. We fight each other because of the different concentration camps and prison schools the white man has sent us to. We are often so like hyenas fighting and tearing at each other, trying to get at the tripe left behind after the white man's feast.

And, in truth, one cannot condemn Indian people who, in their poverty, fight among themselves in order that they might have some of the decencies of life. One cannot even condemn the "Indian politicians" who, in their mistaken zeal to get ahead behave like white barbarians, and steal from their own people. They are all victims, and they do not know how to stop being victims.

This is why we must understand that only a reawakening of the Indian spirit can save us, and why following further along the white man's moral path means doom.

In each and every Indian community across this continent, Indian people can begin--and are beginning -- to reestablish their peoplehood. They can restore their true name and toss off the white man's name, they can recreate

their old unified nations (or create a new nation if the old ones are too small because of white destruction). They can teach their own history (and recover what is now lost), they can teach their language (or a related one, if their old one is gone), they can restore the old ways of sharing with each other and working together.

Some of these things will not be too difficult, and can be started by a few people. Others will be hard and will take much time and work and dedication. But no problems are too great to be overcome. Even a people divided by great distances and living on different reservations can create a unified, federated nation with a national council and local regional councils. Even a people with no land can save money and buy land or, with the help of the Indian unity movement, can persuade the government to return stolen land. Even a people fighting over a few acres set aside by the white man can give up their fight in favor of a common effort to get real land, from white oppressors.

all of these things, though, depend upon the reawakening of the Indian spirit of brotherhood and of reawakening is happening and it is catching. A reawakened Indian who has freed himself from hatred and self-hatred has something about him that spreads to others.

Wash yourself clean of the white sickness, in a stream of clear, pure water, in the steam of a sweat-house or in the ocean surf, or in your mind's dedication. The Indian people are being reborn. And the whole world is waiting. United Native Americans Liberation News Service

PERSECUTION OF NEVADA INDIANS

In the beginning a group of people, of Shoshonean stock settled in the plateau and Great Basin area of the West. Food was abundant, wild game, berries, roots, fowl, fish and from the Pinon pine, the Indian harvested the pine nut.

As the Caucasian invaders pushed westward, game became scarce, and the Shoshonean peoples became more and more dependent on the Pinon Pine nut for the mainstay of their diet. Until the present time, the Shoshonean has been feeding his family by gathering the pine nut. He stored it for winter and survived the worst months of the year by consuming pine nuts.

Modern Indians harvest the pinons, save the majority of the pine nuts for the winter, and sell what they can spare to eager consumers. The money obtained from the sale of pine nuts is used for such essentials as gasoline, food, utilities, and clothing. Obviously, money spent in this manner is not squandered, but is utilized only for necessities.

Now the Shoshonean peoples are threatened by Federal Bureaucracy. Federal revenue collectors will now levy a 25% tax on all pinon nuts harvested, with apparent disregard for the vital impact that this will impose on Shoshonean and other Indian nations. This tax will cut into the scanty income gleaned in this manner by the Indian to such an extent

that it means the tragedy of slow starvation and eventual systematic death of these poverty stricken peoples.

Such a basic harm as one man taking food from another man's children can only result in a struggle and fight to the very end.

Thousands of Indians will go hungry in Nevada, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of California. This is not an exaggeration--Indians as a group fall disproportionately below the poverty level established by the U.S. Health Department.

The American Indian will not sit idly by and let this unhappy situation happen to him. If the Indian cannot reach an equitable solution in the Courts, the Indian must and will take up arms and fight, and if necessary, die for what they believe is just and fair. It seems much better to suffer the consequences of perhaps death in order to awaken the American conscience than to sit unnoticed and quietly starve.

It seems clear that this action by the Federal Government is a calculated act of aggression, aimed at starving the Indians for sundry reasons. It has the effect of nullifying by default and breach, the contractual relations set up by the various Treaties of the American Government. Certainly this is not a tenable nor readily palatable situation to all to long exist.

Dogova



OPEN LETTER FROM A BLACK G.I.

7 May 1969
Dear Black Brothers and Sisters:
I am a black soldier awaiting court-martial at the U. S. ARMY Training Center at Fort Jackson, S. C. This letter is to make you aware of what has happened and what is going on now, here at Ft. Jackson.

During the last week of January 1969, about twenty brothers (black and Puerto Ricans) got together and were listening to tapes of Brother Malcolm X. We dug what he had to say and we discussed our role as black G.I.'s and our relationship to the war in Vietnam. The brothers started gathering more frequent during the week, rapping about racism, the society, the army system, the War and things of this nature, and our relationship to it and our role as blacks.

Before long, the word was out that we were trying to start a black militant organization within the army and that our gatherings restricted attendance of whites. This was not so, the reason why whites were reluctant to attend was because of fear of humiliation and embarrassment of the truth we were speaking. After we explained to the whites that our role was a dual one, and that is as blacks and as G.I.'s. As a G.I. you catch hell no matter what color you are, the army put you through hell, and if you're black, you go through hell first and see more of it. We explained, that to fight the oppression of the army, we had to have unity among all G.I.'s. The white G.I.'s accepted this, and what we were for, and became a part of it. The labeling ceased.

We soon organized in an attempt to fight the army oppression and the oppressors. We call ourselves G.I.'s United, and members grew in number. Besides fighting the harassment that is perpetrated upon G.I.'s, one of our main objectives was the Vietnam War. The black brothers especially felt very strong about the War. We knew that we as oppressed people of color are sent to fight and kill other oppressed people of color in Vietnam. We knew that our fight is here in the United States against the oppression by racism, capitalism, and imperialism to name a few. We knew that our oppressors (American Capitalism and Imperialism) are the same oppressors of the North Vietnamese people, and yet we the American oppressed are made by the American oppressors to kill the Vietnamese oppressed who are under oppression by the American oppressors also.

Our first action toward the war was the circulation of a petition,

asking the Post Commander for facilities to hold a meeting, a legal democratic meeting. During the gathering of signatures for the petitions, we received harassment, threats of punitive punishment, and threats of court-martials, from the Brass (the Officers), and the Lifers (the 21 year soldier--the career soldier).

I was court-martialed March 18th, for circulating a petition. Although I was acquitted in the court-martial (thanks to the law strategy ability of Mr. Howard Moore, the powerful black lawyer from Atlanta who defended me) the fact still remains that I was brought before a military court for exercising a right guaranteed to me as an American citizen by the Constitution of the United States of America in which I'm in this goddamn army defending.

When we presented our petition to the Post Commander, he refused acceptance on the grounds that it represented "collective bargaining". Collective bargaining had nothing to do with our petitions or G.I.'s United.

On March 20th, approximately 200 G.I.'s had gathered in the windows of the barracks to listen to nine of us who were standing outside the barracks rapping about the Vietnam War. The Brass and the Lifers came and gave us a little harassment, but did not make an attempt to break up the "rap session".

On March 21st, the following day, Andrew Pulley, Alberto Chapparro, and Delmar Thomas were arrested and thrown in the Post stockade. Privates; Curtis Mays, John Huffman, Dominick Duddie, and myself were put under barracks arrest and confinement to our rooms. Trumped-up charges like "disrespect to an officer, breach of peace, demonstration on post without permission of the Post Commander, and demonstration while in uniform were drawn up against us. None of these charges are true.

As it stands now, all charges against Pvt. Huffman were dropped because he was an informer for the army, who illegally was sent to spy on G.I.'s United, which really wasn't necessary being that G.I.'s United is an open organization, and open to all G.I.'s. Pvt. Chapparro was dishonorably discharged from the army. Realizing that they could not make the charges stick against

Pvt. Duddie and Pvt. Mays the charges were dropped in order to get Pvt. Mays on another trumped-up charge in which he was hustled off in a court-martial with a one minute notice without a lawyer and was given a 30 day sentence.

The remaining 5 of us are still awaiting court-martial where as the only crimes we committed if any, were exercising our constitutional rights guaranteed to us as in the First Amendment: Freedom of speech, right to assembly.

I know the brothers and sisters and the Party have their hands full in trying to free Brother Huey and Brother Aaron Dixon and all the other Panthers that have been victimized by the racist dogs, and you have your hands full with the problems of the black communities and abroad, but I appeal at this time to you because we are in desperate need of support and support of any kind is definitely essential at this time. We are in desperate need of finance, petitions, organizational backing, political influence, letters (to the Secretary of the Army, the Post Commander, congressmen and senators) or any other support that will be beneficial to us in anyway. If you can oblige in any type of support, please respond.

At this time I will like to make you aware and hope you will make all the other brothers and sisters aware that a large percent of the black soldiers in the military, recognize his being. The black soldier has gotten the word as it has been passed down by the black commanding generals who are in exile and prisons (Robert Williams, Brother Huey, Brother Eldridge, etc.) The black soldiers know that the United States Army is the most perfected army in the world, the U.S. army trains men to become certified qualified homicide killers, and this is the reason the black soldier is not reluctant to serve in the U.S. army, that he may learn what they teach, and upon his release, he will be well qualified to enter into the Black Army, where he will execute all that he has been taught, and devote the rest of his life, (if it takes that long) in the Revolution to liberate his people.

Brother Power
G.I.'s Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York City
Tel: 212-243-4775

PEOPLES WAR



North Vietnamese soldiers express solidarity with the NLF.

People's War

The spring victories of the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces have made it clearer that the latter's initiative of action and combined force are developing more successfully than ever before. The South Vietnamese people's combined force derives from the invincible force of people's war, from revolutionary heroism, from the inexhaustible strength of all the three kinds of people's armed forces, from the high tide of uprising of the masses, and from the close combination of the armed attacks, the political struggle and political agitation among enemy ranks. Nixon is trying to gain a "position of strength," but the position of U.S. and puppet troops is now more critical than ever.

The U.S. and its puppets are seeking ways and means to get out of their desperate situation. It is obvious that the Nixon Administration is obstinately intensifying the war of aggression. It is still unwilling to bring U.S. forces home. It is stubbornly clinging to South

Vietnam and the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique of lackeys. The U.S. and puppets are feverishly rounding up the population, pushing up forcible conscription and the "accelerated pacification" program, intensifying air and artillery strikes including B-52 raids to an unprecedented level for the massacre of the population.

Warning to Puppets

All these frantic war moves of the U.S.-puppets have exposed the fallacy of their claim for "private talks" and "restoration of peace," which in fact are but a smokescreen for their aggressive and traitorous designs.

The South Vietnamese people warn the U.S.-puppets that should they refuse to accept defeat now they will meet with much heavier defeat in the days to come. Should they try to avoid defeat in Vietnam by extending their aggressive tentacles to other regions, the U.S. aggressors will have to deal with many more Vietnamese, and will be defeated in many more Vietnams.

DENVER CHAPTER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

An idiot can pull a trigger, this is a proven fact by the use of guns by the pigs. It is no outrageous accomplishment to be able to fire a gun. So what you can fire a pistol.

The effectiveness of a weapon is to know the reason for packing it. Often in Viet Nam, one sees a machine gunner fighting the imperialists, and right behind the gunner is another yellow brother with a mimeograph machine steady

running off the political reason for the machine gunner being there and why the imperialists are dogs. It is necessary for us as revolutionaries, as the vanguard for the Black Army to supply our people with the facts. Know your political education, brothers and sisters. If you don't know exactly why and what we are fighting for and against, how can the masses possible relate to us as their Vanguard.

POWER: WILL FREE HUEY

CAPITALISM

It is an unquestionable fact that capitalism will eventually destroy itself. However, until that time, is it necessary for the oppressed peoples of the world to continue to accept the burden the capitalistic dogs so willingly pile on our backs?

As a black woman, I would have my son grow in a free world, where neither the color of his skin or his economic status, deprives him of his natural rights as a human being. I would die to see my son and his sons grow in a free society. Therefore, I refuse to wait. As many of my ancestors did, I refuse to accept the devil's brutality and inhuman actions. I refuse to see my man stripped of his manhood. And may I burn in hell, if I nammy, or

bear the oppressors pale, ugly children.

"What so that thou sowest, so shall thou reapest" reap what is sown. It is the oppressors turn to reap and he is fully aware of this. In this case, he shows his cowardice and wailing personality. He tries to fill the oppressed people with visions of Black Capitalism, integration, and being in movies with Raquel Welch, like Jim Brown.

I refuse to let the dogs intimidate me and my people any longer while they destroy themselves. I will stand and be counted as one of the oppressed, with a machine gun in one hand and my Black man on the other.

Revolution is the answer
JW
Denver Chapter

PORTUGUESE ARMED FORCES ADMIT INCREASE IN GUERRILLA ATTACKS IN ANGOLA

● LISBON, March 25 (PL). — The Portuguese Armed Forces issued an official communiqué reporting that 11 Portuguese soldiers and collaborators were killed and 24 wounded in several guerrilla attacks carried out in Angola between March 9 and 15.

The Armed Forces admit that for the past few days the armed

struggle waged by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has been considerably stepped up.

The communiqué states that ten guerrillas were killed in the various battles, but this is as yet unconfirmed.

REVOLUTION EMERGES IN HAITI

For the first time since 1966, the peasants of Haiti have risen up against "Papa Doc" Duvalier's brutally oppressive regime in major confrontations. When the peasants moved last March and April, they were acting as part of an organized group with the proclaimed goal of armed struggle toward total victory.

In one incident, a battle took place near the capital; this was so fierce that even the government had to admit its occurrence—and to the death of one officer.

These and other events in 1969 point to the existence of a revolutionary vanguard inside the country—not merely among exiles on the outside. This group, fighting under the most repressive conditions to be found anywhere except perhaps in South Africa, has shown its bravery. Its members have a strong, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology.

Although the founders are mostly of urban background, the group has not merely established a relationship with the peasantry but has helped develop peasant leadership.

For years, the Haitian revolutionary movement has been plagued by internal problems, lack of re-

sources, and the oppressive nature of "Papa Doc" Duvalier, who does not stop at the murder of children to wipe out his enemies—real and imagined.

Last January, the two Communist parties (P.U.D.A., Parti Union Démocratique Aïstin as called in Creole, and P.E.P., Parti Entente Populaire) merged in one—the P.U.C.H. (Parti Unifié des Communistes Haïtiens). Duvalier's response to this unification was, in the words of the February 12 issue of *Bookan*, the new party's organ, "a vast repression against the Haitian Communist movement. Several comrades and sympathizers have been arrested... The Tonton Macoutes (elite police corps) have been conducting searches, and taking advantage of this to steal."

Bookan added: "The majority of those threatened have been able to escape... Our comrades have not let themselves be captured like sheep. Thus, one of our members, who met the detectives with his pistol was able to escape with the help of the people. This was right in the middle of the street, near St. Gerard, in Port-Au-Prince. Another, after threatening two Macoutes with his weapon, was able to escape into the carnival crowd."

"Everywhere the population helped the militants by warning them of danger or refusing to give information when questioned by the authorities... In performing their dirty task, the Macoutes have been helped by American CIA agents..."

The question of how to obtain arms has always been a hard one for the revolutionary movement. One answer was demonstrated on the night of March 3-4, in the town of Cap-Haïtien on the northern coast of Haiti. A Macoute was executed by local members of the P.U.C.H., and his gun and ammunition were liberated. The brothers escaped without harm, despite the patrols that were all around. P.U.C.H. explained to the local population (mostly poor people) why the Macoute had been killed: to take his gun. Or, as Bookan put it, "Arms will not fall from heaven. We have to get them from where they are; in the

of the peasants, Duvalier maintained an absolute silence about the incident and the popular resistance movement.

Two and a half weeks later, on Duvalier's birthday, he got a surprise greeting. On April 14, in a settlement called Bostilliers, about 10 miles north of Port-Au-Prince, there was an armed clash between the people and government forces. With government censorship and control of movement so severe, it is impossible to say just who "the people" were or what happened. Apparently Duvalier had sent Macoutes to a house in the area to arrest certain persons—and they defended themselves.

Duvalier later claimed he wiped out "the citadel" of the P.U.C.H., killed 30 communists (no names given) and confiscated arms, documents, and printing equipment.

The dead were all buried immediately. This suggests that Duvalier had something important to lie about since it has always been his policy to parade the bodies of important murdered opponents through the street. The government itself admitted in the local press that it was a serious battle and that one officer was killed. It seems strange that if 30



REGIS DEBRAY LIGHT FROM A CELL



TWO years have passed since Régis Debray was taken prisoner in Muypampa. During those two years much has been said concerning his arrest, imprisonment, court-martial and 30-year sentence, and Debray has been made the victim of an absurd Yankee propaganda campaign aimed at turning his sentencing into a judgment passed on the entire guerrilla movement. Debray has also become the subject of study and admiration by those who admire his attitude as a revolutionary intellectual. Che Guevara himself showed his interest in this man, as evidenced in a series of notes made in his historic field diary before and after Debray's capture by the Bolivian Army. On October 3, only five days before his death, Che wrote in his diary:

"We heard Debray in an interview. He took a courageous stand under the attack by a student provocateur."

Debray's courage was to become even more evident during the court-martial proceedings which ended in his being sentenced to 30 years in prison. Throughout the trial the young French intellectual defended himself courageously, firmly and calmly. And what is even more important, he unmasked those who acted as his judges. "The Debray case," he said, "was artificially arranged from the very day of my arrest. First, for purely political reasons—the Government has used me as a political instrument for agitation and propaganda. The Government had these advantages: the fact that I was a foreigner, to arouse Bolivian nationalism against me; the fact that I was a Marxist-Leninist and had written books on revolutionary subjects; and, last, the fact that I was a friend of Cuba and her leaders, which gave the Government an opportunity to speak of supposed interference by the Cuban Revolution, despite the fact that not a single one of my statements tied me with Cuba except from the point of view of political friendship and ideological conviction...."

Debray was only 26 when he arrived at Sanchabard, in early 1967. He had been known until then as a brilliant essayist in philosophy and a student of the problems that assail Latin America. He had visited several Latin American countries and had been deeply moved by the tragedy of underdevelopment. In his first articles on the subject—"Castroism: Latin America's Long March" and "Latin America: Some Problems of Revolutionary Strategy"—the young writer offered a global view of the new historic situation developing for Latin America as a result of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. Then came *Revolution within the Revolution*, which delved deeper into the subject, approaching problems such as armed self-defense, armed propaganda, the guerrilla base and the guerrilla center, the Party and the guerrillas. Speaking of this last work, Debray said, "When I began my study of the Cuban revolutionary process I realized that it held teachings and answers that Latin America needed and which were sought, generally, outside the Cuban Revolution. This in no way means that the Cuban Revolution is to be taken as an absolute point of reference or model; rather, its teaching and its newness must be studied so as to be used as the yardstick by which to measure the specific characteristics of other revolutionary processes."

Debray went to Bolivia to fulfill a duty. This he did, not only as an intellectual but also as a militant revolutionary, and, by so doing, turned an idea—that an intellectual is not only a man with a theoretical and analytical formation but also a man of action, of total creation within his profession—into a reality.

On the one hand, Debray is innocent of the "crimes" with which he was charged. On the other hand, however, he is responsible for his firm ideological stand. To the military who sentenced him, he said, "To you, I am guilty because I believe in Che's final, imminent victory. To us, Che's life begins now, and the revolution goes on...."

Debray has stated that, as a revolutionary, he considers himself a participant in all the "crimes" committed by all the revolutionaries all over the world.

That, in reality, is his great "crime."

Debray's imprisonment in Camiri is an attempt to imprison the ideology of an intellectual committed to the struggle of the peoples against Yankee imperialism and its servants.

History is full of examples proving that revolutionary thinking, that revolutionary ideas, cannot be destroyed. Man's thoughts constitute values which are above everything—including imprisonment and even death. Today the CIA and the Bolivian gorilla clique—just to mention a typical example—fear Che as much as when he was alive. His thinking and his example will remain forever in the pages of history and life.

Today, on the occasion of the celebration of the Week of Solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Latin America, we once more send a message of solidarity and support to the young French intellectual who—in his few days in the mountains of Sanchabard and two years in the prison of Camiri, in his few days with the heroic guerrillas of the National Liberation Army days of Bolivia and two years face to face with the provocations of his jailers (who are also the jailers of the people of Bolivia)—has maintained a firm ideological stand.

● Juan Marrero



hands of the enemy."

On March 25 came the peasant battle. At Cazale, about 25 miles from Port-Au-Prince, a group of peasants revolted, according to the description published in *Lambé*, an exile publication of the Haitian left. For 6 hours, they occupied Cazale after driving out the Lieutenant on duty and the guards. They forced the Macoutes to take down the photographs of Duvalier, burn the flag of the tyranny, cry "Down with Duvalier!" and raise the red and-blue flag.

They posted the slogan "Long live the Parti Unifié des Communistes Haïtiens" everywhere. Three peasant leaders addressed a gathering of the people, explaining the purpose of their action: "to take the lead in an armed movement against tyranny and misery."

After this gathering, the group went back into the mountains with the support of the people for continuing the struggle. Militiamen in the area refused to go in pursuit

persons were killed on one side, only one man died on the other.

One report said that a key member of the rebel group was a woman, an active militant, who was the first to fire and defend herself bravely until killed or captured.

A wave of new and random arrests followed the April 14 battle. But at this point, this old habit of Duvalier's does not seem likely to stop the movement.

As Bookan commented: "We will not cease our efforts to overthrow Duvalier and his aides, abolish the domination of American imperialism in Haiti, and bring about the establishment of socialism. Our struggle is a struggle to the death... There is no protection for those who struggle. We will give blows and receive them. The solution to the problem is not to give up the struggle but to intensify it. Our comrades have not fallen in vain. We have not struck our last blow. And the Macoutes will feel in their very flesh the force of our determination."

ANSWER TO BRIER

An article appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle, written by Royce Brier, on May 9, 1969 prompted this answer.

Royce Brier's description of a "North Vietnamese" in his column (May 9, 1969) reminds me of the propaganda put out by the French colonialists to justify their invasion of my native country during the last century. The French were pictured as conferring a great favor on the ignorant Indochinese (a name coined by the invader, never used by Vietnamese), by bringing to their country the blessings of civilization and Christianity. The Vietnamese, treasuring a written history over 4,000 years old, and steeped in the

gentle precepts of Buddha, have never asked for anything but to be let alone; have never invaded another country; never dropped a bomb on an American city.

In his little essay on war, in which he takes as a text a picture—an "affront to mankind"—of two Americans dragging a dead "North Vietnamese" to a burial pit, (whatever became of the fighting National Liberation front of South Vietnam?) Mr. Brier conceives of the dead man as growing up "in a harsh and impoverished land, devoid of opportunity to learn and feel", and therefore he has a "different idea of the human relation from ours, which makes him our enemy, makes him strive to kill us." Further he has "the

cruelty of the jungle beast...."

Words fail me! Weighed in the cosmic scale of justice, how does the presumption expressed by the writer that the Americans in the picture are probably "kind men, instilled from childhood with regard for their fellow beings," compare with the unparalleled suffering by means of napalm, anti-personnel bombs, earth-destroying bombs, burned villages, poisoned vegetation and other cruelties beyond description wrought upon my small country by these same "kind" Americans??

I should like Mr. Brier to answer this question.
Signed: American citizen of Vietnamese birth,
Nguyen Van Lay

The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

— MAO TSETUNG

THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE AFRO-AMERICANS IS SURE TO WIN

— Commemorating first anniversary of Chairman Mao's Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression

the progressive student movement, which echo and are interwoven with one another, have dealt the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class a telling blow.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement: "Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation." With the daily sharpening of the class struggle and the development in depth of the Afro-American struggle in the United States, this truth has been understood by more and more Afro-American people.

Editor's Note: Due to the great response of our readers and much mail received concerning this article, the Black Community News Service decided to reprint it. This article is a reprint from the April 25th issue of the Peking Review.

The system of racial discrimination in the United States is one of the mainstays by which U.S. imperialism maintains its reactionary rule. The U.S. monopoly capitalist class uses racial discrimination as an important means to grab super-profits and divide the broad labouring masses. So long as the capitalist system exists in the United States, U.S. ruling circles will never forsake their policy of racial discrimination; on the contrary, they will only intensify the racial oppression and class oppression of the broad Afro-American masses. Inheriting the mantle of previous U.S. governments, Richard Nixon has employed counter-revolutionary dual tactics against the Black Americans. On the one hand, he emphasizes "law" and "order" and has intensified the violent suppression of the Black people. What is especially pernicious in this respect is his policy of

ON April 16 a year ago, our great leader Chairman Mao issued his Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression. This statement is another glorious Marxist-Leninist document on the Afro-American struggle following the "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" made by Chairman Mao in 1963.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement last year: "The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class." The development in depth of the Afro-American struggle and the new upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement of all the American people in the past year have vividly borne out this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's.

Following the Black people's struggle against violent repression which swept more than 160 American cities on an unprecedented scale last spring, new waves of struggles against violent suppression raged one after another in Cleveland and dozens of other cities. Meanwhile, the workers' movement in the United States developed tremendously. There was a total of 4,950 strikes by American workers in 1968. Students in more than 100 American universities and colleges took part in strikes and demonstrations to strongly oppose the aggressive war against Vietnam, racial discrimination and the decadent bourgeois educational system. The Afro-American struggle, the workers' movement and using Black people to fight the Black people by recruiting Black Americans into the police force. On the other hand, he is unscrupulously engaged in political deception by advocating the "development of Black capitalism," pretending to be concerned over the Black people's welfare. This trick of Nixon's is most ridiculous. The root cause of the sufferings of the Afro-Americans lies precisely in capitalism. The so-called "development of Black capitalism" simply means fostering a handful of Black capitalists while subjugating the broad masses of Afro-Americans and making them eternal slaves of capital. How can such a clumsy trick deceive anybody? From the practice of their own struggle, the Afro-American masses have come to understand more and more clearly that to win complete emancipation, they must unite with the broad masses of the white working people, merge their struggle with the workers' movement and use revolutionary violence to overthrow the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In his statement, Chairman Mao has made a great call: "People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices!" The tide of the great struggle now being waged by the proletariat and the broad masses of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism is rising vigorously. That the Afro-American struggle is taking place in the very heart of the world's counter-revolutionary forces—the United States—is of great international significance. This struggle is a component part of the great struggle by all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and a component part of the world



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revolutionary movement in our era. The valiant struggle of the Black people in the United States is a powerful support to the people of other countries fighting against U.S. imperialism, while the anti-U.S. struggles of the people of all countries are a support to the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Americans. All these revolutionary struggles which support one another have converged into a huge torrent of the world revolutionary movement in the present era, and are pounding vigorously at the entire old world. It can be said with certainty that, with the support of the revolutionary people who comprise over 90 per cent of the world population, the Afro-American struggle and the revolutionary struggle of all the American people will inevitably sweep the whole country like a raging fire and reduce U.S. imperialism to ashes.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 17)



AFRO AMERICAN STRUGGLE DEVELOPING IN DEPTH

OUR great leader Chairman Mao issued his Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression on April 16, 1968. With its incontrovertible truth, this statement greatly inspires the broad masses of the Afro-American people in their just struggle to win freedom and emancipation. During the past year, the Afro-American struggle has been surging ahead wave upon wave and developing in depth daily. The trend of this struggle to merge with the workers' movement has become more and more obvious. Its spearhead is clearly directed at the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups. An ever fiercer and greater storm of the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Americans is bound to come.

The Afro-American struggle in the past year has developed on the basis of the violent resistance against racial discrimination started five years ago. On August 8, 1963, Chairman Mao issued his "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism." Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking has rapidly raised the political consciousness of the Black Americans. Breaking the shackles of "non-violence," they launched one large-scale violent struggle after another against bloody repression by fascist troops and police in Harlem (New York) in 1964, in Watts (Los Angeles) in 1965, in Chicago in 1966 and in Newark and Detroit in 1967.

The Afro-American struggle in 1968 developed a step further and brought about a new situation. In early April, in only a week's time, the flames of this struggle against violent repression spread over the country to more than 160 cities and towns. Even Washington, the ruling centre of the U.S. monopoly

groups, became a battlefield where the Afro-Americans fought tenaciously. This powerful storm dealt the U.S. reactionary ruling circles a stunning blow. Alarmed, they said that it was the "most serious internal crisis" in the United States in the last 100 years. All this fully illustrates the rapid awakening of the Afro-Americans and, "It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million Black Americans."

Black Workers' Increasingly Prominent Fighting Role

Black workers have played an increasingly prominent fighting role in the Afro-American struggle during the past year. This is a marked characteristic showing that the struggle is developing in depth. In the stormy nationwide actions of the Afro-Americans against violent repression, the Black workers took the lead in starting spontaneous strikes everywhere, forcing many factories to stop production. Noteworthy is the fact that in many industrial cities, the Black workers have begun to form caucuses which by breaking the control of the scab union bosses have directly led the strikes, giving a powerful impetus to the strike struggle of the American workers as a whole. The strikes by the Memphis sanitation workers and Chicago's public transport workers and the whole series of strikes in many Detroit auto plants were all held by Black workers with the support of white workers by breaking through the obstruction and disruptive activities of the monopoly capitalist class and the scab unions.

Apart from raising economic demands, the Afro-American workers have put forward clear-cut political demands in the struggle, directing the spearhead of their struggle at the monopoly capitalist groups and their agents. Although the monopoly capitalist class and the scab union bosses have racked their brains and tried in every way possible to control, strangle and undermine the Afro-American workers' struggle, the Black workers have steadily increased their activities to get rid of the control of the scab unions and organize themselves in the fight since last year.

Under the impact of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression and with the Black workers playing an influential role, the militancy of the broad masses of the workers in the United States has steadily increased. Their struggle against the control by the bosses of the scab unions is further developing. Last year, for instance, at least 25 spontaneous strikes took place in the iron and steel industry against the wishes of the scab union bosses, and there was a large number of rank and file committees organized by the masses of workers themselves.

The militant role played by the Afro-American workers has far-reaching significance for the Afro-American struggle and the American workers' movement. More and more Black workers have gone into some U.S. basic industries in recent years, and their position in American society has become increasingly important. For instance, Black workers in the automobile industry make up 35 to 50 per cent of all American auto workers. In important industrial cities such as Chicago, Detroit and Newark, they make up 40-50 per cent of all the workers there. Suffering from all kinds of political discrimination and oppression and ruthless economic exploitation, the Afro-American workers are most resolute and courageous in the struggle. As the Black workers in the United States mount on the political stage of the country still further, the Afro-American struggle is bound to merge further with the U.S. workers' movement to hasten the end of the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

Afro-American Struggle Directly Spurs Student Movement

The Afro-American struggle has also directly spurred the student movement in the United States. In the past year, the student movement has spread to nearly every university in the country and even large numbers of middle school students in many parts of the country have taken part in it. Standing in the forefront of this struggle are brave, unyielding and fearless Black students. Both the strike at Columbia University, which took place in spring last year and lasted for more than one month, and the four-month-old strike in San Francisco State College, California, which recently ended were set off by Black students and actively joined by white students. Last February, Black students and progressive white students in the University of California carried on a struggle against racial discrimination, in which several thousand students fiercely battled the police for two days on end. The strike by the Black students as well as the progressive white students in the University of Wisconsin gave the reactionary U.S. ruling circles such a bad fright that they sent 3,000 reactionary troops and police to the university to wildly suppress the students. Confronted by this vigorously rising student movement,

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some sections of the U.S. bourgeois press sounded the alarm, saying that it was an "academic revolution that has transformed the role of the colleges in the country."

Also inseparable from the development of the Afro-American struggle is the American people's struggle against the war of aggression in Vietnam. Not only have more and more young Black Americans opposed the draft, but growing numbers of Black soldiers have actively plunged into the struggle against this war of aggression. The struggle by young Black Americans and Black soldiers against the draft and against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam has inspired American people of different social strata to oppose this war of aggression. Mammoth demonstrations against this war of aggression took place again on April 5 and 6 in dozens of big cities, including New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Washington, in which hundreds of thousands of people took part.

Another characteristic of the development in depth of the Afro-American struggle is that more and more advanced Black Americans have begun a tit-for-tat struggle against the various fallacies spread by the monopoly capitalist class to sabotage the Black people's struggle. To suppress the Afro-American struggle which is developing vigorously, the monopoly capitalist class, in addition to stepping up counter-revolutionary violence, has tried in every conceivable way to deceive and hoodwink the Black people. Before and after coming to power, the new chieftain of U.S. imperialism Nixon energetically advocated "Black capitalism," vainly trying to foster a Black bourgeoisie under the wing of U.S. monopoly capital so as to control the Afro-American struggle. The advanced Black Americans have risen courageously in countering the attack by the monopoly capitalist class. They pointed out that the "Black capitalism" trumpeted by Nixon and his like is nothing but a big plot to maintain the reactionary rule of monopoly capital and deceive and exploit the Black working class still further. They also repudiated the racialism the monopoly capitalist class spreads among the white working people as well as the "cultural nationalism" it spreads among the Black people. All this, they stressed, is a conspiracy of the monopoly capitalist class to split the unity between the Black people and the white working people and to lead the struggle of the Black people astray.

Studying and Disseminating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought

Some advanced Black people in the struggle have conscientiously studied and propagated Marxism-

AFRO AMERICAN STRUGGLE



Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and summed up the experience and lessons in the Black people's struggle. Through this summing up, many of them have further pointed out that what the Afro-Americans really need is an end to the system of exploitation of man by man, a revolution to destroy the capitalist system, that only the working class can lead the Afro-American movement for emancipation to achieve this purpose and that only by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete conditions in the United States can the working class win victory. This struggle launched by the advanced Afro-Americans is helping the Black masses shake off still further all kinds of mental fetters imposed by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, and advance rapidly along the road to emancipation.

Torrential Tide of Afro-American Struggle Is Irresistible

In the face of the daily rising current of the Afro-American struggle, U.S. ruling circles are frantically resorting to counter-revolutionary dual tactics in an attempt to liquidate the Black people's revolution which has broken out in the heartland of U.S. imperialism.

But the upsurge of the Afro-American struggle is the inevitable product of the sharpening class contradictions in the United States and a striking manifestation of the entire political and economic crisis of U.S. imperialism. However desperately U.S. monopoly capital may struggle, it cannot stem this upsurge. At the same time, as U.S. imperialism steps up its policies of war and aggression abroad, it inevitably intensifies its political and economic onslaught against the people at home. And this has further worsened the position of the Afro-Americans. As a result, class contradictions between the broad masses of Afro-Americans and U.S. ruling circles have become ever sharper, and the struggle between them has been increasingly aggravated.

The great storm of the people's revolution in various countries of the world is now swiftly developing with the momentum of a landslide. The Afro-American struggle for freedom and emancipation is a component part of the revolutionary struggle of all the people of the world. It is a tremendous support for and encouragement to the struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the people of all countries, and at the same time it wins the resolute support of the people the world over. Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people." There is no doubt that the development of history will confirm this brilliant prediction.

DENVER PANTHERS

On December 4, 1968, an unfair and unjust attack was made upon a brother by the racist, Denver pigs. Johnnie Martin was arrested in the month of December and charged with possession of Marijuana. This brother was an asset, and a strong part of the Denver Chapter. He was in fact arrested while on Party Duty. The brother remained on duty. The brother remained in the hole until March 26, 1969, when he was brought to trial.

March 26, 1969, the brother went to trial in front of a jury which consisted of 11 white men and women and 1 Negro woman. The presiding judge was a known racist and supporter of the system, Judge McAuliffe.

The state provided Johnnie with a slow, country bumpkin, called Wyler. Wyler seemed to do everything in his power to convict Johnnie. In fact the District Attorney seemed to support the brother more than the brother's own lawyer. I spent the entire two days of the trial trying to decide which honky was the dumbest.

The state witnesses were four pigs which the defense attorney took 30 minutes to cross-examine. This took place on the first day of the trial. The second day the defense brought in its two witnesses. One of the witnesses was a woman who was in the store where

Johnnie was arrested. She was picked apart by the D.A. and, had no hope of the defense putting her testimony together again. The second witness was a former member of the Chapter in Denver, who was brought from the county jail to testify. His effectiveness on the court needs no explanation. Then, as to be expected, the defense and the D.A. rested their case and went to a coffee break together. The jury was out, and had cast their first ballot when a witness rushed into court. The trial was reopened and the woman was permitted to testify. The Sister testified that she was on the scene when the pigs pulled up in front of Johnnie, and testified she saw them get out of their cruiser, and drop a plastic bag with brown and green contents in it. The same plastic bag was the exhibit B - Marijuana of Canibus.

The jury left, and returned in an hour and a half with the verdict of guilty. Johnnie was scheduled for re-trial on April 25, 1969.

Here again the system has proven its animalistic, brazen and racist tendencies. Pick up the gun, Brothers and Sisters; Johnnie's not the first to be framed, and if the pig has anything to do with it he won't be the last.

In Revolution
HW

CHAIRMAN MAO

Hatshua News Agency, May 2, 1969
May first - our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms vice-Chairman, Lin Biao received K. M. Kaiser, new ambassador of Pakistan to China, and his wife; P. Ngoma, new ambassador of Zambia to China, and his wife; Nay Valentine, new ambassador of Cambodia to China,

Dear Brothers & Sisters,

The following is an interview that our newspaper, the BOND, had with an Afro-American GI named Tom Tuck. Tuck is a draftee from Cleveland who was initially sent to Ft. Knox and is now at Ft. Dix, N.J. We are not going to press for over a week, and we thought that you might want to use the interview before we print it in the BOND.

Question: Were you able to get anything going among the guys at Knox?

Tom: While at Knox I organized a Black militant group against the Vietnam war and all wars that this country is waging against the third world. The commanding officer of my unit called this group the "dirty dozen". Because of these activities I was court-martialed. For the Black brothers especially, it's time for less talk and more concrete action.

Question: The army brass claims that the armed forces is the only organization in America where a Black man gets a fair shake. Would you comment?

Tom: Black GIs are denied promotions, they're the first to be sent to the field in Nam. The army is at least as racist as the rest

of America. Yes, it's even more of an oppressive institution than we experience in the Ghettos.

Question: How do most Black GIs feel about the Vietnamese struggle for liberation?

Tom: Black GIs I have spoken to mostly support the Vietnamese peoples' war for national liberation and independence. I feel that all Afro-American servicemen should give support to oppressed peoples in their efforts to destroy U.S. imperialism, and to refuse by all means necessary to serve in these racist wars.

Question: The American Servicemen's Union is in contact with a lawyer representing the widow of a Black soldier who was thrown out of a helicopter in Vietnam by white racist GIs. From talking to guys that you have known who have returned from over there, have you heard of similar incidents?

Tom: I have heard Black GIs are always being harassed and that the Vietnamese people have suffered from atrocities committed by the U.S. under the flag of freedom. Black people should fight the Pentagon by refusing induction altogether. However, if a Black man or any man finds himself inside the military, he should resist

completely, no matter what the price. It is my belief that the draft can be stopped if enough guys support the ones who are resisting. So far, not enough people, civilians or GIs, have been willing to stand up and resist like the Ft. Hood 48 and the Prestidio 27.

Question: How do Black veterans feel that they can change things when they return from Nam?

Tom: Many guys believe that the only way we can stop oppression is through educating ourselves in white racist colleges. I disagree, and feel that we can never win this way when the rulers are in control of these colleges and all the wealth of this country. The only way we can really win is through total mass revolution.

Question: Do you feel that the 25 hours of riot control training that most GIs are required to take part in is aimed against America's Black population?

Tom: Yes, certainly it is. No question about it but that the state is out to try to crush all Black organizations and even white peace groups. I support the Black Panther Party and the American Servicemen's Union and any organization that fights imperialism and capitalism.

PIG PERSECUTION OF A PANTHER

On the 5th of April 1969 a Panther Brother Armad was rapping to the community on the street here in Baltimore when a carload of pigs came up. They told the people to move on. The brother walked up the street with three of the members from the community when a super black pig grabbed the brother and told him that he was under arrest. He asked for what, the damn pig stated for disturbing the peace. I received a call at 12:30 am

from Brother Armad stating that he was in jail. I told him that I would meet him in court at 8:30 am. When the brother walked in the racist judge asked the pig what happened, he stated that the brother called him an uncle tom. The pig judge then asked the brother if he had any respect for the policemen. The brother stated hell no, that the pigs had no respect for the Black community.

The pig judge then gave the brother 30 days without benefit of bail because he is a Panther. Capt. Hart tried to bail him out but, the pigs lied and told him that it was impossible for Brother Armad to be bailed out. We have used this arrest to heighten the contradiction that there is no such thing as freedom of speech in this racist society.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
POWER TO THE SNIPERS

October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY MAY 25, 1969 PAGE 17

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

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RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

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8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing on one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may present his defense to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the hearing a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.'" (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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AND THE SLAVE MASTER
UNTIL THE MASTER IS DEAD
OR THE SLAVE IS FREE

